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The Late Egyptian Underworld:
Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Colleen Marie Manassa

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Abstract

The Late Egyptian Underworld:
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Colleen Marie Manassa
2005

The ancient Egyptian fascination with the deities and events during the twelve hours of the night dwindled only with the demise of Egyptian religion itself. A corpus of large stone sarcophagi produced during the Thirtieth Dynasty, decorated with excerpts from the Underworld Books, a body of texts known primarily from New Kingdom royal tombs, offers a unique opportunity to explore the conceptions of the Netherworld during the Late Period in Egypt. The present work represents the first examination of the texts and scenes on these monuments, as well as the only detailed treatment of Late Period copies of the Underworld Books. Not only do the sarcophagi texts preserve entirely new passages and variants of each of the major netherworldly compositions—the Books of Amduat, Gates, Caverns, Book of the Night, Creation of the Solar Disk, and the Litany of Re—they also combine these texts in unique and exciting ways to create entirely new Underworld Books. Four different Late Period sarcophagus types are identified for the first time, each of which use a carefully selected array of Underworld Books arranged in such a way as to form a unified representation of the nightly solar journey. The sarcophagi bear witness to a meticulous editing process, which often included new texts, which incorporated the deceased into the solar cycle. Connections between the Underworld Books and the wealth of Late Period funerary papyri, never before examined, provide further evidence for the renaissance in the study of netherworldly compositions during the Late Period.

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During a visit to the Cairo Museum in the Summer of 2001, I was immediately attracted to the large stone sarcophagi scattered throughout the Great Hall and adjoining south wing. I recognized the scenes and texts as Underworld Books, but did not imagine at the time the complexity and importance of the sarcophagus decoration. Upon returning to the United States, and knowing his great interest in netherworldly topics, I asked Prof. John Darnell about these enigmatic objects, to which he promptly replied—"that would make a good dissertation topic." And so the present work was born.

I benefited tremendously from the unending knowledge of Prof. John Darnell on all matters Egyptological, but most especially Egyptian religion and the Underworld Books, and I extend my utmost thanks to him. Not only did Prof. Darnell provide me with countless references, suggestions to translations, and illuminating discussions of broader concepts, but he also helped collate some of the particularly important texts on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata in the Cairo Museum. I would also like to thank Profs. William Kelly Simpson and Bentley Layton from whom I learned much about the Egyptian language in all its stages, and Prof. Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert for several discussions about my dissertation topic while he was a visiting professor at Yale University and for several helpful comments to the text of the dissertation. I owe a great deal to all of the members of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations and the support that they have provided.

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During the course of my work, I discovered that Dr. Isabelle Régen was also working on a project involving Late Period copies of the Books of Amduat and Gates. We soon began to plan a collaborative project to re-publish the sarcophagi in the Cairo Museum and produce initial publications of the sarcophagi in other collections around the world. Much of the epigraphic segments of the present work will appear in forthcoming volumes by Isabelle and myself, the first of which, *Huit sarcophages tardifs du musée du Cairo*, will appear in *MIAFO*. I have also commenced work at the Metropolitan Museum on the important sarcophagus of Wereshnefer, and would like to thank Dr. Dorothea Arnold and Claudia Farias for their assistance.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Par conséquent, il semble évident, que pour établir définitivement le texte de l’Am-Duat, il faut étudier tous les textes et toutes les versions, anciennes et plus récentes. Car les textes saïtes et ptolémaïques sont fort instructifs à maints égards.”¹

By the end of the fifth millennium BCE, the Upper Egyptians were carving images in the desert cliffs that flanked the Nile Valley. Prominent among these depictions were giraffes—however, these giraffes were not simply animals, but carriers of the sun.² As pharaonic civilization developed, elements of the solar cycle remained fundamental to Egyptian religion, and the ancient scribes composed texts to explain the inner workings of these cosmic events. In particular, the underworldly journey of the night sun became the focus of much funerary literature, and the description of the entirety of this solar journey became the template for the deceased’s own traversing of the infernal and celestial realms. The deceased sought to perform each stage of the sun’s

¹ A. Piankoff, “Le Livre de l’Am-Duat et les variantes tardives,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin, 1955), p. 244.

² D. Huyge, “Cosmology, Ideology and Personal Religious Practice in Ancient Egyptian Rock Art,” in R. Friedman, ed., *Egypt and Nubia: Gifts of the Desert* (London, 2003), pp. 199-210. For other predynastic depictions of the solar cycle and the development of the solar carriers into the solar boat (so ubiquitous in the Underworld Books), see W. Westendorf, “Vom Sonnentier zum Sonnenboot,” in M. Görg and E. Pusch, eds., *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (Bamberg, 1979), pp. 432-445; for the development of the winged sun-disk, see *idem.*, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (Berlin, 1966), pp. 22-24.

travels through the twelve hours of the night, so that he or she³ too could be reborn in the eastern horizon each day.

The theme of the deceased's dependence on the solar journey through the Underworld for his own resurrection is particularly pronounced in a corpus of large stone sarcophagi fashioned around the time of the Thirtieth Dynasty. In the last centuries of native Egyptian rule, monumental rectangular⁴ sarcophagi were carved for the burials of pharaohs and private individuals, including men related to the royal family, holders of high priestly titles, and other exceptional persons. The texts and scenes on these sarcophagi are drawn overwhelmingly from the Underworld Books, an extensive funerary corpus known most prominently from the royal tombs of the New Kingdom. The use of Underworld Books, supplemented by select chapters from the Book of the Dead, differentiates this corpus of rectangular sarcophagi from all other funerary objects

³ Although none of the Late Period sarcophagi treated in this work belonged to women, nearly all funerary texts in Egypt are attested for both men and women (S. Quirke, "Women in Ancient Egypt: Temple Titles and Funerary Papyri," in A. Leahy and J. Tait, eds., *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith* [London, 1999], pp. 227-235). In fact, the religion of the Late Period is particularly adapted to women; in addition to the traditional appellation "the Osiris N" for both male and female deceased, a specific epithet "the Hathor N" is developed for female owners of funerary texts (for this phenomenon, see the references in J.C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses IX* [Freiburg and Göttingen, 2004], p. 452 n. 7).

⁴ The term rectangular is used to differentiate these sarcophagi from the anthropoid shaped sarcophagi, although their shape is more complex than a simple rectangular box. The head end is rounded and wider than the foot, so the two long walls slope slightly when viewed from above. The lids of the sarcophagi normally consist of a number of planes (for profile drawings of two sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum, see Di. Arnold, "The Late Period Tombs of Hor-khebit, Wennefer and Wereshnefer at Saqqâra," in C. Berger and B. Mathieu, eds., *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Phillipe Lauer* [Montpellier III, 1997], pp. 45, 52; note also the drawings of Late Period sarcophagus lids in A.J. Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt* [London, 1982], p. 191).

of the time, including the prevalent Late Period anthropoid sarcophagi.⁵ The rectangular sarcophagi represent not only the largest number of post-New Kingdom copies of most of the known Underworld Books, but also combine and arrange excerpts from various Netherworldly composition in entirely new ways. The copies of the Underworld Books on these sarcophagi have never been translated or edited and several remain wholly unpublished. The textual variants with earlier versions as well as the unique combination of texts from separate Underworld Books offer much insight into the meaning of these often enigmatic texts. The importance of the Late Period sarcophagi is not limited to an increased understanding of the Underworld Books, because they also provide a wealth of information on Late Period funerary religion. Neither the sarcophagi themselves nor Late Period funerary religion has ever been the object of comprehensive study, and the present work aims to fill this enormous gap in our knowledge of the Underworld Books and the importance of their reuse for Late Period religion.

The Late Period sarcophagi are both representative of their age and the long tradition of funerary texts which preceded them. The theology the sarcophagi represent can be traced back to the Pyramid Texts, the earliest surviving corpus to expound upon the journey of the solar deity, variably locating the nightly journey in the celestial or

⁵ M.-L. Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi* (Copenhagen, 1959); her extensive corpus only contains texts drawn from the Pyramid Texts, Book of the Dead, and standard funerary formulae (*ibid.*, pp. 226-228). However, there is one exceptional anthropoid sarcophagus not published by Buhl which is similar to the rectangular stone sarcophagi in its decorative scheme—Cairo JE 60597. Only the bottom half of the sarcophagus is extant and one side is partially damaged, but enough remains to reveal that the sarcophagus once contained a complete copy of the Great Litany from the Litany of Re. The *Journal d'Entrée* lists the following information about this object: height, 1.80m, width, .75m; from Dibi (Rosetta), found built into the mosque of Sidi el-Khazragi. This sarcophagus will be published for the first time in C. Manassa and I. Régen, *Huit sarcophages tardifs du musée du Cairo*, MIFAO, forthcoming.

chthonic realms.⁶ Although the Pyramid Texts lack pictorial accompaniment, the association of particular spells with specific locations within the pyramid chambers lends a spatial orientation to the spells,⁷ providing a link between these early texts and the later Underworld Books.⁸ The first depiction of the routes through the Underworld is the Book of the Two Ways, a part of the much larger corpus of Coffin Texts.⁹ In the Book of the Two Ways, the deceased is guided along the dual pathways to the Netherworld—one by land and the other by water, but both located underneath the earth of the living. While many Coffin Text spells are adopted into the Book of the Dead and there provided with numerous vignettes, the geographical approach of the Book of the Two Ways is a direct predecessor of the extensive corpus of Underworld Books that cover the walls of the royal tombs of the New Kingdom.¹⁰

⁶ J. Allen, “The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts,” in W.K. Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 1-28; H. Altenmüller, “Aspekte des Sonnenlaufes in den Pyramidtexten,” in *Hommages à François Daumas* (Montpellier, 1986), pp. 1-15; N. Beaux, “La *douat* dans les Textes des Pyramides, espace et temps de gestation,” *BIAFO* 94 (1994): 1-6; C. Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn* (Liverpool, 2002), pp. 41-47.

⁷ J.P. Allen, “Reading a Pyramid,” in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (Cairo, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 5-28; N. Billing, “Text and Tomb: Some spatial properties of Nut in the Pyramid Texts,” in Z. Hawass, ed., *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century* (Cairo, 2003), pp. 129-136.

⁸ One might also compare Khufu’s search in P. Westcar for the *ip.t n.t wnt n.t Dhwty* as a reflection of an architectonic approach to the arrangement of pyramid chambers (for a Coffin Text parallel to the *ip.wt* in P. Westcar, see E. Hornung, “Die „Kammern“ des Thot-Heiligtumes,” *ZÄS* 100 [1973]: 33-35).

⁹ E. Hermsen, *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits, Das altägyptischen Zweiwegebuch und seine Topographie* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1991). For motifs typically known from the Underworld Books present already in the Coffin Texts, see S. Bickel, “Die Jenseitsfahrt des Re nach Zeugen der Sargtexte,” A. Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel (FS Hornung)* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 41-56.

¹⁰ The first extant copy of an Underworld Book dates to the reign of Hatshepsut (F. Mauric-Barberio, “Le premier exemplaire du Livre de l’Amdouat,” *BIAFO* 101 [2001]: 315-350), but the date of the original composition of each book is still contested. Based on all the available evidence, the most persuasive theory suggests that the “early” books, Amduat, Gates, and Litany, were written in the Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period, while the “later” books,

The Underworld Books—the Books of Amduat, Gates, Caverns, Creation of the Solar Disk,¹¹ the Litany of Re, and the Books of the Day and Night—are all discrete compositions, used in various combinations by the pharaohs buried within the Valley of the Kings.¹² To these works can also be added the cryptographic Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity,¹³ as well as smaller compositions such as the Book of Quererts and the “miscellaneous” scenes that occur on some New Kingdom royal sarcophagi and the sarcophagus chambers of the tombs of Ramesses VII and IX, which are closely related to the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.¹⁴ These compositions fill the royal tombs of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Dynasty, and probably once appeared on now

Caverns and Creation of the Solar Disk, were probably written before or during the Amarna Period (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 467-471 [note especially the parallels between the “later” Underworld Books and the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun]; U. Rößler-Köhler “Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil I,” in R. Gundlach and W. Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum* [Wiesbaden, 1999], pp. 73-88; Baumann, *Suffix Conjugation of Early Egyptian*, pp. 450-53 for grammatical arguments). J.F. Quack has taken an extreme position, dating most of the Underworld Books to the Old Kingdom (*BibOr* 57 (2000): 547-558; *WdO* 28 [1997]: 177-181), but other than the appearance of archaic grammatical forms in some Underworld Book passages, this theory has little evidence to support it.

¹¹ This designation of the composition is used throughout the present work, rather than the appellations “Book of the Earth” or “Book of Aker.”

¹² Excellent surveys of the Underworld Books with collected bibliography appear in E. Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, trans. D. Lorton (Ithaca, 1999). Summaries of the different compositions include Hermsen, *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits*, pp. 35-53; W. Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher für den verstorbenen König* (Munich and Berlin, 1985). For the first time, much of this material has also been made available to a wider audience in E. Hornung and B. Bryan, eds., *The Quest for Immortality* (Munich, 2002) and J.-Y. Barré, *Pour la survie de Pharaon. Le texte funéraire de l’Amduat dans la tombe de Thoutmosis III* (Paris, 2003). An interesting Jungian interpretation juxtaposed with the traditional Egyptological views on Amduat appears in T. Abt and E. Hornung, *Knowledge for the Afterlife. The Egyptian Amduat – A Quest for Immortality* (Zurich, 2003). Summaries of the new information provided for each book by the Late Period sarcophagi appear in Chapter 7, below.

¹³ Darnell, *Enigmatic Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity*.

¹⁴ Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, pp. 107-111.

lost funerary equipment such as shrines and shrouds.¹⁵ In some exceptional cases, Underworld Books appear in the tombs of non-royal individuals of the New Kingdom. Although the style of the Book of Amduat in the tombs of Thutmose I, Thutmose III, and Amenhotep II resembles a giant papyrus scroll unrolled on the walls, no papyrus versions of the Underworld Books survive from the New Kingdom, although such certainly existed.¹⁶ Besides tomb walls, the Underworld Books also adorn royal sarcophagi of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, few of which have been published in their entirety.¹⁷

The collapse of the New Kingdom ushered in a period of instability and the fragmentation of political power. The distribution of funerary texts during the Third Intermediate Period reflects the division of political power between two cities: the royal

¹⁵ The shroud of Thutmose III, containing the Litany of Re (A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* [New York, 1964], pl. 1) and the four gilded shrines of Tutankhamun (A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tutankh-amon* [New York, 1955]) offer tantalizing glimpses of the textual splendor once present in the royal tombs.

¹⁶ The only exception is the Book of Quererets originally buried with Amenhotep II (A. Piankoff and H. Jacquet-Gordon, *The Wandering of the Soul* [Princeton, 1974], pp. 40ff.). The miscopying of a papyrus original written in a retrograde fashion may be the cause of some of the perturbated text in the New Kingdom royal tombs (F. Mauric-Barberio, “Copie de textes à l'envers dans les tombes royales,” in G. Andreu, ed., *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois* [Paris, 2003], pp. 175-193). The appearance of *gm wš* “found missing” in the early copies of the Amduat has also been taken as evidence of a damaged papyrus copy of the text (W. Barta, “Zur Überlieferung des Amduat,” *JEOL* 20 [1968]: 27-42).

¹⁷ E. Brovarski, “Sarkophag,” in *LÄ* V(1983): cls. 476-477. The sarcophagus of Seti I contains a complete version of the Book of Gates, and small fragments from the inner sarcophagus of Merneptah suggest that it was similarly decorated (E. Brock, “The Tomb of Merneptah and its Sarcophagi,” in C.N. Reeves, ed., *After Tutankhamun* [London, 1992], pp. 122-140). The sarcophagus of Merneptah contains the Fifth Hour of Amduat, and the sarcophagus of Ramesses III uses the Seventh and Eighth Hours on the long walls (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 92, 125, 141). Despite the lack of complete publications, it is obvious that the Book of Gates is used in preference to the Book of Amduat on royal sarcophagi of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty, while the opposite is the case in the Late Period sarcophagi decorated with Underworld Books.

necropolis at Tanis and the burials of the high priests and their families at Thebes.¹⁸ The royal tombs inside the temple enclosures of Tanis, although small in size, preserve texts from the Books of Amduat, Creation of the Solar Disk, and the Book of the Day and the Night in addition to other funerary texts.¹⁹ Outside of the capital, other tombs belonging to the royal family probably also contained texts from the Underworld Books, although little evidence is preserved. A few blocks from the White Monastery at Sohag deriving from a nearby tomb of the High Priest Iuput (Twenty-Second Dynasty) represent one of the few extant monuments of this sort; the blocks preserve scenes from the First, Second, and Twelfth hours of Amduat.²⁰ The funerary texts used in Thebes itself are documented by a large number of papyri of several types which contain texts from the Underworld Books,²¹ especially the Book of Amduat.²² However, the Mythological Papyri, Amduat Papyri, and other papyri types of the Third Intermediate Period do not contain entire

¹⁸ K. Myśliwiec, *Twilight of Ancient Egypt*, D. Lorton, trans. (Ithaca, 2000), pp. 27-40.

¹⁹ G. Roulin, “Les tombes royales de Tanis: analyse du programme décoratif,” in Brissaud and C. Zivie-Coche, eds., *Tanis : travaux récents sur le tell Sân el Hagar* (Paris, 1998), pp. 193-276.

²⁰ P. Vernus, “Inscriptions de la troisième période intermédiaire (II),” *BIAFO* 75 (1975): 67-72.

²¹ A. Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989); A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri* (New York, 1957).

²² A.-A. F. Sadek, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Amduat* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1985). The production of Amduat papyri continued on a lesser scale into the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (M. Valloggia, “Le Papyrus Bodmer 107 ou les reflets tardifs d'une conceptions de l'éternité,” *RdE* 40 [1989]: 131-144). A selection of Amduat papyri published since Sadek's work: S. Quirke and W.J. Tait, “Egyptian Manuscripts in the Wellcome Collection” *JEA* 80 (1994), 145-158; M. Valloggia, “Le Payrus Bodmer 108: un «passport d'éternité» du début de la troisième période intermédiaire,” in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years (Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur)* (Leuven, 1998), pp. 441-453.

copies of Underworld Books, normally reproducing the texts and scenes from only the last four hours of Amduat and isolated scenes from other books.²³

In the post-New Kingdom period, papyri owned by private individuals contain allusions to and excerpts from the Underworld Books, but the tomb decoration and funerary equipment of non-royal individuals do not appear to use virtually complete copies of one or several of the books until the Saite Period.²⁴ This situation changes dramatically during the Thirtieth Dynasty when the Underworld Books are used to decorate large stone sarcophagi. The datable sarcophagi can be placed firmly in the Thirtieth Dynasty and several were carved during the reign of Nectanebo II. Although not all of the sarcophagi can be precisely dated, all available evidence suggests that they were produced during the Thirtieth Dynasty or the period immediately following the conquest of Alexander the Great.²⁵ Nearly all the sarcophagi were excavated in the necropolis of Saqqara,²⁶ although a few were discovered outside of their original archaeological contexts. These sarcophagi, hereafter referred to as “the Late Period

²³ See below, Chapter 7, “From Third Intermediate Period to Late Period.”

²⁴ Only one tomb of the Saite period is known to have extensive Underworld Book material – the Tomb of Padiamenemope – *PM* I:1, no. 33; other tombs, such as that of Padineith (temp. Psammetik II) only have excerpts from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (*PMI*:1, no. 197, scenes 14-15). The tomb of Panehsy (Twenty-Sixth Dynasty), one of the few Lower Egyptian sources of the Underworld Books outside of the Tanite royal tombs, contains excerpts from the Ninth Hour of Amduat, along with texts from the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and Book of the Dead (A. el-Sawi and F. Gomaa, *Das Grab des Panehsy, Gottesvaters von Heliopolis in Matariya* [Wiesbaden, 1993]).

²⁵ Descriptions of the sarcophagi and dating criteria are included at the beginning of each chapter.

²⁶ Several of the sarcophagi were found together in large shaft tombs; see the descriptions in Arnold, in Berger and Mathieu, eds., *Études sur l’Ancien Empire*, pp. 31-54. Little information exists about the state of the burials, although there is some evidence that wooden coffins were buried inside some Late Period stone sarcophagi (E. Brovarski, “Sarkophag,” *LÄ* V [1983]: 478, n. 128).

sarcophagi,” form a corpus of twenty-three monuments; they group themselves into four different types on the basis of their decorative schemes. This classification represents the first recognition of distinct groups of Late Period sarcophagi.

Type I:

- British Museum EA 66, Pairykap
- Cairo CG 29302, Djedher
- Cairo CG 29307, Pawenhatef/Djedher
- Cairo CG 29317, Udjashu (fragmentary)
- Louvre D8, Djedher
- Metropolitan Museum 11.154.1, Wennefer
- Vienna 1, Neshutefnut
- (partial parallels: EA 30, CG 29301, CG 29323)

Type II:

- Berlin 49, Tjaihepimu
- British Museum EA 1504, Gemhap
- Cairo CG 29305, Painmou/Djedher
- Cairo JE 48446, Shebmin
- Cairo JE 48447, Ankhhor
- Louvre D9, Djedher
- (partial parallel: Vienna 5, Onurisnakht)

Type III:

- British Museum EA 10, Nectanebo II
- Cairo CG 29309, Usermaatre (fragmentary)
- Louvre D10, Hor
- Metropolitan Museum 14.7.1, Wereshnefer
- (partial parallel: Berlin 29, Padisis)

Type IV:

- Cairo CG 29306, Tjaihorpata

Fig. 1: List of Late Period Sarcophagi

	Book of Amduat	Book of Gates	Creation of the Solar Disk	Book of Caverns	Litany of Re	Book of the Night
Type I		X	X			
Type II	X	X			X	X
Type III	X				X	
Type IV	X	X	X	X	X	

Fig. 2: Summary of Underworld Books on Late Period Sarcophagi

Type I sarcophagi (Chapter 2) contain excerpts from three different Underworld Books—the Book of Gates, the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, and an unidentified Underworld Book closely related to Creation of the Solar Disk. A single register of decoration surrounds the sarcophagus, complemented by a range of texts and decoration on the lid. The unifying element of the scenes on Type I sarcophagi is the reconstitution of disparate parts, hence this decorative scheme is identified as a new Underworld composition entitled the “Book of Resurrection through Decomposition.”

Type II sarcophagi (Chapter 3) contain large portions of the Book of Amduat and the Litany of Re, with additional elements drawn from the Book of Gates and the Book of the Night. The distinctive feature of these sarcophagi is the combination of these various elements to create another novel Netherworldly composition. The arrangement of the hours of Amduat on this type of sarcophagus is also striking, since they are the only monument, with the exception of the Tomb of Thutmose III, to follow the directions for the text’s layout within the Book of Amduat; however, the text containing the orientation of the hours is not present on any Late Period sarcophagus.

Type III sarcophagi (Chapter 4) are a more heterogeneous group, with three separate templates for the organization of the hours of Amduat. The use of the Book of

Amduat to the exclusion of other funerary texts is the defining feature of the group; however, the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre, parallel in decoration, also add a register with addresses from the Litany of Re below the hours of Amduat.

The sole Type IV sarcophagus, Tjaihorpata (Chapter 5), contains more textual material from the Underworld Books than any other single sarcophagus. A nearly complete copy of the Book of Amduat is combined with excerpts from the Book of Gates, Litany of Re, Book of Caverns, and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The texts drawn from Gates, Litany of Re, and Creation of the Solar Disk on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata differ from the selections from these same books on the other sarcophagus types.

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The present work is the first comprehensive study of the corpus of Late Period sarcophagi whose primary decoration derives from the Underworld Books. Many of the texts on the sarcophagi have never been identified, and their unified decorative schemes remain unrecognized. The lack of scholarship on these fascinating objects can be attributed to two factors: the incomplete state of the primary publications of the sarcophagi and the priority given to the New Kingdom copies of the Underworld Books.

The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II (BM EA 10) was the first sarcophagus of this corpus to be published—a series of remarkably detailed and accurate copies appeared in the *Description de l'Égypte*. Ironically, the drawings produced by Napoleon's expedition remain the most precise facsimile-like renditions of any Late Period sarcophagus thus far

published. In 1855, Samuel Sharpe published drawings of Louvre D9 (Djedher) and one side of the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II.²⁷ The texts on the Type I sarcophagi have been known since 1885, when von Bergmann²⁸ published drawings of Vienna 111 and parallel typeset texts from a few other sarcophagi. Another Type II sarcophagus, Berlin 49 (Tjaihepimu) was published by J. Dümichen in 1894 in lieu of copying similar decoration in the tomb of Padiamenemope (TT 33).²⁹ The most complete publication of the Late Period sarcophagi is the two volume *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque* by G. Maspero (second volume completed by H. Gauthier). This publication includes all but two of the sarcophagi in this corpus now housed in the Cairo Museum—CG 29301, 29302, 29305, 29306, 29307 and 29317 (the sarcophagi JE 48446 and 48447 were discovered after the publication of the second volume of *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*). Unlike the earlier publications, the Cairo catalog includes typeset hieroglyphs of nearly all the texts present on the sarcophagi; however, the complex interrelations of the scenes and texts and complete lack of explanatory diagrams often make it difficult to correlate the hieroglyphs in the text with their location on the sarcophagi. The plates included in the Cairo catalog only have overall views of the walls of the sarcophagi, without detail images. While the hieroglyphs are visible in photographs of the Type I sarcophagi (CG 29302, 29307, and 29317), which have

²⁷ *Inscriptions from the British Museum and Other Sources* (London, 1855), vol. 2, pls. 1-21 and 28-32.

²⁸ “Der Sarkophag des Nesschutafnut in der Sammlung ägyptischer Alterthümer des österr. Kaiserhauses,” *RdT* 6 (1885): 131-165.

²⁹ *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der thebanischen Nekropolis*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1894), pls. 5-24.

relatively large-scale texts, it is virtually impossible to discern the details on sarcophagi like CG 29305 and 29306 where the text and scenes can be quite minuscule.

H. Jenni has studied the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II³⁰ and Usermaatre,³¹ which have nearly identical decorative schemes, although the latter sarcophagus is only partially preserved. She provides hand-copies and photographs of the texts on the sarcophagus of Usermaatre, but for Nectanebo II, she only notes where the sarcophagus differs from New Kingdom copies, which falls far short of a complete publication of the monument's extensive texts. Combined with a few scattered photographs in museum catalogs, this is the impoverished state of the original publications of the Late Period sarcophagi.

Due to the emphasis on the New Kingdom versions of the Underworld Books, publications of Late Period copies of specific texts are equally deficient. Considering the tremendous task faced by scholars such as A. Piankoff and E. Hornung in copying the texts from the Valley of the Kings, one cannot find fault with the omission of poorly published Late Period sarcophagi. Only two works have included text copies of any compositions on the Late Period sarcophagi—G. Roulin's publication of the Book of the Night³² and an article by M. Heerma van Voss on the Judgment Hall from the Book of Gates.³³ Both of these texts are confined to the Type II sarcophagi and extremely short in comparison with the sum of the texts on the monuments. Since each scholar focused on a

³⁰ *Das Dekorationsprogramm des Sarkophages Nektanebos' II.* (Geneva, 1986).

³¹ "Der Sarkophag Usermaatres," in A. Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel: ägyptologische Beiträge für Erik Hornung* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 93-161.

³² *Le Livre de la Nuit* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1996).

³³ "Späte Texte aus dem Pfortenbuch," in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years (Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur)* (Leuven, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 1001-1010.

single composition; neither recognized that the decoration of each of the sarcophagi with the scenes from the Book of the Night and the Book of Gates was based on a single template. However, Jenni remarked upon the similarity amongst some of the Type II sarcophagi, who provides diagrams outlining the elements of their decoration.³⁴ For the lengthier texts, such as the Book of Amduat and the Litany of Re, no parallel editions of texts have been produced, such as Hornung's publications of the New Kingdom material or Sadek's edition of the Third Intermediate Period Amduat papyri.

While publications of the Late Period sarcophagi as complete objects and as editions of the texts they contain are virtually non-existent, prior work on the New Kingdom copies of the Underworld Books forms a firm foundation for the examination of the later redactions. Translations are available for all of the Underworld Books³⁵ and several of the books have received extensive commentary—the Book of Amduat,³⁶ Book of Gates,³⁷ Litany of Re,³⁸ Book of the Night,³⁹ and the cryptographic Book of the Solar-

³⁴ Das Dekorationsprogramm, pp. 45-46.

³⁵ Translations of the largest compositions (including Amduat, Gates, Caverns, Creation of the Solar Disk) are collected in E. Hornung, *Die Unterweltbücher der Ägypter* (Zürich, 1992), and references to earlier translations in various languages are collected in *idem.*, *Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, pp. 170-181. Complete translations of Amduat, Gates, and Litany of Re, relying on Hornung's earlier translations, appears in S. Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe im Jenseitskonzept der Unterweltbücher Amduat und Pfortenbuch und der liturgischen „Sonnenlitanei“* (Wiesbaden, 2003), vol. 2.

³⁶ E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* (Wiesbaden, 1963), vol. 2.

³⁷ E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* (Geneva, 1980), vol. 2; J. Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1999).

³⁸ E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* (Geneva, 1976), vol. 2; A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* (New York, 1964).

³⁹ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1; A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (Cairo, 1942).

Osirian Unity.⁴⁰ The texts on the Type I sarcophagi have also received limited commentary in the publication of the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV.⁴¹ The Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk and the Book of Caverns, on the other hand, have never been the focus of extensive commentary. Since significant excerpts of both these texts appear on the Late Period sarcophagi, these objects provide a means to incorporate the later copies of the text while also presenting the first detailed commentary of select portions.

With the exception of Roulin's publication of the Book of the Night and Darnell's examination of the cryptographic Underworld Books,⁴² no other translations or commentaries have taken into account the insights offered by the Late Period sources of the Underworld Books, although already A. Piankoff noted the potential of these texts.⁴³ The sarcophagi also provide a unique opportunity to examine how the ancient Egyptians related the various Underworld Books to one another. The following chapters will thus be the first to present a translation and commentary of the Late Period copies of the Underworld Books on sarcophagi, and also the first to examine the placement of the texts around the mummy.

⁴⁰ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*.

⁴¹ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990).

⁴² In particular the recognition of a variant of the introductory scene of the Litany of Re on the sarcophagus of Tadipakhem, which revolutionizes our understanding of this important scene in New Kingdom tombs (*Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 64 n. 132, 274).

⁴³ A. Piankoff, "Le Livre de l'Am-Duat et les variantes tardives," in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin, 1955), pp. 244-47; *idem*. "Le "Livre de la nuit" sur les monuments de la Basse Époque," *ASAE* 40 (1940): 665-668. These few pages are in part the philosophical predecessors of the present work.

GOALS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The clearly defined corpus of Late Period sarcophagi offers a unique opportunity to examine several important aspects of Egyptian religion. Three goals form the core of the present work: 1) provide a basis for a text edition of the Underworld Books on Late Period sarcophagi, 2) examine the unique arrangement of texts on the sarcophagi to improve our understanding of the Underworld Books as a whole, and 3) place the reuse of the Underworld Books in the context of Egyptian religion during the Late Period.

Any investigations of a particular text corpus must begin with accurate copies of the different sources. The task of copying and photographing all the Late Period sarcophagi around the world is a monumental task, and remains an on-going project by the author and I. Régen.⁴⁴ However, the hieroglyphic copies, photographs, drawings, and diagrams present in this volume offer a complete and collated version of at least one sarcophagus from each of the four types.⁴⁵ This approach enables accurate translations

⁴⁴ The first work in preparation is entitled *Huit sarcophages tardifs du musée du Cairo*, and will be followed by other volumes for the sarcophagi in the British Museum and Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁴⁵ The sarcophagi used as examples of each type are those in the Cairo Museum and British Museum. The epigraphic work in the Cairo Museum was carried out in three periods: December-January 2002-2003, May 2003, and May 2004, for which I am indebted to the excellent assistance received by the staff of the Cairo Museum, particularly May Trad, Dr. Mamdouah El-Damaty, former Director General of the Cairo Museum, Sabah Abdel Razek, Mahmoud Ibrahim, and Dr. Waafa el-Sadek, Director General of the Cairo Museum. I was even fortunate enough to have the plexiglass removed from CG 29306 to check some of the important texts on the interior of the sarcophagus; since the other sarcophagi have glass plates between the lid and body of the sarcophagus, it was not possible to view the interior of the other monuments. Work in the British Museum was carried out in May 2003 and 2004, with the aid of Jeffrey Spencer, who provided me with notes and collations he had made on the sarcophagi. I would also like to thank Vivian Davies, John Taylor, and Neil Spencer for their assistance. For the sarcophagi in Berlin and the Louvre, the older publications (without collations) are used for the translations, until more complete publications become available.

for each template, allowing for the completion of the two other goals, an understanding of the Underworld Books and their significance for Late Period religion. An examination of textual transmission and a parallel edition of every Late Period copy of the Underworld Books is outside the scope of the present work and rendered difficult by the inaccessibility of the texts in the tomb of Padiamenemope, which provide the most important link between the New Kingdom Underworld Books and the Late Period sarcophagi.⁴⁶ As the translations and commentary will show, the texts on the Late Period sarcophagi contain significant variants with some or all of the earlier copies, including passages heretofore unknown. In certain other cases, the texts and scenes on the sarcophagi differ little from their New Kingdom predecessors, but a complete understanding of the sarcophagi as objects and text compendia requires commentary to each and every Underworld Book text. Even for the well-known Underworld Books, such as Amduat, Gates, and Litany, the examination of the Late Period versions enables entirely new interpretations of certain passages and scenes; for less well studied Underworld Books, such as Caverns and Creation of the Solar Disk, the discussions below represent the first detailed examinations of the texts. The comprehensive textual commentary provides the basis for the overall interpretation of the entire decorative structure and architecture of the sarcophagi.

⁴⁶ Considering the use of the liturgical parts of the Litany of Re interspersed between the hours of Amduat on the Type II sarcophagus, the transmission history of the Underworld Books on the Late Period sarcophagi may be similar to contemporary funerary liturgies, concerning which J. Assmann concluded (“Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies,” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* [Jerusalem, 1990], p. 24): “It is now possible to affirm that these texts were not copied from ancient tombs and coffins, but from current liturgical mss. of the mortuary service. What they exhibit is not learned excavation but continual use.” Additionally, a comparison of all available Late Period copies and the New Kingdom versions of the Book of Amduat and Gates is currently underway by I. Régen, IFAO, who is also participating in the publication of the tomb of Padiamenemope.

In addition to new versions of the Underworld Books, the sarcophagi are unique in their combination of parts of different compositions to create a new whole. A chapter is dedicated to each sarcophagus type, and the translations proceed in the order in which the texts appear on the sarcophagus. Thus, different hours from the Book of Gates appear in Chapters 2, 4, and 5 as part of the decorative scheme of sarcophagus Types I, II, and IV, rather than gathering all excerpts from the Book of Gates into a single chapter. New information gained about the Book of Gates as a whole is then collected in the Conclusion. The organization of the Underworld Books as they appear on the sarcophagi is the model upon which the translations in this work are based, since they reveal the Late Period authors' classification of the Underworld Books and often transcend the modern classifications of the netherworldly compositions. One of the most important results of the present investigation is a new understanding of the relationship between the "chthonic" books (Amduat, Gates, Caverns, Creation of the Solar Disk) and the "heavenly" books (Book of the Day and the Night), incorporated in the theory elucidated in the Conclusion, called "the interchangeability of parts."

The third goal of this work is to examine the funerary religion of the Late Period, particularly the cosmographic approach to the Underworld evidenced by the sarcophagi. The chronological scope of this study, Dynasties 26 through 30, bridges the gap between the more well-defined religious atmosphere of the New Kingdom/Third Intermediate Period and that of the Ptolemaic/Roman Period.⁴⁷ By examining the Late Period

⁴⁷ D.A. Aston, "Dynasty 26, Dynasty 30, or Dynasty 27? In search of the funerary archaeology of the Persian Period," in A. Leahy and J. Tait, eds. *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith* (London, 1999), pp. 17-22. For wooden funerary stelae, such a chronological break may have really existed—P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (Glückstadt, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 174-75.

sarcophagi in the context of Late Period funerary texts, the present work will provide the first complete description of the Egyptian conception of the Underworld during this transitional time. The description of the Late Egyptian Underworld also draws upon the extensive funerary papyri contemporaneous with the Late Period sarcophagi. The compositions on these papyri often intersect with themes present in the Underworld Books, and a causal relationship may be discerned. Chapter 6 summarizes some of the most important similarities in these two corpora and suggests that the re-use of Underworld Books in the Late Period is part of a larger trend that also contributed to the editing and composing of funerary liturgies. During the Thirtieth Dynasty and early Ptolemaic Period, Egyptian theologians were able to draw upon a greater number and variety of funerary texts than were available during most of Egyptian history. Late Period religion is the last flourishing of the large corpus of Underworld Books and a more productive period than suspected previously.

METHOD

Ancient Egyptian scholars did not elucidate the theoretical framework in which they worked, but, indirect evidence, in particular aspects of the hieroglyphic writing itself, provides insights into the way the Egyptians thought about language and the pursuit of knowledge.⁴⁸ The method chosen to analyze the texts on the Late Period

⁴⁸ F. Junge, “Zur ‘Sprachwissenschaft’ der Ägypter,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 1: *Sprache* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 257-272. As U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Schüler und Schulwesen in der ägyptischen Spätzeit,” *SAK* 1 (1974): 227-246, has also noted, the scholarly tradition of the Late Period is quite vibrant, contrary to some earlier claims.

sarcophagi was developed out of the ancient Egyptian approach to their own religious texts. How would an ancient Egyptian scholar have approached these texts? Although texts directly commenting upon ancient Egyptian views of scholarship have not survived, and possibly very few of them written, various principles can be reconstructed. Chief among them is the exploitation of homophonic roots and the construction of etiologies. While these appear in the Underworld Books, they do not play as large a role as in other cosmological texts, such as the *Book of the Heavenly Cow* or *Enumerations of the Mounds of Creation* at Edfu Temple.⁴⁹ Fortunately, the Late Period sarcophagi provide clues to their own interpretation, as demonstrated by a fascinating example on the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

A majority of the surface of the lid of Tjaihorpata's sarcophagus contains an extensive excerpt from the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns. One statement is particularly relevant to the remainder of the decoration on the lid:

ntr pn hpr.(w) m hpr hpri n T3-tnn
This god has manifested into the manifestation of the form of Tateten.

No depiction accompanies this description in the Book of Caverns, but in the Eighth Hour of Amduat, four rams appear in the middle register, each labeled with *hpr*-beetles. The annotation in Amduat claims that these rams are the *sšm.w št3 n T3-tnn* “the mysterious forms of Tateten,” and the *Normalschrift* equivalents of the labels with increasing numbers of scarab beetles indicate that the names are to be read: *hprw tpy*, *hprw snw*, *hprw hmt*, and *hprw ifdw*, the first, second, third, and fourth manifestations of

⁴⁹ R.B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator: On the Cosmological and Iconological Values of the Temple of Edfu* (Wiesbaden, 1985), pp. 68-74; E. Hornung, *Der Ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1982).

Tatenen.⁵⁰ The four rams depicted in the Eighth Hour of Amduat correspond perfectly to the passage in the Sixth Division of Caverns.

The discovery of parallel texts, such as the manifestations of Tatenen in the Books of Amduat and Caverns, is one of the most important principles used in commentaries of the Underworld Books.⁵¹ The juxtaposition of such parallel texts by the ancient Egyptians themselves on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata does nothing less than validate the methodology used by scholars of Egyptian religion. Throughout the following chapters, difficult passages in the texts are explained through parallels in other compositions, primarily in the genre of religious texts. In addition to textual parallels, the wide variety of Underworld Books excerpts on the sarcophagi and the limited space on the monuments allows for further insights into the meaning of the texts.⁵²

⁵⁰ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 619-625.

⁵¹ For example, the connection between the Book of Caverns text and the rams in Amduat were already noted by E. Hornung, “Der Mensch als ‘Bild Gottes’ in Ägypten,” in O. Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* (Munich, 1967), p. 132. The effectiveness of the principle of parallelism is convincingly demonstrated in the successful translations of the cryptographic Underworld Books in Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*.

⁵² An interesting comparison is offered by the feasibility of understanding the solar hymns as opposed to the Book of the Dead. As Assmann explains (*Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom. Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*, trans. A. Alcock [London and New York, 1995], p. 4): “The decisive point of difference between the two is the form in which they have been transmitted: that of the sun hymns is for the most part ‘dynamically’ active, whereas that of the BD is ‘statically’ reproductive. In the case of the sun hymns this productivity makes understanding possible, while the reproductive mode of transmission of the BD makes understanding difficult or impossible.” While the Late Period Underworld Books are certainly not as “dynamically active” as the earlier solar hymns, neither are they as “statically reproductive” as the Book of the Dead. Rather, the sarcophagi represent an unusual compromise, where the texts themselves are reproductive, while the arrangement and mixing of the different books is entirely novel.

LAYOUT

A chapter is dedicated to each of the four sarcophagus types, and within each chapter, the texts and scenes are translated and commented upon in the order in which they appear on the sarcophagi. In order to avoid the problems inherent in terms such as “left/right” and “east/west” when referring to the sides of the sarcophagus, each side is given a number, according to the following scheme:

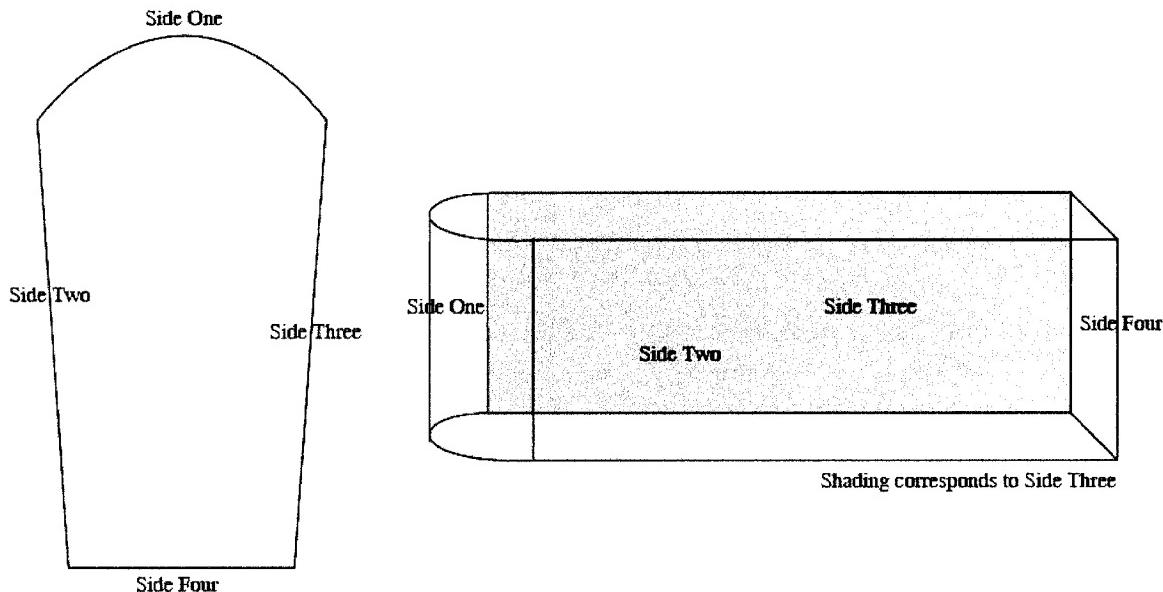


Fig. 3: Designations of the sides of the sarcophagi

In cases where a side contains more than one register, the texts are translated in order from the uppermost to the lowermost registers. At the start of each new text, a heading describes any accompanying representation, a reference to the published copies of the

text, including references to plates in the present work, as well as the closest parallel text in the New Kingdom Underworld Books. Text notes examine significant differences between different Late Period copies as well as deviations from the New Kingdom versions,⁵³ and include lexicographical, grammatical, and theological discussions of the text. In several cases, the same text appears on more than one sarcophagus type, and all the Late Period versions are collected in the first sarcophagus type in the order of the chapters. Throughout the sarcophagi chapters, reference is made to the information provided by Late Period papyri; the intersection between the Late Period sarcophagi and contemporaneous funerary papyri are examined in detail in Chapter 6. The concluding chapter seeks to present the first comprehensive description of conceptions of the Netherworld during the Egyptian Late Period.

The ancient Egyptian obsession with the solar cycle expresses itself differently in each period of Egyptian history, but the underlying importance of the sun's journey through the cosmos remains constant. The textual and pictorial decoration of these sarcophagi embody one of the strongest links between the solar cycle and *individual* resurrection ever expressed in Egyptian funerary texts and scenes. The sarcophagus becomes the deceased's private means of transformation into the sun god himself—he is initiated so deeply into the solar arcana that he can fulfill the role of Re in the Underworld. Although Egyptologists have long recognized Late Period copies of the Underworld Books, they have rarely considered them when studying the meaning of

⁵³ Minor textual variations (e.g. the common writing of the particle *iw* as *r*) also appear in footnotes to the transliteration.

those texts nor have scholars analyzed them in their late context. Thus, the Late Period sarcophagi and related funerary texts provide no less than the opportunity to understand how the Egyptians themselves classified and understood these difficult and often obscure texts.

CHAPTER 2

SARCOPHAGUS TYPE I:

THE BOOK OF RESURRECTION THROUGH DECOMPOSITION

In addition to the recognized “books” of the ancient Egyptian afterlife, such as Amduat, Gates, and Caverns, there existed several compositions known only by isolated scenes.¹ Just as the enigmatic texts on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, the Corridor G Ceiling of the Tomb of Ramesses VI, and the Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, are all manifestations of a “book” of the Solar-Osirian Unity,² other previously unrelated scenes in royal tombs and sarcophagi may form a single composition linked by common themes. One of the least known excerpts from one of these possible “books” are the scenes and texts found on the exterior long walls of several Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty royal sarcophagi,³ and copied on a number of Late Period private stone sarcophagi.⁴ The uniformity of the decorative schemes of the sarcophagi treated in this chapter merits their classification as a single “type,” and their

¹ Hornung, *Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, pp. 107-111.

² Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*.

³ Siptah; Setnakht (mostly destroyed, but extant fragments affirm its identification as Type I); Ramesses III (A. Dodson, “Was the sarcophagus of Ramesses III begun for Sethos II?,” *JEA* 72 [1986]: 196-198); Ramesses IV, Ramesses VI (newly reconstructed inside his tomb). Most of the New Kingdom royal sarcophagi of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties await publication; the identifications given above are based on personal observations by the author in July, 2004.

⁴ As copies of royal sarcophagi, the Type I sarcophagi follow a tradition begun in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty of using the decoration of royal sarcophagi as models for the decoration of private sarcophagi (*cf.* the sarcophagus of Hapmen in the British Museum [EA 23], a copy of the sarcophagus of Thutmosis III—Hayes, *Royal sarcophagi of the XVIII dynasty*, pp. 153-4, n. 42).

strict adherence to a single template differentiates it from the other sarcophagus types treated in this work.

The following is a summation of the decorative scheme of each side of the Type I sarcophagi, for which each of the sections of this chapter provides translations alongside detailed iconographic and textual commentary. Unlike the other three types of Late Period sarcophagi, the decorative scheme of the Type I monuments begins with the foot end (Side Four),⁵ which reproduces one half of the First Hour of Gates, with short excerpts of the accompanying text known from New Kingdom royal tombs (Pl. 1). The rounded, head end of the sarcophagus (Side One) is dominated by a depiction of two large arms rising from the bottom of the sarcophagus, at times sprouting from two human heads (Pls. 32-33). Between and amongst these arms are various mummiform figures and other entities, and the entire tableau is typically framed by several columns of text. The figural representations in the decoration of the head end derive from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, while the texts surrounding and labeling the scene are known only from Twentieth Dynasty royal sarcophagi⁶ and their Late Period copies. Side Three contains texts and images attested only on sarcophagi (Pl. 4),⁷ although parallels for some of the scenes occur in the tombs of Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX.⁸ The decoration of

⁵ See the Introduction for the designations of the sides of the sarcophagi used in this work.

⁶ See n. 3 above; an Eighteenth Dynasty precursor to this scene, accompanied by cryptographic annotations, occurs on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun—for translation and commentary, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 155ff.

⁷ The sarcophagus of Ramesses IV reproduces this scene on both sides of his sarcophagus, with the men beneath the shades beginning at the center of the head end and the following scenes continuing to the end of the long walls.

⁸ Ramesses VII: Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pls. 116-119 and discussion and text copies on pp. 63-71; A. Piankoff, “Vallée des rois à Thèbes-Ouest. La tombe no. 1 (Ramsès VIII),” *ASAE* 55 (1958): pls. IV-IX; an overview drawing of the scenes appears in Hornung,

Side Three consists of four separate groups of figures—beginning at the head end, there are four kneeling figures underneath pouring vessels, two mourning women, five figures associated with a rope and round object, and finally a ram-headed figure and two gods beside a ram-headed pole and *wsr*-pole. Side Two of the majority of the sarcophagi of this type contains three separate scenes (Pl. 9).⁹ Near the head end is an ithyphallic figure, sometimes headless, lying within an oval and attended by six gods and goddesses. The middle of the left side depicts four ovals containing mummies and surmounted by *ba*-birds, while the foot end of the wall shows two male figures in a gesture of jubilation. The annotation to the figures begins at the head end of Side Three and reads in a non-retrograde fashion; the text beginning at the head end of Side Two continues the text from the other side.

Thus, with the exception of the First Hour of the Book of Gates, the texts on the Type I sarcophagi cannot be assigned to a single known composition, although some of the individual figural representations are paralleled in other Underworld Books (e.g. Creation of the Solar Disk). Additionally, the “episodic” quality of the scenes and the absence of the solar bark relates these images to the “later” Underworld Books: the Book

Books of the Afterlife, p. 109, but several important details are omitted. Ramesses IX: Guilmant, *Tombeau de Ramsès IX.*, pls. 90-91. W. Barta, “Das Erdbuch oder das Buch von der Wiedergeburt aus der Sonnenscheibe,” *GM* 98 (1987): 7-9 believes some of the scene in the tombs of Ramesses VII and IX to be additional sections of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, a.k.a. Book of the Earth. In *idem*, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, these scenes are labeled as “Section E” of the Book of the Earth. Fragments of scenes from the tomb of Mutirdis are similar to parts of the Creation of the Solar Disk and also resemble those on the sarcophagi and in the tombs of Ramesses VII and IX, but their poor state of preservation prevents their use for further comparison (Assmann, *Mutirdis*, pp. 71-74 and pls. 25-27).

⁹ Although the sequence of figures is identical, one sarcophagus of this type—MMA 11.154.1—switches the decoration on Sides Two and Three.

of Caverns and Creation of the Solar Disk.¹⁰ The combination of excerpts from unified compositions such as the Book of the Gates with those from other underworldly texts cautions against strictly maintaining modern classifications of these texts. Although the twelve hours of the Book of Gates, like the twelve hours of Amduat, were often treated as sequential chapters, the ability of the composers of the sarcophagi studied here to extract particular hours may indicate that particular sections of any single book possessed a certain independence.¹¹ The popularity of the decorative scheme of Type I sarcophagi suggests a recension of an otherwise unknown Underworld “book,” which combined parts of other compositions.

Hornung has categorized the decorative scheme of the sarcophagi of this type as a “sequence dealing with the sun god” and a “sequence dealing with Osiris,”¹² here designated as Sides Three and Two respectively. This division does not appear to have existed in the minds of the ancient authors, since the continuous annotation refers to both sides as if the figures were directly juxtaposed,¹³ and individual scenes incorporate both solar and Osirian imagery, principally portraying the union of Re and Osiris as the visitation of the solar *ba* to the Osirian corpse. Like the addresses and their accompanying forms in the Great Litany of Re, one cannot assign a series of figures to either the solar or Osirian realms, since the great mystery behind the regeneration of the

¹⁰ Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, p. 16.

¹¹ For a discussion of the “interchangeability of parts” amongst the Underworld Books, see the Conclusion, *infra*.

¹² Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, p. 111.

¹³ The sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses VII provides a nice parallel here, since several of the annotations are out of place—for example, the annotation to the kneeling figures beneath shades appears in the register above the figures (Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 64).

sun in the Underworld is the very mixture of these two elements. The foot end serves as the western horizon—the entrance to the Netherworld—while the two long sides represent the essential activities in the Netherworld, primarily the union of Re and Osiris, ultimately resulting in the recreation of time in the eastern horizon, as depicted on the head end. Numerous religious allusions appear in the scenes and texts surrounding the sarcophagus, but the disparate images all converge at a central theme: decomposition—of the eye of Horus, the Osirian corpse, and even time itself—is a prerequisite to regeneration and resurrection.

LIST OF TYPE I SARCOPHAGI:

Traditionally, most of the following sarcophagi have been dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic period. Only one Late Period sarcophagus is dated to a specific reign—CG 29306, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (a Type IV sarcophagus, see Chapter 5). However, several sarcophagi were found in the same tomb, and the dwarf Djedher (CG 29307) was a contemporary of Tjaihorpata.

British Museum EA 66,¹⁴ *P3-ir-k3p*

The extant fragments of the sarcophagus make up Side Three and half of Side One (the head end) of the sarcophagus.¹⁵ BM 66 was part of the group of antiquities

¹⁴ PM IV, p. 48.

¹⁵ Another fragment of the sarcophagus is located in Naples 1070 (the text reproduced by K. Piehl, “Petites notes de critique et de philologie,” *RdT* 1 [1870]: 198 is not part of the Type I textual decoration). The sarcophagus is discussed by C. Cozzolino, “The Basalt Sarcophagus of *P3-IRY-K3P*,” *ASAE* 73 (1998): 49-50, where it is mistakenly described as incorporating the

confiscated from the French under the Treaty of Alexandria and consequently donated to the British Museum in 1802 by George III.¹⁶ The lid is not extant.

Cairo CG 29302,¹⁷ *Dd-hr*

The sarcophagus of Djedher was found in the same shaft as CG 29301.¹⁸ The carving of the figures on this sarcophagus is an extraordinary example of Nectanebid artistic skill, and is used as the model for the Type I sarcophagi (see pls. 1, 4-8, 10-12, 32-33).

Cairo, CG 29307,¹⁹ *P3-wn-h3t=f, rn=f nfr Dd-hr*

Known for the full-size portrait of its dwarf owner, this sarcophagus was found along side that of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306), Djedher's patron in life as well as death.²⁰

Books of Gates and Amduat, although the latter is not present in the decoration. The names and titles of Pairykap, as well as a bibliography of his sarcophagus and other monuments, appears in R. El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais et ses divinités* (Cairo, 1975), pp. 243-4.

¹⁶ M.L. Bierbrier, "The Acquisition by the British Museum of Antiquities Discovered during the French Invasion of Egypt," in W.V. Davies, ed., *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities. A Tribute to T.G.H. James* (London, 1999), p. 112; a more prestigious member of this group of objects is the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II (EA 10).

¹⁷ *PM* III, part 2, fasc. 2, p. 613.

¹⁸ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 73.

¹⁹ *PM* III, part 2, fasc. 1, pp. 504-5.

²⁰ The autobiographical text of Djedher and Tjaihorpata is treated by W. Spiegelberg, "Das Grab eines Großen und seines Zwerges aus der Zeit des Nektanebês," *ZÄS* 64 (1929): 76-83 and J. Baines, "Merit by Proxy: The Biographies of the Dwarf Djeho and his Patron Tjaiharpta," *JEA* 78 (1992): 241-257. J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1912-1914), Archaic Mastabas* (Cairo, 1923), pl. 34 shows the two sarcophagi when they were discovered.

Cairo CG 29317,²¹ *Wd3-šw*

Udja-shu's most prominent title is *mw.t-nswt*, however, scholars disagree over her precise position in the Thirtieth Dynasty; H. de Meulenaere suggests she was the spouse of Nectanebo I, and the mother of the ephemeral Teos (Djedher),²² while Vittmann maintains the lack of the title *hm.t-nswt* indicates that she was the spouse of Tjaihepimu, a non-royal person, and mother of Nectanebo II.²³

Louvre D8 (N. 344),²⁴ *Dd-hr*

Although the bottom part of the sarcophagus matches the decoration of all other Type I sarcophagi, the lid differs significantly from the normal Book of the Dead passages and jackal-frieze. Djedher's lid contains parts of the Litany of Re, Creation of the Solar Disk, and guardian deities,²⁵ nearly the same decoration as the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306, Type IV sarcophagus). The scene with the solar barks prow to prow is accompanied by the concluding text from the Book of the Night.²⁶

²¹ Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, vol. II, pp. 111-12 and pl. 33; *PM* IV, p. 45; a photo also appears in S. Ikram and A. Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1998), p. 271.

²² H. de Meulenaere, "La famille royale des Nectanébo," *ZÄS* 90 (1963): 92 (reference courtesy of Dr. A.J. Spencer). Under this reconstruction, she would also be the grandmother to Nectanebo II, since Teos (Djedher) was a brother of Tjaihepimu, the father of Nectanebo II.

²³ G. Vittman, "Zwei Königinnen der Spätzeit namens Chedebnitjerbone," *CdE* 49, no. 97 (1974): 49 (reference courtesy of Dr. A.J. Spencer).

²⁴ *PM* III, part 2, fasc. 2, pp. 765-6; photo of the left side and foot end included in Schmidt, *Sarkofag*, p. 212.

²⁵ A photograph of the Meret goddess heading the frieze of guardian deities is published in Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, pl. 5, b.

²⁶ W. Westendorf, *Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1968), pp. 210-11 includes a photograph of the foot end of the lid.

The appearance of the cartouche of a Psamtek on the sarcophagus led earlier scholars to assign the sarcophagus to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.²⁷ However, Djedher's title is "priest of the statues of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Psamtek," suggesting that he flourished after the Saite Period. According to Yoyotte, the sarcophagus of Djedher, like the entire corpus of Type I sarcophagi, is to be dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty or end of the Ptolemaic Period, based on Djedher's titles.²⁸

MMA 11.154.1 AB,²⁹ *Wn-nfr*

D. Arnold reconstructed the archaeological context of this sarcophagus,³⁰ which was found 500 meters north of the two tombs at Saqqara originally containing sarcophagi CGC 29301-29308. One of Wennefer's titles is *hm-ntr n twt.w n it nswt imi-r3 mšc T3i-hp-imw* "priest of the statues of the king's father, the general Tjaihepimu."³¹ This Tjaihepimu is the father of Nectanebo II³² and likely the owner of the sarcophagus Berlin 49; numerous other events in the life of Wennefer indicate that he was a contemporary of

²⁷ C. Boreux, *Musée national du Louvre, Dépt. des antiquités égyptiennes, guide-catalogue sommaire* (Paris, 1932), pp. 110-12.

²⁸ "Études géographiques II, Les localités méridoionales de la région memphite et «le pêhou d'Héracléopolis»" *RdE* 15 (1963): 117-18. Myśliwiec, *BIAFO* 81, Supp. (1981): 92-3 reaches the same conclusion concerning the date of Louvre D8.

²⁹ *PM* III, part 2, fasc. 1, p. 504.

³⁰ In Berger and Mathieu, eds., *Études sur l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 33-36.

³¹ He is also a priest in the cult of Nectanebo II—H. de Meulenaere, "Les monuments du culte des rois Nectanbébo," *CdE* 35, no. 69 (1960): 93.

³² H. de Meulenaere, "La famille royale des Nectanébo," *ZÄS* 90 (1963): 91.

Tjaihepimu and Nectanebo II.³³ Wennefer may also be the father of Harsaise, a vizier of Nectanebo II.³⁴

Vienna 1, *Ni-sw-šw-tfn.t*

The sarcophagus of Nesschutefnut was found in the same tomb as CGC 29301 and 29306 at Saqqara; the main publications of the sarcophagus are the early article by E. von Bergmann³⁵ and a short description with an overall photograph in a Vienna catalog.³⁶ The remains of a wood coffin were found inside the sarcophagus.³⁷

Partial parallels:

British Museum, EA 30 *Ni-sw-išw.t*

The sarcophagus of Nesisut³⁸ reproduces the decoration of the head and foot ends of Type I sarcophagi, but the long walls contain a row of deities with their names and epithets. It was discovered in Chamber Y of Lepsius' Giza tomb 84 ("Campbell's

³³ F. von Känel, "Les mésaventures du conjurateur de Serket Onnophris et de son tombeau," *BSFE* 87 (1980): 31-45; *idem*, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet*, pp. 198-201.

³⁴ De Meulenaere, *CdE* 35 (1960): 93 n. 3.

³⁵ "Der Sarcophag des Nesschutafnut," *RdT* 6 (1885): 131-165.

³⁶ H. Satzinger, *Das Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien, die ägyptisch-orientalische Sammlung* (Mainz am Rhein, 1994), pp. 56-58; Schmidt, *Sarkofag*, p. 214 and E. Komorzyanski, *Das Erbe des alten Ägypten* (Vienna, 1965), abb. 77 have a photo from a similar angle; a picture of the catfish-headed deities is reproduced by I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1970), pl. 12, fig. 2.

³⁷ Bergmann, *RdT* 6 (1885): 131-2.

³⁸ For the reading of this name as *Ns-išw.t* (rather than Nes-Qetet [Buhl, *Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, p. 147]), see de Meulenaere, *Kemi* 16 (1962): 31-5 (reference courtesy of Dr. A.J. Spencer).

Tomb").³⁹ Scholars have traditionally dated this sarcophagus to the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty.⁴⁰

Cairo CG 29301, *'nh-hp*

The *cune* of this sarcophagus is covered with scenes and texts from the Book of the Dead and the Book of Quererets,⁴¹ but the lid contains scenes parallel to Side Two of the Type I sarcophagi. The sequence of scenes normally found on Side Two of the sarcophagi is repeated on both sides of the lid of the sarcophagus of Ankhnap, preceded by a hieracocephalic Re seated on a throne facing the adoring ba of the deceased and twelve hour goddesses. The side of the lid corresponding to Side Three contain the hours of the night, while the opposite side shows the hours of the day.

Cairo CG 29323, *Hns-hp*

The sarcophagus of Kheneshap⁴² is the only sarcophagus of the major types treated here to be fashioned in wood rather than stone. It is included here, because of its rectangular form and the striking parallels to the decoration of Type I stone sarcophagi. The head end of the flat lid contains a small-scale reproduction of the First Hour of Gates, as it normally appears on the foot end of the Type I sarcophagi. The long sides

³⁹ *PM III*, p. 290; photo of right side, showing part of the head end in Schmidt, *Sarcofager*, p. 209.

⁴⁰ *PM III*, p. 290.

⁴¹ The copy of the Book of Quererets on this sarcophagus has never been previously recognized; it was not included in Piankoff, *Wandering of the Soul*, pp. 40ff.

⁴² Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, vol. 2, pp. 138-147, pls. 42-43.

contain the same scenes as the other sarcophagi, with the addition of the four kneeling sons of Horus on both sides; the annotations present on the Type I sarcophagi do not appear on the coffin of Kheneshap.

Cairo Temp. 21:11:16:15, *Hr-s3-is.t*

The Saite period coffin of Horsaisis contains the First Hour of Gates on the foot end, and the mourners and ba-birds on the front portion of the coffin amongst many other images. The present of these two scenes also present on the Type I sarcophagi provides a chronological link between the New Kingdom royal sarcophagi with their Late Period successors. The temporary number catalog in the Cairo Museum records the provenance of the coffin of Horsaisis as Hassaia, between Edfu and Silsila.⁴³

SIDE FOUR

The foot end of the Type I sarcophagi consistently reproduce a version of the First Hour of the Book of Gates,⁴⁴ containing only one *dw*-mountain and the ram-headed post (omitting the mirroring scene with the *wsr*-staff). In the New Kingdom royal tombs, the First Hour is only rarely integrated into the Book of Gates, and occurs on several royal

⁴³ I would like to thank May Trad for her assistance in viewing the records at the Cairo Museum. For the location of Hassaia, see Baines and Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, p. 71.

⁴⁴ The scene is orientated to the right, the most common orientation since the reign of Merneptah (Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 32).

sarcophagi.⁴⁵ Although the text is most often called the “First Hour” of the composition, the scene actually represents the first *portal* of the Underworld⁴⁶—the entire region portrayed in this scene corresponds to the ‘rry.t of the First Hour of Amduat, the “approach” to the Underworld.⁴⁷

The scene from the First Hour of Gates on the Type I sarcophagi consists of two registers (Pl. 1). A solar bark, whose prow and stern are adorned with floral elements, fills the entire top register.⁴⁸ Two male figures, labeled *Hk3* and *Si3*, stand to either side of the solar deity, depicted as a scarab beetle inside a disk surrounded by a multi-coiled serpent. In the lower register, two deities kneel to either side of a ram-headed post; beneath them is half of a *dw*-mountain which contains seven seated male figures without beards.⁴⁹ In the New Kingdom versions, the deities kneeling next to the post are labeled: *Dw3.t* “Underworld” and *Smy.t* “Desert;”⁵⁰ the kneeling figures on the sarcophagi are instead given the name and titles of the deceased. The seated figures within the mountain

⁴⁵ Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, p. 89. Three of Merneptah’s four sarcophagi decorated with excerpts from the Book of Amduat and Gates reproduced the First Hour of Gates on the foot end (E. Brock, “The Tomb of Merneptah and its Sarcophagi,” in C.N. Reeves, ed., *After Tutankhamun* [London, 1992], pp. 123-130). Despite this lack of integration, the First Hour is likely part of the original composition (Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 29). Even before the earliest surviving appearance of the Book of Gates, the *wsr*-staff and ram-headed post occur on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun—their cryptographic labels indicate that the accompanying figures are identical to those in the Book of Gates (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 52-54).

⁴⁶ Barguet, *RdE* 27 (1975): 30-1.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of this term, see *infra*.

⁴⁸ The most common arrangement appears to be a papyrus bloom on the prow and a lotus on the stern, but sometimes the two flowers are switched (i.e. MMA 11.154.1 AB, Wenner).

⁴⁹ The New Kingdom versions prefer twelve deities in each of the mountains, although in certain versions, such as Ramesses VI, only six were depicted due to a lack of space (*Pforten*, vol. II, p. 32).

⁵⁰ For these names, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 52-54.

sign are never labeled on the sarcophagi, but the New Kingdom versions designate them *ntr.w smy.t* “desert gods.”⁵¹ The twelve seated gods of the New Kingdom depictions are normally reduced to seven on the Type I sarcophagi.⁵²

The text accompanying the First Hour of Gates on the Type I sarcophagi is often abbreviated and ultimately results from copying perturbated text in the New Kingdom versions. The tomb of Padiamenemope and the text from the Book of Gates on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata demonstrates that complete copies of the composition were available in the Late Period, even if it was not utilized on Type I sarcophagi. In order to understand the meaning behind the laconic texts on the foot end of these sarcophagi, it is imperative to examine the complete text as it appears in royal tombs and sarcophagi of the New Kingdom.

NEW KINGDOM, SCENE 1

Depiction: Twelve Deities, *ntrw zmy.t* “Gods of the Desert”

Text: Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, pp. 1-3

*hpr.w m R^c m ȝh.t=f
pr.w m ȝr.t=f
wd=f n=sn s.t imn.t
st^ap^b n=sn rm^ct ntr.w ^c.wt nb.t hrr.wt nb.t qm3.n ntr ^c
ntr pn wd=f shr.w=sn m-ȝt is ^cr=f m tȝ
qm3.n=f n wnm.t=f^b*

Those who came about from Re and from his luminous eye,
those who came forth from his eye.
to whom he assigns the secret places,

⁵¹ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. I, p. 1.

⁵² M. Rochholz, *Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration. Untersuchung zum Symbolgehalt der machtgeladenen Zahl 7 im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 147-48 suggests the choice of the number seven is influenced by the power of that number. He notes on p. 148 n. 735 that the unpublished coffin of Harsiese (Cairo Temp. 21:11:16:15) also limits the number of seated deities to seven.

from whom the people, gods, all animals, and all reptiles,
which this great god created, are removed.
This god assigns their plans only after he ascends from the earth,
which he created for his right eye.

^a The verb *stp*, which occurs several times in the Book of Gates, has been defined by Hornung as “to remove.”⁵³ The verb *stp*, which appears in specific contexts, is most closely related to the verb *stp* “to cut off, destroy”⁵⁴ (*Wb.* IV 336.3-13), used almost exclusively for meat offerings, and the rare verb *stp* “to spit out,”⁵⁵ related to the medical term *stp* “to drip.”⁵⁶ The verb *stp* in the Book of Gates occurs in other compositions, which also support the translation “to remove, cut off.” In the biography of Djayt, a First Intermediate Period general, two of the man’s epithets read:⁵⁷

*wn hr n h3m.w hrw ḥz
sr iw.t hrw n stp (ḥ- - - -) m nd.t-rz*
honest to the troops⁵⁹ on the day of fighting,

⁵³ *Pforten*, vol. 2, pp. 33-34; he refers questionably to a passage in the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 [1944]: pl. 42, l. 4) that also contains the verb *stp*, but an examination of the text reveals that this verb is definitely *stp* “to leap” (*Wb.* IV 357.10-14), since it is followed by the preposition *m-h̄t*. For this word, see also Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, p. 67, who follows Hornung’s definition. Although *stp* is interpreted here as a subjunctive *sdm-f* emphasized by the nominal *wd-f*, it is equally possible that both verbs could be extended uses of passive participles: “to whom he commands the hidden place and for whom people ... are removed.”

⁵⁴ *Wb.* IV 336.3-13; although *stp* is commonly used in meat offerings, compare its use as “to destroy evil” cited by Meeks, *ALEX*, vol. 2, p. 360 (= *Dendera* VIII, 68, l. 1).

⁵⁵ Not in *Wb.*; see references in D. Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften in der Barkenkapelle des Chonstempels von Karnak* (Brussels, 2003), pp. 76-77.

⁵⁶ H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte* (Berlin, 1961-62), vol. 2, p. 822.

⁵⁷ *Urk.* I 149, ll. 1-3; also cited by Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 34.

⁵⁸ In Sethe’s handcopy the standing man is only holding a plain stick.

⁵⁹ Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, p. 926.

who predicts what will come⁶⁰ on the day of
cutting off/removal from communication

Although *stp* might possibly be related to *stp* “to choose” and mean “to recruit”⁶¹ or the like, another interpretation is possible. The parallel clause has *hrw ḥz*, so *hrw n stp m nd.t rȝ* should also refer to combat. In ancient warfare, communication on the battlefield was notoriously difficult, so the description “removal from communication” would be an apt description of combat during the First Intermediate Period; being able to predict events during the battle and execute preemptive strikes would mitigate the limited effects of battlefield communication. However, the lack of other examples of this word in a military context prohibits confirmation of this interpretation.

A previously unrecognized example of the verb *stp* also appears in some versions of the Decrees for/by Osiris on late funerary stelae:⁶²

*im̄i šn̄=tw stp r=f
wsr sw m ūfȝ.t*

Cause that the removal threatened against him be repulsed,
for he is powerful in awesome majesty!

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34 defines this word as “künftig geschehen,” citing only this example.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1269 defines *stp* as “*Rekrutierung” citing only this attestation (= Wadi Hammamat No. 258), following the translation of A. Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l’Ancien Empire égyptien* (Paris, 1982), p. 258.

⁶² Transliteration based on Turin 1569, l. 6 (for a photograph, see Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, vol. 2, pl. 20, fig. 72). Quaegebeur, in Kamstra, Milde, Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 109 translated: “faites que l’on repousse de lui l’abatage(?), lui étant puissant par le prestige,” identifying the *stp* with the verb meaning “to cut in pieces” (*Wb.* IV 336.3ff). De Meulenaere (*CdE* 63 [1988]: 237) questions the validity of the Turin stela (on which Quaegebeur’s translation is also based), noting that other stelae have the noun *sbyw* or a verb *stš* (probably a causative of *tš*, *Wb.* V 329.1-13, “to go away, retreat from;” one exceptional case uses the word *sdw*). Although the variants do not help in establishing the meaning of the verb *stp*, they further reinforce the negative connotations of the word.

The translation “removal” fits well in this context—the deceased possesses the proper qualities, so he should not be removed or excluded, particularly from the *wsh.t tp.t n Imnt.t*, mentioned earlier in the decree. The association of the verb *stp* with the entrance of the Underworld is reinforced by its occurrence in the Osiris decrees.

The verb *stp* expresses the sanctity and liminal nature of the entrance to the Netherworld—only Re and his entourage of deities and blessed spirits can enter the portal into this realm.⁶³ The portal leads to the upper portions of the Netherworld, and a different entrance is reserved for the damned.⁶⁴ Similarly, none of the damned can follow the sun god when he rises in the eastern horizon.⁶⁵

⁶³ There is no evidence to corroborate Zeidler’s assumption (*Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. II, p. 15 n. 1) that the people, gods, cattle, and reptiles have become the desert-dwelling deities. Select access to the Underworld is a feature of many solar hymns—cf. P. Berlin 3049, col. IV, l. 2: *Imn-r^r sh3p dw3.t r imn ss3z. w=f nn ‘r ntr.w rmq n snd-f* “Amun-Re who concealed the underworld in order to hide his mysterious, without gods or people being about to approach because of fear of him” (Gülden, *Die hieratischen Texte des P. Berlin 3049*, p. 22). Similarly, people are forbidden from entering the burial of Osiris at the island of Biggeh (Junker, *Götterdekret über das Abaton*, pp. 22, 31).

⁶⁴ L. Kákosy, “Selige und Verdammte in der spätägyptischen Religion,” *ZÄS* 97 (1971): 104, particularly the discussion of a Roman period mummy shroud in Moscow, where the entrance of the Underworld appears behind the deceased; the skeletal damned who are clearly blocked from this entrance climb the robe of the blessed individual in an attempt to gain entrance to paradise (for a color image, see R. Germer, “Mummification,” in R. Schulz and M. Seidel, eds., *Egypt, The World of the Pharaohs* [Cologne, 1998], p. 469; for a summary of the Roman material, with references, see D. Kurth, “Ein Weg zum ewigen Leben,” in K. Parlasca and H. Seemann, *Augenblicke. Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit* [Munich, 1999], pp. 92-3). For the “architecture” of the Netherworld, particularly the significance of the forecourt, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 421-3; for doors, especially those to the Underworld, see H. Brunner, “Die Rolle von Tür und Tor im alten Ägypten,” in W. Röllig, ed., *Das hörende Herz* (Freiburg und Göttingen, 1988), pp. 248-261. For the relationship between temple and netherworldly architecture in a Late Period context, see also the Conclusion, *infra*.

⁶⁵ Cf. Creation of the Solar Disk from the underside of the lid of Tjaihorpata (the parallel in the tomb of Ramesses VI, does not include this passage):

*ntsn wn.wt grh wn.wt hrw m p.t m dw3.t hry ntr.w
iwty ‘r mwt.w r ngsgs-sn wnw.t im-sn*

They are the hours of the night and the hours of the day in the sky
and in the Duat, beneath the gods,
without the dead rising up to overtake them and the hours amongst them.

^b The right eye of the cosmic deity is the solar disk,⁶⁶ indicating that the final statement of the annotation refers already to the rising of the sun in the eastern horizon.⁶⁷ A reference to the right, solar eye may also balance the lunar imagery in other portions of the First Hour of Gates.⁶⁸ Similarly, the right eye is paired with the night bark in some texts,⁶⁹ a further fusion of diurnal and nocturnal imagery.

NEW KINGDOM, SCENE 2

Depiction: Solar bark and two gods adoring *wsr*-staff
Text: Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, pp 4-6

i.n R^c n smyt
hd smy.t
psd n=t imity=ī
stp.n=(i) r=t_n mh.n=(i) stp n_tr.w ir.t^a
t₃w n=t_n imyw=ī
hd.wt n=t_n hnyyw^b
ʒh.t(-i) n=t_n
wd.n=ī stp=sn
stp n=sn ntt nb.t
imn=ī t_n r tp.w-t₃
db₃ sšd^c tp.w smy.t
i.n nn n n_tr.w
wsr.t tn wd-mdw n_tr ʒ

See *infra* for commentary to this passage and other parallels on the sarcophagi.

⁶⁶ E. Otto, “Augensagen,” *LÄ* I, cl. 566.

⁶⁷ Compare the allusions to the eastern horizon implicit in some of the figures in the First Hour of Amduat—see *infra* (Chapter 4, Type III Sarcophagi).

⁶⁸ Compare the two barks in the Second Hour of Amduat representing the solar and lunar disks (I. Hegenbarth, “‘O seht, ich gehe hinter meinem ʒh.t-Auge’ – Einige Überlegungen zu den Barken des mittleren Registers der zweiten Stunde des Amduat,” *SAK* 30 [2002]: 169-185). The lunar implications in the First Hour of Gates may have contributed to the variant text in the tomb of Padiamenemope, “for his left eye” (Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 35 n. 7).

⁶⁹ Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, p. 42 n. 4.

*s_t(n)=f h^c.w=f
my r=k r=n pr.n=n im=f
ihy n imy itn=f n_tr c₃ c₃ hpr.w
3w.t=sn m t₃ hnq.t*

So says Re to the desert:
“Light up, desert!
That in which I am (i.e. the disk) shines for you.
I have taken away your constituent elements,
and I have filled the thing which the gods of the eye have removed.
Breath be to you, those among whom I am!
Light be to you, those of the forecourt!
My luminous eye be to you,
you whose removal I have ordained, for whom everything is removed.
It is from those upon the earth that I am hiding you.
Tie on the fillet, gods upon the desert!”
So say these gods:
“As for the *wsr*-pillar, it is the command of the great god,
when he distinguishes his flesh.
Come to us, you from whom we have come forth!
Hail to the one within his sun disk, the great god, numerous of manifestations!”
Their offerings should consist of bread and beer.

^a The problems within this passage are legion—several of the orthographies appear to be incorrect and the core verb, *stp*, is only poorly understood. The solar deity addresses the “gods of the desert” and claims that some negative action—*stp*—has been done to them. As the above note demonstrated, *stp* means “to remove,” but the negative action in this passage is odd, since the gods later “tie on the fillet,” an act associated with resurrection. However, if *r* is understood as “fraction, constituent part,” then the logic of the statement becomes clearer—the parts of the gods are removed just like destruction of the fractions of the lunar disk, and like the moon/udjat eye their parts will be reconstituted.⁷⁰ The verb

⁷⁰ E. Otto, “Augensagen,” *LÄ* I, cls. 562-567; see further the extensive discussion of the filling of the udjat-eye in Chapter 3, below, commentary to the Judgment Hall of Osiris, Scene 33, Book of Gates.

mh is often used to describe the “filling” of the Eye of Horus with its *r*-parts.⁷¹ This interpretation further suggests that the round sign following *ntr.w* is to be read as a *pars pro toto* substitution for the *ir.t*-eye.⁷²

^b The lotus here has the value *hnt*.⁷³ The reading is assured by the parallel text in Scene 3,⁷⁴ where *hnty* is written phonetically.

^c The *sšd*-fillet around the head of the desert-dwelling gods directly relates them to the mythical refilling of the eye of Horus.⁷⁵ In the Pyramid Texts, the *sšd*-fillet is actually “spun” from the colored linens that make up the eye of Horus (Utt. 519; PT §§1201a-1202c):⁷⁶

⁷¹ *Wb.* II 392, 2 and *Belegstellen*, vol. 2, p. 580; note especially the Twentieth Dynasty example from TT65: *mh wdʒ htp.t(i) m r3.w=s* “Pacified with its constituent elements, the udjat-eye is filled.” For *r3.w* “parts” at Edfu, see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, p. 574, citing *Edfou*, vol. 1, p. 389, 1. 4.

⁷² Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, p. 17 has a similar interpretation of the sign, but divides the text slightly differently: “Die Menschen haben die “Füllung” ausgegliedert, obwohl die Götter das Auge nicht aufgegliedert hatten.” On p. 21 he cites CT 155 (= *CT* II 294-299a), an address to the *b3.w psdntyw* “the bas of the new moon,” as relevant to the passage from Gates. While the Book of Gates only alludes to the “parts” of the eye, CT 155 explicitly states the exact amount missing from the eye. For a more detailed analysis of CT 155 and its connection with the Judgment Scene from Gates, see *infra*.

⁷³ For this reading and references, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 65-66 n. 137.

⁷⁴ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 8.

⁷⁵ For a general description of the word, see Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, p. 935; for further commentary to the word *sšd*, see the commentary in Chapter 4 to the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night and Chapter 5, commentary to the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates.

⁷⁶ Compare also PT 1147a-b:

NN p(w) sšd pw n tms.t pr m ih.t-wr.t

NN p(w) ir.t tw n.t Hr

This NN is the red fillet which emerges from Ikhet-weret.

i Hr=f-h3=f iri-Wsir
 dd n Wsir
 di int-(i) n NN pn wi3=k pw
 d33 w'b.w=k im=f
 ir šsp n=k qbhw hr w'r.t tw n.t ihmw-sk
 d3i=f im=f
 hn' sšd pw ni w3d.t n(i) dmi
 st3i m ir.t-Hr ir wt db' pw n Wsir zi mr

O He-whose-face-is-behind-him, the doorkeeper of Osiris,
say to Osiris:

“Let me bring to NN this your bark,
 in which your pure ones travel!
 in order to obtain for you libations
 upon this region of Those-who-do-not-know-destruction,
 and so that he might travel within it,
 together with this fillet of green and red material,
 spun from the eye of Horus in order to bandage that finger
 of Osiris that had become sick.

The *sšd* in this Pyramid Text passage may be the Milky Way,⁷⁷ suggesting that the Egyptians viewed astral bodies, such as the moon and other constellations as the decomposition of the eye of Horus.

Furthermore, both the *sšd*-bandeau and the eye of Horus represent the triumph of Osiris over his enemies, through the victory of Horus. This aspect of the *sšd* appears elsewhere in the Underworld Books, especially in the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates and the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night, which occur on the Type IV (Tjaihorpata) and Type II sarcophagi respectively.⁷⁸

This NN is this eye of Horus.

⁷⁷ A. Volten, “Das Harpunierergestirn,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 350-2.

⁷⁸ See Chapters 3 and 5, *infra*.

NEW KINGDOM, SCENE 3

Depiction: Two gods with a ram-headed staff
Text: Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, pp. 6-11

In the New Kingdom versions of the text concerning the ram-headed pillar and desert gods, the first part of the text (Text A) appears to have been copied incorrectly, probably resulting from the carving of a retrograde text in a non-retrograde fashion.⁷⁹ The latter part of the text (Text B) is identical to the speech of the desert-dwelling gods in Scene 2. Since the Late Period versions are based upon the perturbated Text A, rather than the clearer version in Scene 2, it is important to reconstruct the New Kingdom Text A:⁸⁰

*hd.wt n=t_n n hnty
htp=f im=t_n
ʒh.t=i n=t_n
wd.n=i stp=t_n
stp n=sn ntt
imn.n=i t_n r tp.w-t₃
db₃ sšd tp.w smy.t
i.n nn n ntr.w
tp pn wd-mdw ntr ʒ s_n h^c.w=f*

Light be to you, on behalf of the one of the forehall,
so that he might rest among you.

My luminous eye be to you,
whose removal I have ordained,
for whom everything is removed.

It is from those who are upon the earth that I hide you,
o fillet-adorned ones upon the desert.

So say these gods:
“As for this head, it is the command of the great god, who distinguishes his flesh.”

⁷⁹ Mauric-Barberio, in Andreu, ed., *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois*, pp. 175-193.

⁸⁰ Following Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, pp. 39-41; the same rearrangement of the text is reproduced by Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, pp. 16-19.

The complete text of the New Kingdom versions allows for the reconfiguration of the text prior to the perturbation. However, the corresponding Text A on the sarcophagi only uses a few phrases from the original text, but does not correct the perturbation of the New Kingdom versions. This suggests two possible origins for the texts on the sarcophagi. First, a Late Period scribe might have made the same mistake and copied a retrograde text in a non-retrograde fashion, as is known for the Third Intermediate Period Amduat papyri.⁸¹ Second, and more probable, the sarcophagus version of the Book of Gates was copied directly from a tomb wall, sarcophagus, or papyrus that contained the perturbated text. Text A on the sarcophagi is coherent as an independent text, as the following translation and notes demonstrate; however, the underlying meaning of the passages is discussed with reference to the complete New Kingdom versions.

TYPE I SARCOPHAGI, TEXT A (LEFT)

Text: pls. 1-2

*ntr cʒ tni.n=f hč.w=f
i.n^a nn n ntr.{t}y tp-sn^b dbʒ m ssd*

“It is the great god has distinguished his flesh,”
so say these two gods whose heads are bound with fillets.

^a The quote of the desert gods precede the direct speech marker *i.n* on the sarcophagi. This is the more common use of the uniliteral verb *i* “to say” in religious texts as a

⁸¹ Sadek, *Contribution*, pp. 305-310.

whole.⁸² In the Underworld Books, however, *i.n* more frequently occurs before the quote.⁸³

^b The *tp n* in the New Kingdom versions begins the quote by the gods, but the Late Period scribes understood this as a defective writing of the third person plural suffix pronoun, since CG 29307 and Vienna 1 write *sn* under *tp*. Other sarcophagi (CG 29302 and MMA 11.154.1) keep the *n* of the earlier versions.

TYPE I SARCOPHAGI, TEXT B (RIGHT)

Text: pls. 1, 3

*i Imn mi r=k^a r=n
hry-tp pr=n im=f
ihhy n imi itn=f*

“O Hidden One, come to us!
O Lord from whom we came forth!
Praise to the one within his sun disk.”

^a The text on the sarcophagi follows the general principle discerned by Zeidler that the particle (*i*)*r=* is only used when Underworldly deities address Re.⁸⁴

The only text present in the second register of the sarcophagi is the label to the figure of the deceased: *dd mdw in Wsir N* “Words spoken by Osiris N.” The

⁸² R.O. Faulkner, “Verb *I* ‘to say’ and its developments,” *JEA* 21 (1935): 180-181.

⁸³ Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 1, pp. 140-41.

⁸⁴ *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 1, pp. 132-33; when the sun god addresses other beings in the Underworld, the imperatives are reinforced with *n=* or a dependent pronoun.

incorporation of the deceased into the company of the desert gods in the First Hour of the Book of Gates⁸⁵ does not simply mean that he will dwell in the western horizon amongst the blessed dead. Throughout the text accompanying the New Kingdom versions of the First Hour, the sun god's speeches emphasize removal—removal of all created beings from the gods of the region and removal of the constituent elements of the gods themselves. The interpretation of the text presented above suggests that this “removal” links the desert gods with the waning and waxing of the lunar disk/udjat-eye. Damage to the eye of Horus is not unique to the First Hour of Gates amongst the Underworld Books.⁸⁶ In the middle register of the Seventh Hour of the Book of Gates, a group of divinities are labeled:⁸⁷

ntr.w hr i3kbwt wd3.t

di=f nbw ntr.w m s3w=tн

The gods mourn over the udjat-eye,
while he places Gold-of-the-gods as your (the damned) guardians.

This passage suggests that the damned harmed the udjat-eye. Perhaps the strict separation of mankind and other creatures from the desert entrance to the Underworld is to prevent damage to the divine eye. The gods themselves remove the parts of the eye,⁸⁸

⁸⁵ The king is also inserted in this scene in the tomb of Ramesses III (Hornung, *Pfortenbuch*, p. 39).

⁸⁶ The lunar cycle, the damage and healing of the eye of Horus, might also be a theme in the Judgment Scene of the Book of Gates (see *infra*). Compare also the extensive Litany to the Eye of Horus in the tomb of Seti I (Hornung, *Seti I*, pls. 108-109, 112-113, 125).

⁸⁷ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, pp. 263-64.

⁸⁸ As in the resurrection of Osiris, a decomposition into constituent elements is a prerequisite for resurrection. One of the clearest expressions of this principle in Egyptian religion are the fourteen body parts of Osiris, which can be depicted in their disembodied state or carried separately in a process (H. Beinlich, *Die „Osirisreliquien.“ Zum Motiv der Körperzergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion* [Wiesbaden, 1984]).

and in this state of flux any intrusion of the chaotic elements of the world could have dire consequences.⁸⁹ Complete protection guarantees the refilling of the parts of the gods, just like the renewal of the udjat-eye.⁹⁰ The solar god is the obvious pictorial focus of the scene, but the underlying significance rests upon the lunar disk represented by the udjat-eye. The reconstruction of the solar eye in the First Hour of the Book of Gates is a necessary prerequisite to the successful emergence from the eastern horizon, as suggested by the presence of a complete udjat-eye in the lower register of the Eleventh Hour of Gates:⁹¹

*ir.t pw n R^c
ntr pn htp=f hr=s htp=s hr s.t=s m wi3*

It is the eye of Re.

This god rests upon it, so that it in turn might take up its place in the bark.

The now restored udjat-eye becomes the receptacle of the new born sun⁹² and assumes its rightful place in the bark of the sun god before ascending in the eastern horizon. This powerful apotropaic image similarly helps the occupant of the sarcophagus to navigate the Underworld and like Re, rise again into the world of the living.

⁸⁹ A similar protection of the lunar cycle may also underlie the decree concerning the Abaton, since the decree is made specifically for the ba of Osiris (Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, pp. 58-68), which at Philae and elsewhere is identified with the moon (Derchain, *La lune*, pp. 44-46). At another crucial event in the recreation of the sun, the descent into the egg of Sokar, all beings are banned from approaching the place (*ni p.n nfr.w zh.w mwt.w hr=s* “Gods, *zh*-spirits, and the dead cannot pass over it.” [Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 435]); the verb *stp* in the Book of Gates is expressing a similar removal of all other categories of life from the liminal area of the western horizon.

⁹⁰ For the connection between the parts of the udjat-eye and healing, see D. Kurth, “Die Ritualszene mit den medizinischen Instrumenten im Tempel von Kom Ombo (Nr. 950),” in M. Schade-Busch, ed., *Wege öffnen. Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach* (Wiesbaden, 1996), pp. 149-164.

⁹¹ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 372.

⁹² For the solar god being within the udjat-eye, see Darnell, *SAK* 24 (1997): 35-48. The doubts of Zeidler, *Pfortenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 33 n. 1 “Wohl kaum: ‘This god rests on it’” are unwarranted.

SIDE THREE: DEPICTIONS

After the scene from the First Hour of the Book of Gates, the Type I sarcophagus decoration proceeds to the corner of Sides One and Three. Side Three (pl. 4) contains a total of four scenes, whose labels and depictions are discussed below. Since the annotation above the figures on Side Three describe images on both sides of the Type I sarcophagi, the text is translated after the commentary to the depictions on Sides Three and Two.

SCENE 1

Depiction: Four kneeling figures underneath pouring pots

Scene/text: Plates 4, 5

Names of the figures under the pouring pots:

šw.ty	“He of the shade”
iškby	“He who mourns”
wtty	“He who begets”
sty	“He who illuminates”

There are few variants amongst the sarcophagi on which the figures bear labels.

On the sarcophagus of Wennefer, the label to the fourth figure is  rather than , but both of these are confused writing of *st̄i* “to illuminate,” based on the odd appearance of the animal skin sign in hieratic.⁹³

The sarcophagus chambers of the tombs of Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX contain a scene virtually identical to the depiction of the four kneeling gods on the Late

⁹³ As recognized already in *Wb.* IV 204.

Period sarcophagi; however, the New Kingdom versions depict the gods kneeling beneath bent shades⁹⁴ rather than pouring pots.⁹⁵ These large bent shades also appear in Section B of the Creation of the Solar Disk with *ba*-birds standing beneath them.⁹⁶ The shades are identical in appearance to *bh.t* fans, which can mark the divine nature of the living pharaoh in non-funerary contexts.⁹⁷ However, since these figures are clearly divinities, the importance of the shades and subsequent pouring pots may lie entirely in the netherworldly realm. In the Underworld Books, the sun disk can also be “great of shadow (*εʒ šw.t*)”⁹⁸ so the shades above the figures indicates the presence of the solar deity in the Underworld.

⁹⁴ Ramesses VII: Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pl. 116; Ramesses IX: Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 91. The interchange of shades and bas was noted already by Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 32, n. 1. For an intermediate depiction in a Saite Period tomb, see Assmann, *Mutirdis*, pl. 25b, Scene 20—only the tops of the shades are visible, but their shape shows a stage in the development from the half-circles of the New Kingdom to the cylindrical shape of the pouring pots in the Late Period (Assmann, *ibid.*, p. 72 mistakenly identifies them as *ḥz*-plants, an identification he extends to the clearly depicted shades in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk; however, for the possible relationship between the depiction of plants and fans, see Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, pp. 153-5).

⁹⁵ Pouring pots occur in scattered Late Period Underworld Books representations. In the papyrus of Djedkhonsuiufankh II, female figures stand in a body of water with small vessels in their hands—these vessels are being filled by a large pouring pot (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 22, 6th vignette); unfortunately no annotation accompanies this image. Note also the pot-headed entity from P. Skrine quoted below.

⁹⁶ For the association of *ba*-birds and shade-signs, primarily in punishment scenes, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 164 n. 5. See Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, p. 223-4 for a listing of the occurrences of *šw.t* in the Books of Amduat, Gates, and Litany of Re; she characterizes the role of the shade in two ways: “Träger des Ba-Prinzips” and “Repräsentant der Leichnam-Komponente” (p. 235).

⁹⁷ L. Bell, “Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun,” in P. Posener-Kriéger, ed., *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, (Cairo, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 31-60.

⁹⁸ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 11, l. 1. This passage is also discussed by George, *Schatten als Seele*, pp. 91-2.

The change from bent shade to pouring pot was most likely the result of iconographic confusion, helped by the similarity between the earlier figures and the hieroglyph for *w'b* (). However, a religious motivation may also have contributed to the interchange. Shades, which provide relief from the sun's rays, thus indicating the presence of the divine solar disk, may be replaced by a pot pouring water, if that water is also proof of divine presence. The existence of such "divine water" is suggested by the label to a mummiform figure from a late Litany of Re papyrus with a pouring pot in place of a head:⁹⁹

i mw ntry pr m psg () *R'*

ih di=k mw ntry

sw'b=k s.t n.t Wsir N

O divine water which has come forth from the spittle of Re.

May you give the divine water!

May you purify the place of Osiris N.

The sun disk produces light, which can be envisaged as liquid.¹⁰⁰ Both the pouring water and the shades provide coolness and demonstrate the proximity of divinity. The iconographic confusion of shape was helped by a similarity in theological significance of the two objects.

SCENE 2

Depiction: Two mourning women

Scene/text: Plates 4, 6

Nb.t-hw.t "Nephthys"

Ist "Isis"

⁹⁹ P. Skrine 2, Blackman, *JEA* 5 (1918): pl. V.

¹⁰⁰ For the interchange of light and water, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 147-48.

These mourners are engaged in the *nwn*-gesture—a straightforward expression of mourning with a complex set of meanings. It involves pulling the hair, typically flipped forward over the face,¹⁰¹ and although most commonly attested for women,¹⁰² it can also be performed by men.¹⁰³ The disheveled hair represents the chaos of death, yet the hair locks can be compared to the waters of Nun or described as producing fresh air.¹⁰⁴ The act of mourning involving the movement of hair thus aids in the reawakening of the deceased. The effectiveness of mourning, specifically the *nwn*-gesture, in the resurrection of the corpse is evident in a passage from the Litany of Re:¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ During a period of mourning, the hair would be completely undone and allowed to hang freely, on this see Koenig, *Le papyrus Boulaq 6*, pp. 78-9 and the traditional study for this topic, Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, “Une coutume égyptienne méconnue,” *BIFAO* 45 (1947): 185-232. Hair continued to be an important aspect of mourning into the Greco-Roman period, but rather than growing the hair long, it was cut off, as Isis does in the Greek Osiris myth (G. Nachtergael, “La chevelure d’Isis,” *L’Antiquité classique* 50 [1981]: 584-606).

¹⁰² Desroches-Noblecourt, *BIFAO* 45 (1947): 219 n. 4 citing depictions from M. Werbrouck, *Les pleureuses dans l’Égypte ancienne* (Bruxelles, 1938). For a textual description of this action, performed by Isis as on the sarcophagi, compare P. Boulaq 6, recto VII, l. 6 (Koenig, *Le papyrus Boulaq 6*, p. 76): *p3y=s q3s w3h.w m-b3h=s* “Her hair-lock remains before her.”

¹⁰³ Male deities are shown in this position in the second register of the Second Division of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 10). For a translation of the text relating to these figures, see *infra*.

¹⁰⁴ R.V. Martin, “Les cheveaux des pleureuses dans le rituel funéraire égyptien. Le gest *nwn*,” in Z. Hawass, ed., *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century* (Cairo, 2003), vol. 2, pp. 548-555.

¹⁰⁵ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 223-24. This passage from the Litany of Re is paralleled by Chapter 180 of the Book of the Dead (Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 1, pl. CCIV Pa, ll. 9-10) and is strikingly similar to part of Book of the Dead Spell 168, which even refers to Osiris as Djeba-demdj (translation in Burkard, *Spätzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien*, pp. 25-26, however in p. 25 n. 23 he unjustifiably rejects Allen’s translation of <tear their hair>—the verb *wn* in BD 168, especially based on the Litany parallel, is almost certainly to be read <*n*>*wn*). For the beneficial aspects of screaming and mourning, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 183-5, 366-68; Smith, *Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, pp. 21-22 and n. 53; Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, pp. 82-83.

$iʒbky.w\ nwn=sn\ hr=k\dots$
 $h^{cc}\ bʒ=k$
 $hwt-sn$
 $ʒh\ hʒ.t=k$
 The mourners pull their hair because of you ...
 That your *ba* rejoices,
 is when they scream
 and when your corpse becomes effective.¹⁰⁶

In the Underworld Books, mourning is an oft-repeated gesture, and other compositions depict gods and goddesses with their hair before their faces in an act of mourning.¹⁰⁷ The two mourning figures of Isis and Nephthys here are identical to those in the tomb of Ramesses VII,¹⁰⁸ where they appear next to figures beneath shades. Similar mourners are also present in a more elaborate scene in the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of Ramesses IX. In the upper right hand corner of left wall, four female figures in the *nwn*-gesture stand around a sarcophagus containing a prone, bearded mummiform figure, while a sun disk crowns the scene. The annotation reads:¹⁰⁹

$nn\ n\ ntr.t\ m\ shr\ pn$
 $iʒkb-sn\ hr\ iʒ.t\ štʒ\ n.t\ Wsir\ dbʒ.t-dmd$
 $sn\ sbh-sn\ dṣy-sn\ hr-tp\ iʒ.t\ štʒ-irw$
 $iw\ R^c\ dwi-f\ sn\ wd-f\ sn$
 $iʒkb-sn\ R^c$
 $dʒwʒ-f\ bʒ\ ntr\ pn$
 $shd-f\ kkw\ imy.w\ iʒ.t=f$
 $bʒ.w=sn\ 'p=sn\ r-ht=f$
 $imy(w)=k\ ht-sn$

¹⁰⁶ Translation of Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 183-4.

¹⁰⁷ For the Book of Caverns, see above. Book of Quererets: Cavern 8, Group 3, prone females with hair locks are labeled as “mourners” (Piankoff, *Wandering of the Soul*, pp. 56-7); similar representations occur in other caverns.

¹⁰⁸ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pl. 116. No annotation accompanies these figures.

¹⁰⁹ Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 92.

*h3.t=ī nt(y) ḡ.wy=sn m ḡ.wy=sn
sšt3.w=sn m dbc.w=sn
hkn=sn n=ī*

These goddesses are in this fashion,
as they mourn over the mysterious mound of Osiris,
Djebat-demēd.¹¹⁰

They themselves cry out atop the mound, secret of visible forms.
Re calls them and commands them.

It is when he (Re) adores the ba of this god (Osiris),
and when he illuminates the darkness which is in his mound,
that they mourn.

Their bas follow him.

(Re says) “Your entourage is in their following.
and also my corpse, which is in their protection (lit. “arms”).

Their mysteries are at their fingertips,
as they praise me.”

The mourners in the tomb of Ramesses IX surround the body of Osiris over whom hovers a sun disk. The mourning is directly linked with the illumination of the corpse by Re—when he “adores” (e.g. shines upon) his corpse, the goddesses aid the Osirian resurrection with their mourning cries. On the sarcophagi, a sun disk does not appear directly over the mourners nor over the Osirian corpse, however, the presence of the shade-bearing figures emphasizes the presence of the disk. In the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses IX, the mourners around corpse appear above the shade figures, and the text next to those four deities includes the same description of Isis and Nephthys mourning as on the sarcophagi. The scenes on the sarcophagi and in the tombs of Ramesses VII and IX are thus permutations on a single original template.

¹¹⁰ On this form of Osiris, see *infra*.

SCENE 3

Depiction: Catfish-headed gods and Aker
Scene/Text: Plates 4, 7

Unlike the other scenes on Side Three, the depiction of the catfish-headed deities and Aker is not paralleled in the tombs of Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX, although it does appear on the New Kingdom sarcophagi on which the Type I sarcophagi are based.

Names:

Catfish-headed deity no. 1: *Nry* “He of the catfish”
Catfish-headed deity no. 2: *Hssy* “He of the catfish”
Human-headed being grasping disk: *I3kr*^a
Catfish-headed deity no. 3: *Qdy* “He of (fish) form”
Catfish-headed deity no. 4: *Rhsy* “He relating to slaughter”
*Rs*y “Wakeful one”¹¹¹

^a Spelled as *iwkr* in the New Kingdom versions, this name is a variant of the name “Aker,” the earth god who is depicted as a double-sphinx in the Underworld Books.¹¹²

The human form of Aker here is unique, but may hearken back to the hieroglyph representing Aker already in the Pyramid Texts, which has two human heads on either

¹¹¹ Variant on the sarcophagus of Nesshutefnut, spelled phonetically without the expected *rs*-sign. This variant might allude to the protective qualities of the figures (see below).

¹¹² A comprehensive work on this interesting deity is yet to be written. For basic bibliography, particularly in earlier texts, see G. Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs in den Pyramidentexten* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 2002), p. 55 n. 4, and B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 13-14.

side of a land sign;¹¹³ this hieroglyph was still used in the Eighteenth Dynasty in the archaic “songs of the drinking place.”¹¹⁴

Catfish-headed deities are uncommon in the Underworld Books, although they appear prominently in two scenes from the Book of Caverns.¹¹⁵ In the Second Division of Caverns,¹¹⁶ four catfish-headed deities (alternately referred to as *n̄ri* and *ḥssy*) within sarcophagi are said to “become/develop from Osiris” and are closely associated with Mekhentyenirty, both considered to be “blind” gods. In the first register of the Third Division of Caverns, seven catfish-headed deities are depicted beneath a large Nehebkau snake;¹¹⁷ this direct association of fish-headed gods and a snake alludes to one of the main duties of fish in the solar cycle—to forewarn the sun god of Apep.¹¹⁸ The connection between Aker and catfish is unattested outside of this scene and their joint occurrence in the Third Division Book of Caverns.¹¹⁹ However, both entities share the

¹¹³ J.R. Ogdon, “Some Notes on the Name and the Iconography of the God 3KR,” *VA* 2 (1986): 127-28. No anthropoid depictions of Aker are mentioned by S. Wenig, “Aker,” *LÄ* I, cls. 114-5.

¹¹⁴ The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall, Translation and Commentary* (Chicago, 1994), pl. 26, l. 8.

¹¹⁵ The one catfish-headed deity in Amduat appears in the middle register of the Eighth Hour, called *sšm iffi* “image of the catfish” (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 145, no. 569).

¹¹⁶ For a translation of this passage, see Chapter 5, *infra*. A crocodile-headed god labeled *ḥss* also appears in the scene of the awakening of Osiris in the tomb of Mutirdis (Assmann, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, pp. 91, 93 and pl. 41).

¹¹⁷ Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1943): pl. 27 and p. 17 for names of the catfish, which includes one *ḥssy*; Barguet, *RdE* 28 (1976): 27 has interpreted these catfish as the seven vertebrae of Nehebkau.

¹¹⁸ A. Belluccio, “Les poissons célestes,” in C.J. Eyre, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (Leuven, 1998), p. 135 and pp. 141-2.

¹¹⁹ Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, pp. 116-117. The anthropomorphized Aker on the Type I sarcophagi are closer to the sphinx (e.g. human-headed) forms of Aker in the Fifth Hour of

ability to protect the body of Osiris. In Caverns and the Creation of the Solar Disk, the mummy of Osiris rests beneath the Aker lion, who assumes an unambiguous sheltering role. In the early periods of Egyptian religion, fish serve as the protectors of the corpse of Osiris¹²⁰ and in the Late Period, the fish-headed *Srqt* is one of the 77 guardian deities of Pharbaithos.¹²¹

The key to understanding the mysterious egg or disk-shaped object in the hands of Aker and thus the entire scene lies in another text from the Book of Caverns, specifically a label to two figures in the second register of the First Division where a god and a goddess each lift up a disk. The annotation calls the disk the *sšt3 n Wsir* “mystery of Osiris,”¹²² a rare attribution of the designation *sšt3*, normally describing the corpse, to the solar disk.¹²³ Similarly, the catfish in the annotation on the Type I sarcophagi are said to “receive the *št3*-mystery,” which must describe the egg/disk-shaped object on the rope.

the Book of Amduat and the Third Division of the Book of Caverns than the fully leonine forms in the Creation of the Solar Disk (for a comparison of these scenes, see S. Schott, “Zum Weltbild der Jenseitsführer des neuen Reiches” [NAWG, 1965], pp. 185-197).

¹²⁰ Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, pp. 115ff. However, one identification of catfish in the predynastic period requires correction. J. Capart, “Cultes d’El Kab et préhistoire,” *CdE* 14, no. 28 (1939): 213-17 (followed by Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, p. 117) identifies a figure on a predynastic leather garment as a catfish-headed deity, comparing it with the depictions on these very sarcophagi. Rather, the apparent antennae on the predynastic figure are feathers adorning a rounded cap; based on similar figures found carved into the cliffs at the site of “Dominion Behind Thebes” in the Western Desert (J.C. Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey 2: The Rock Inscriptions of Dominion Behind Thebes*, forthcoming), we can now identify the figure on the leather garment as a Tasian and not a predecessor of the catfish-headed deities in the Underworld Books.

¹²¹ Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens*, vol. 1, pp. 270-73; catfish as guardians also appear at the temple of Edfu (Chassinat, *Edfou*, vol. I, p. 511; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 493 compares them to the deities on the sarcophagus of Nesshutefnut, but misidentifies them as “goddesses.”).

¹²² Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942): pl. 5, l. 5.

¹²³ See the commentary to the text from the Book of Caverns on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, which provides the clearest reading of the key word *št3*, see *infra*.

In this case, the “mystery” is the chthonic disk, which is created within the Underworld,¹²⁴ and becomes the place in which Re and Osiris join in order to be reborn. The responsibility of the catfish over the mystery of Re-Osiris is similar to the gods with veiled arms “who carry the mystery” in the Sixth Hour, 38th Scene of the Book of Gates:¹²⁵

*i.n n=sn R^c
šsp n=t_n sšm.w=i
inq n=t_n št₃.w=i
Re says to them:
“Receive for yourselves my forms!
Clasp to yourselves my mystery!”*

A scene in the Book of Gates further elucidates the mechanics of the scene. In the first scene of the Eighth Hour (Scene 48), twelve deities grasp a rope from which emerges human and falcon heads as well as *dmd*-signs; they are labeled *hryw nwḥ msi sšt₃w* “those who carry the rope which gives birth to the mysteries.”¹²⁶ The annotation indicates that the rope is also used to haul the solar god, which provides an explanation for the egg/disk in the hands of Aker. In both scenes, a rope related to the solar mysteries represents the path of the sun through the Netherworld.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ As stated explicitly in the Fifth Division of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 57, l. 6): *ms r=f R^c in t₃ ms itn=f hnty dw₃.t* “Just as Re was born by the earth, so was his disk born preeminent in the Underworld.” For the nominal passive *sdm-f* forms in this passage, see Baumann, *Suffix Conjugation*, p. 331.

¹²⁵ Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 226.

¹²⁶ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 275 and vol. 2, pp. 192-194.

¹²⁷ For Aker, in leonine form, closely associated with the rope used to haul the solar bark, see the lowest register of Section A of the Creation of the Solar Disk, termed the “Book of Aker” by Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pp. 70-73. Also compare the rope leading from the disk inside the unified Re-Osiris on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 86).

SCENE 4

Depiction: Ram-headed god and solar disk with two staffs and two rejoicing men
Scene/Text: Plates 4, 8

Names:

Ram-headed god: no label
Wsr-staff: *wsr R* “neck of Re”
Ram-headed staff: *tp R* “head of Re”
Rejoicing men: no label

Neither the ram-headed god in this scene nor the sun disk before him is labeled, and there is no overt reference to this scene in the annotation. However, similar representations in temples and other funerary texts indicate the deity’s role in the decorative scheme of the Type I sarcophagi. One parallel to this figure is another enigmatic representation—Anubis with a disk, known from two scenes at Deir el-Bahri and Dendera, which Ritner has interpreted as Anubis and the lunar disk, a hypostasis of Osiris.¹²⁸ Since the disk in Scene 3 with Aker and the catfish is called the *št3*, just like the corpse, this scene may provide another connection between the disk and corpse, furthered by the interchange of the solar and lunar disks. The relationship between the *št3* and sun-disk that forms a major part of Scenes 3 and 4 is secured by an image in the Creation of the Solar Disk, where a ram-headed god and snake-headed god bend over a sun disk from which emerges a falcon head. The annotation unambiguously refers to the disk as the *št3*:¹²⁹

šzp-sn Hr-dw3.ty pr=f m št3.t=f imy dw3.t

¹²⁸ “Anubis and the Lunar Disk,” *JEA* 71 (1985): 149-155.

¹²⁹ Piankoff, *Le création du disque solaire*, pl. 17, l. 2 (text 11).

They receive the Underworldly Horus,
as he emerges from his mystery which is in the Underworld.

In Egyptian iconography, especially in the Underworld Books, the ram-headed staff and *wsr*-staff personify the head and neck of Re.¹³⁰ Similar staffs, labeled as the *tp R* and *wsr Itm* appear in Section B of the Creation of the Solar Disk atop the “arms of darkness” and guarded by the crocodile Penwenty.¹³¹ The ram-head of the sun god (labeled *tp R*) also emerges from the body of the same crocodile in scenes from the tombs of Ramesses VII and IX.¹³²

With the exception of MMA 11.154.1,¹³³ these two staffs occur at the end of Side 3 at the corner with the foot end of the sarcophagus. The placement of the *wsr*-staff near the feet of the deceased parallels the *frises d'objects* on Middle Kingdom coffins, where the *wsr*-sign is depicted near the feet, in conjunction with a bird-headed staff.¹³⁴ The Middle Kingdom origin of this image is further suggested by a statement of Shu in Coffin Text Spell 80:¹³⁵

¹³⁰ For example, the First Hour of Gates, including the version found on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun; Section B of Creation of the Solar Disk. An interesting pairing of rams and jackals appears on large posts accompanying depictions of the sed-festival of Osorkon II, but there the entire animals are depicted (D. Kessler, “Widderallee, Widderstab und das Sedfest,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* [Budapest, 1992], pp. 343-353).

¹³¹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 15, text V.

¹³² Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 66; Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 92.

¹³³ On the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV, both examples of the *wsr*-sign and ram-headed pole occur at the corners with the *head* end of the sarcophagus.

¹³⁴ Jéquier, *Les frises d'objects*, pp. 87-90. Jéquier already recognized the connection between the decoration of the Middle Kingdom coffins and the Late Period sarcophagi.

¹³⁵ CT II 37h-38b.

ink r fnd=f^c.wy=i hr=f
 nhm=i sw m-^c 3pp
 sd3=f r 3h.t imnt.t
 sw3d=i b^cn.t imy.w mskt^ct imy.w m^cnd.t m nfw.t=i
 I am at his nose and my arms carry him,
 so that I might protect him from Apes,
 and he might reach the western horizon.
 I cause the neck which is in the night-bark and the day-bark to flourish
 by means of my breath.

The men beside each staff with both arms raised, may be an allusion to Shu or his children the Heh-gods who cause the neck of their creator Atum-Re to breathe. The position of the arms can also be characterized as the *m3^c-hrw* gesture—an allusion to Re's triumph over Apes throughout the course of the solar journey.¹³⁶

Scene 4 on the Type I sarcophagi shares several features with a scene in the tomb of Ramesses VII, where an *wsr*-staff provided with praising arms stands opposite a ram emerging from the earth, holding its legs in praise.¹³⁷ Between these two beings stand two praising figures facing away from a central solar disk. The tomb of Ramesses VII replaces the “neck” and “head” of Re by an *wsr*-staff and ram-figure (rather than ram-headed staff) representing the “neck of Re” and “corpse of Re.” The description of the head and neck of Re is rather laconic in the annotation on the sarcophagi, but the text accompanying the scene in Ramesses VII elaborates upon the cosmic nature of the depiction:¹³⁸

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
 hknw=sn n irw R^c h3.t 3 imy 3h.t h3.t ntr št3.t
 di=sn 3=sn n b3-b3.w

¹³⁶ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 406-407.

¹³⁷ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pl. 117.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

*iw R^c dwi=f sn
pr=sn m qrr.ty(?)*

These gods are in this fashion,
as they praise the visible form of Re, the great corpse within the horizon,
the mysterious divine corpse,
they extending their arms to the Ba of Bas.¹³⁹
Re calls them,
and they emerge from the double cavern(?).

SIDE TWO: DEPICTIONS

SCENE 1

Depiction: Ithyphallic mummy with guardian deities

Scene/Text: Plates 9, 10

The first scene of Side Two is dominated by an ithyphallic figure inside a large oval attended by two female figures in a gesture of adoration within the oval, while a male and female pair flanks each side of the oval.¹⁴⁰ Although the iconography sometimes exhibits small changes, the basic scheme remains the same. In several of the sarcophagi, the only labeled figures are those outside the oval.

Names:

- Figure 1 (male): *Twȝy^a* “He who supports”
- Figure 2 (female): *Twȝy(t)^a* “She who supports”
- Figure 3 (male): *ᬁspy^b* “He who receives”
- Figure 4 (female): *ᬁspy(t)^b* “She who receives”

¹³⁹ On the ba of bas, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 78-80.

¹⁴⁰ Another similar scene appears in the Tomb of Mutirdis, but the mummy is on top of the mound and is also embraced by two arms in addition to being praised by various deities (Assmann, *Mutirdis*, p. 71 and pl. 25a, Scene 17; unfortunately the text is entirely destroyed).

^a Like all the figures surrounding the oval, this male-female pair have their arms raised in adoration, so it is also possible that the spelling *twʒ* represents the word *dwʒ* “to adore” (*Wb.* V 426.6ff). Several of the sarcophagi determine the name with a standing adoring

figure (; see pl. 10), but this is an attested determinative for *twʒ* “to support” (*Wb.* V

 248.12ff) as a variant to the more usual determinative (); the lack of a star (N14) in the spelling of *twʒ* also argues against reading the word as “to adore.” On the lid of CG 29301, which contains the same scenes as the long sides of the Type I sarcophagi, the

 word *twʒ* is determined explicitly as .¹⁴¹ In addition to orthographic reasons, the reading “he/she who supports” is accepted here, because it provides an excellent parallel with “he/she who receives.” The two pairs of deities create a strong allusion to scenes of the solar cycle, where the sun disk is supported by one pair of arms, but received by another.¹⁴² Their roles are similar to Nut and Nun in the concluding scene to the Book of Gates,¹⁴³ who respectively receive the sun in the evening¹⁴⁴ and raise the reborn solar disk in the morning.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 14.

¹⁴² H. Schäfer, “Altägyptische Bilder der auf- und untergehenden Sonne,” *ZÄS* 71 (1935):15-38; E. Hornung, “Zu den Schlußszenen der Unterweltbücher,” *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 217-226.

¹⁴³ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 410, vol. 2, pp. 289-92.

¹⁴⁴ The same verb *šsp* is even used of the Nut figure who stands atop Osiris (and receives the sun disk for him) in the concluding scene to Gates—Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 410. For *šsp* in the concluding scene to the Book of Gates, see also A. Niwinski, “Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen religiösen Ikonographie der 21. Dyn. (2). Der Entwicklungsprozess der thebanischen ikonographischen Sonnenlaufmotive zwischen der 18. und 21. Dynastie,” *GM* 65 (1983): 83-85.

¹⁴⁵ For the sun being reborn from a raised arm, specifically the hand of Osiris (in his guise of the unified Re-Osiris), see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 391-8.

^b In addition to the parallelism with the male-female pair “those who support,” the names of these two deities are given extra significance by a detail in the representation of this scene. The semen from the prone, ejaculating Osiris-figure extends outside of the sarcophagus and flows directly into the upraised hand of the male figure Šspy (see pl. 10). A similar action is described in the “clepsydra” scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX—a label to the third goddess facing the ithyphallic figure reads:¹⁴⁶

*hry s̄t̄=s m Pn-št̄zy(t)
h3w wtt=f m snfy
šsp=f sn*

She who is in charge of her “shooting”¹⁴⁷ as Penshetayt,
when his ejaculate descends upon the “Flaming-Child”¹⁴⁸
and he receives it.

The semen of the ithyphallic Osiris within the clepsydra flows onto the head of the flaming child, who “receives” the semen, just like the adoring figure on the sarcophagus who catches the ejaculate in his hand.

On the sarcophagus CG 29307, a label appears within the large oval sarcophagus:

 These signs do not label the ithyphallic Osiris, rather they are the

¹⁴⁶ Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, p. 64.

¹⁴⁷ This refers to the stream of light traveling from the disk in here hands to the stars surrounding the ithyphallic figure, but could also suggest ejaculation—for the two meanings of *s̄t̄* “to shoot (arrows, light, etc.), to ejaculate,” see W. Westendorf, “Schießen und Zeugen. Eine Gemeinsamkeit afrikanischer und ägyptischer Vorstellungen,” in E. Endesfelder, et al., eds., *Ägypten und Kush* (Berlin, 1977), pp. 481-486.

¹⁴⁸ The seated child painted red atop a brazier-sign; in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, he is also labeled *snfy*. For more on this flaming child, see *infra* and Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 319.

names of the two female figures within the sarcophagus, as demonstrated by the parallel in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses IX¹⁴⁹ where the right goddess is labeled  , the left goddess is labeled     . These odd names and the seemingly confused writing on CG 29307 are not easy to identify, but the defining feature of the goddesses is their attitude of praise, so the names could be read as *tw* “praiser” and *twy.t* “adorer.” The depiction of this scene on the lid of CG 29301 provides an illuminating variant. The two female adorers are placed outside of the sarcophagus, the right goddess wears the throne-crown of Isis with the label *Is.t* before her, while the left goddess wears Nephthys’ crown and is labeled *Nb.t-hw.t*. In the sarcophagi where the goddesses are not labeled, these two praising goddesses are likely representations of Isis and Nephthys, exactly as one would expect in a scene of the resurrection of Osiris.

The most interesting and complex figure of this scene is the ithyphallic figure within the oval, which is clearly intended to depict a sarcophagus.¹⁵⁰ Although the figure is prone, his legs are spread as if in motion—this position is often used to express the “awakening” of Osiris.¹⁵¹ The posture of Osiris and the two female adorers shares much with the Osiris “bed scenes” commonly depicted in Greco-Roman temples.¹⁵² The prone

¹⁴⁹ Guilmant, *Tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 91; the signs as he copied them are not entirely clear.

¹⁵⁰ For further discussion on the term *db3.t* “sarcophagus,” see *infra*.

¹⁵¹ Compare the corpse of Khepri in the Sixth Hour of Amduat (see *infra*).

¹⁵² For a small collection of parallels, see L. Gestermann, “Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil II,” in R. Gundlach and W. Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische*

Osiris is often depicted as ithyphallic and in a striding position. A particularly interesting parallel to the sarcophagus scene is the famous tableau in the Temple of Opet,¹⁵³ where an ithyphallic Amun-ba hovers above an ithyphallic Osiris, while the Ogdoad stands to either side, much like the two male-female pairs in the sarcophagus scene. The depiction of the Osiride figure within his sarcophagus can further be read as the epithet of Osiris from P. BM 10299:¹⁵⁴ *rs wdʒ hnty dbʒ.t* “who awakes sound, foremost of the sarcophagus.” The epithet *rs wdʒ* is expressed visually through his animation (striding legs) and virility (ithyphallic), and Osiris’ body is contained within his oval sarcophagus.

The ithyphallic Osiris occupies only one of five sarcophagi which appears in the decoration of Side Two. The other four mummies have *ba*-birds perched atop their sarcophagi, but the initial scene does not depict the corpse of Osiris with the expected solar *ba*, such as a hovering disk. However, the erect phallus may explain the apparent omission of the *ba* of Osiris, for sexual potency itself calls to mind the *ba*-element. A passage from the Coffin Texts even suggests that the *ba*-soul is produced through the ejaculation of Osiris:¹⁵⁵

*ink bʒ pw cʒ n Wsir
wd.n ntr.w nk=f im=f ...
ir.n Wsir m rdw imy iwf=f
m mtwt pr.t m hnñ=f*

I am this great *ba* of Osiris,
which the gods commanded to copulate with him ...
which Osiris has made of the efflux which is in his flesh,

Königtum (Wiesbaden, 1999), p. 107 n. 25. Cauville, *Dendera, Les chapelles osiriennes*, vol. 3, pp. 201-202 identifies the depictions in the Osiris chapels as Osiris-*Mhw*, the drowned Osiris.

¹⁵³ Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d’Opet*, vol. II, pl. 4.

¹⁵⁴ R. Caminos, “A Prayer to Osiris,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 21, l. 2.

¹⁵⁵ *CT* II 67c-68c, repeated in 77a-78b.

and of the semen which came forth from his phallus.

The Coffin Text passage indicates that the *ba* of Osiris is likely a latent feature of the ithyphallic Osiris scene on the sarcophagi. In the Third Division of the Book of Caverns, an ithyphallic Osiris is protected by a serpent and located beneath Aker; the accompanying text fits the various elements of the Osirian corpse together (*ba*, flesh, and putrefaction):¹⁵⁶

R^c *dd=f r qrr.t <t>n*
i h3.t n.t imn-b3=f Wsir hq3 imn.t
št3.t snt h3p.t iw3
tm.t ‘r n=s mwt.w
‘nh.t imy.w imn.t m ssnt sti hw3.t=s

Re speaks to this cavern:
“O corpse of He-hidden-of-*ba*, Osiris, ruler of the West,
hidden of flesh, concealed of putrefaction,
whom the dead cannot approach,
on the scent of whose rot those within the West live.”

In the beginning of this passage, it is clear that the *ba* of Osiris is hidden, explaining the lack of representation in the Third Division of the Book of Caverns and Side Two, Scene 1 of the Type I sarcophagi. Furthermore, this passage from Caverns has particular significance for the sarcophagi, because the Third Division shares three major elements with the sarcophagi decoration—catfish, Aker, and the ithyphallic Osiris. The description of the Netherworld dwellers breathing from the putrefaction of Osiris is very similar to the description of breathing through tears and blood in the annotation on the sarcophagi (see below).

¹⁵⁶ Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1943): pl. 35, ll. 2-3.

The rotting deities mentioned in the annotation on the Type I sarcophagi are said to accompany the ‘ȝ “Great One,” which must be a reference to the ithyphallic Osiris. This identification is further clarified by an interesting variant of the scene of the adorers around the sarcophagus which appears in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses VII. In Scene 9 of that chamber, four gods bend over the “sarcophagus of the Mysterious One (*dbȝ.t štȝ*)” in which is the *ȝh.t*-eye of Re.¹⁵⁷ Like the ithyphallic Osiris on the sarcophagus, the *ȝh.t*-eye shoots out a flaming liquid into the hands of the adoring deities. In a nearby scene, an *wsr*-pole and ram adore a disk; the annotation in the tomb of Ramesses VII reads:¹⁵⁸

hkn-sn n irw R^c
ȝȝ.t ‘ȝ(t) imy(t) ȝh.t
ȝȝ.t ntr štȝ.t

They praising the visible form of Re,
the great corpse which is in the horizon,
the secret divine corpse.

The *wsr*-pole and ram in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses VII correspond to an *wsr*-pole and ram-headed pole on the Type I sarcophagi, but the meaning of the image remains unchanged. These representations of the eastern and western horizons adore the “great corpse,” the ithyphallic Osiris, who on the sarcophagi is called simply ‘ȝ “Great One.” A final and even more significant parallel is offered by the representations of the giant Re-Osiris figure in the cryptographic Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pl. 118 upper left.

¹⁵⁸ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pl. 17; translation of Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 93.

¹⁵⁹ For an extensive discussion of this cosmic god, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, Chapter 6.

The comments made thus far on the ithyphallic Osiris figure apply to the New Kingdom royal sarcophagi as well as to the Late Period Type I sarcophagi. However, four Type I sarcophagi contain a significant iconographic change: the ithyphallic figure is headless.¹⁶⁰ The headless Osiris deserves a detailed examination, because major discussions of headless figures have overlooked this depiction of an ejaculating, ithyphallic *Akephalos*. Most notably the connection between headlessness and sexual virility can be profitably enhanced by this obvious depiction of the two concepts.¹⁶¹

The headless form of Osiris is essentially a “magically powerful, solar deity.”¹⁶² The depiction of the *Akephalos* on the sarcophagi as an ejaculating ithyphallic figure indicates his role as creator deity, and this image, first attested in the Twentieth Dynasty, provides an Egyptian origin for the pronounced creative aspects of *Akephalos theos* in the Greek magical papyri.¹⁶³ The Underworldly nature of the *Akephalos* on the Type I sarcophagi persists through the Greco-Roman period, when magical texts describe the headless creator lying within a coffin.¹⁶⁴ The qualities of headlessness and virility, as

¹⁶⁰ CG 29302, CG 29323, BM EA 66, MMA 11.154.1 AB.

¹⁶¹ J. Berlandini, “L’‘acéphale’ et le rituel de revirilisation,” *OMRO* 73 (1993): 29-37 includes an extensive collection of references to headlessness and the publication of a small sculpture that may show a headless figure atop a woman, but makes no reference to the important depictions of Late Period sarcophagi. These depictions may provide further evidence for the Twenty-Ninth through early Ptolemaic date Berlandini assigns to the sculpture she publishes. The evidence collected here is also further proof against Ritner’s assertion (*The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, p. 168, n. 779) that headlessness is uniformly negative.

¹⁶² Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 119; for support of this statement, see the wealth of textual references cited in *ibid.*, pp. 119-120, some of which are quoted again here.

¹⁶³ *PGM* V.99-100: “who created earth and heaven, who created night and day, you who created light and darkness” (tr. D.E. Aune, in *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, H.D. Betz, ed., p. 103).

¹⁶⁴ *PGM* VII. 237-8 and *PGM* VIII. 97-8. Compare the headless mummy in the Khoiak festival who is placed within a receptacle, upon which is a scarab wearing a *tnw*-crown, a perfect mixture

well as the process of resurrection, are shared by the *Akephalos*-Osiris on the sarcophagi and later magical documents. As has long been recognized, Σερφουθμουισρω on the Greco-Roman magical gems¹⁶⁵ is identical with the Egyptian epithet *srpt-msi-sr* “Lotus-lion-ram,” from Chapter 162 of the Book of the Dead.¹⁶⁶ In P. Salt 825, one of the names of the books which are housed in the *pr-chn* is called *pʒ iwty tp=f* “The (book) of the one without a head;”¹⁶⁷ the popularity of the headless Osiris in the Late Period may be related to the use of such ritual books.¹⁶⁸ The headless Osiris on the Late Period sarcophagi continues the New Kingdom representations of this deity and fully exploits his dual nature as a solar-Osirian being which lived on in the magical texts of the Greco-Roman period.

SCENE 2

Depiction: Four mummies in sarcophagi with ba-birds above

Scene/Text: Plates 9, 11

First mummy:

Wennefer:  rsy “He who awakens”

of solar and Osirian imagery (É. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak* [Cairo, 1968], vol. II, p. 596-7; see also the similar “Osirian” scarab with atef-crown in the tomb of Padiamenemope—F. Daumas, “La scène de la résurrection au tombeau de Pétosiris,” *BIFAO* 59 [1960]: 63-80).

¹⁶⁵ Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles magiques*, p. 45.

¹⁶⁶ A. Klasens, “An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty,” *OMRO* 55 (1975): 25; for the classic discussion of the two trigrams in BD Chapter 162, see M.-L. Ryhiner, “A propos de trigrammes panthéistes,” *RdE* 29 (1977): 125-137; also Kaper, *The Egyptian God Tutu*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁷ Col. X, l. 4, reading proposed by A. Klasens, “An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty,” *OMRO* 56 (1975): 25-26; for references see also Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 115-117.

¹⁶⁸ The text of P. Salt 825 probably derives from earlier material, but the extant copy dates to the period around the Thirtieth Dynasty, contemporaneous with the sarcophagi treated here.

Second mummy:

Wennefer; Louvre D8:  whȝy^a “He who escaped”
CG 29302: šȝsy “He who wanders”

Third mummy:

Wennefer:  šȝsy^b “He who wanders”
CG 29302: whȝy “He who escaped”

Fourth mummy: no label

^a No *wphȝy* occurs in the *Wb.*, but if the *p*-socle is interpreted as a simple stroke, this word could be read as *whȝy* (*Wb.* I 339.1ff).

^b The *hȝ*-plant used on the sarcophagus of Wennefer is most likely a substitution for the šȝ plant, since both qualify as three-pronged plant signs.¹⁶⁹

The labels to the second and third mummies both allude to qualities of movement, more applicable to the *ba*-birds than the otherwise inanimate corpse. However, the hieroglyphic labels are inside the sarcophagi, and the name of the first mummy “He who awakens,” is more appropriate to a mummy rather than a *ba*-bird. A passage from the Fourth Division from the Book of Caverns¹⁷⁰ lends credence to the reanimated mummies on the Type I sarcophagi:

[*iw itn=i ‘q=f kkw*]

¹⁶⁹ Compare identical substitutions of *hȝ*-plant for šȝ-plant in the Book of the Night and Creation of the Solar Disk cited by Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 48 n. 67 and the discussion of the substitution of three-pronged plant signs on pp. 48-49 and 94-95. Also possible is *hsȝ* (*Wb.* III 160.7ff), with a meaning like “slimy one, he of the mucus,” but the word on the sarcophagus differs significantly in spelling.

¹⁷⁰ Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pl. 52, ll. 5-6.

b3.w=sn h^c.w m hsf.w=i
 [iw itn=i 'q=f kkw]
h3.wt=sn 'r=sn r=sn ...
 [My sun disk enters the darkness,
 so that their bas rejoice at my approach,
 [My sun disk enters the darkness,
 so that their corpses draw near to them ...

Numerous parallels exist for *ba*-birds perched atop ovals containing mummies,¹⁷¹ although the closest parallel is the scene from the “Book of Aker” in the Tomb of Ramesses VI and the two “Aker” papyri.¹⁷² In the papyrus of Djedkhonsuiuesankh, *ba*-birds are adorned with shade signs, reminiscent of a description in the Book of Amduat:¹⁷³

wnn=sn m shr pn m dw3.t m iwf=sn n d.t=sn ds=sn
mdw b3.w=sn hr=sn
htp šw.wt=sn hr=sn
m-h̄t dwi=sn sw

In this fashion do they exist in the Duat, in the flesh of their own bodies,
 their *bas* speak over them,
 their shades descend upon them
 after this great god calls to them.

¹⁷¹ New Kingdom: Section B from the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. B; Piankoff and Rambova, *Ramesses VI*, pl. 121b), Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns, first register, first scene (only two ovals with Anubis between them); Ramesses IX sarcophagus chamber, right wall (only human heads and arms are visible above the mounds that cover the sarcophagi—Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX.*, pl. 92). Third Intermediate Period: Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, pp. 206-208 (subtype A.III.1b—papyri which mix Amduat iconography with figural representations from the Book of the Dead) and figs. 79-80 (Paris 25 and 17) and Marseille 3. In the papyrus of Amunhotep (Cairo nos. 31 and 43; Third Intermediate Period), *ba*-birds are perched atop mounds with mummies in close connection with a headless mummy depicted in the register below (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 26). The lower register of the Third Hour of the Book of the Night depicts *bas* as human figures arising from their own prone mummies (Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 198-200, vol. 2, pls. VII-VIII).

¹⁷² Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. A, pp. 70-73.

¹⁷³ Third hour, upper register (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat I*, pp. 278-79).

In the papyrus of Khonsumes, the *ba*-birds and their mummies are related to furnaces:¹⁷⁴

*nn ntr.w m shr pn
w.t=sn (hr) s3t hry.t
b3=sn (hr) hknw n R^c
š.wt=sn (hr) sti hry
h3.t=sn hnty db3.t*

These gods are in this fashion,
their mummy wrappings guarding the furnace,
their bas praising Re;
their shades lighting the furnace;
their corpse foremost of the sarcophagus.

This passage highlights an element that is curiously lacking from the annotations on the Type I sarcophagi—there is no mention of punishing enemies. The omission of punishment of the damned from the decorative scheme is also true for the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of Ramesses IX;¹⁷⁵ in the tomb of Ramesses VII, the lower register of the right wall depicts two bound enemies being guarded by gods “who are in control of bindings.”¹⁷⁶ The sarcophagus chambers of Ramesses VII and IX do not contain the scene with the *ba*-birds atop the mummies.

SCENE 3

Depiction: Ram-headed deity and two praising gods
Scene/Text: Plates 9, 12

Ram-headed deity: no label

¹⁷⁴ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 74. George, *Schatten als Seele*, pp. 64-5 also discusses this passage and its accompanying image.

¹⁷⁵ However, the lowest part of the walls, where one would most expect such scenes to occur, is damaged.

¹⁷⁶ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pl. 118.



First praising deity:  *ȝwy* “He belonging to Great One”



Second praising deity:  *htpy* “Pacifier”

These three divinities balance the three divinities in Scene 4 of Side Three of the sarcophagus. The ram-headed deity in this scene holds a *was*-scepter and ankh-sign rather than bending over a disk, but he is accompanied by two gods with their arms raised in jubilation. Although separated on two sides of the sarcophagus, Scene 4 of Side Three and Scene 3 of Side Two are both centered on the *wsr*-pole and ram-headed pole representing the head and neck of Re.

SIDE THREE: ANNOTATION

The two long walls of the sarcophagi contain columns of text above the depictions of the gods and goddesses within the Underworld.¹⁷⁷ The annotation is continuous,¹⁷⁸ and the text on one side may refer to a scene on the other. As with the depictions, much of the annotation has parallels in the sarcophagus chambers of the tombs of Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX; in those chambers, the annotations are divided to accompany each individual scene. The annotation on the Type I sarcophagi have been divided into

¹⁷⁷ In most cases, the texts reads in a normal fashion, beginning at the head end of Side Three; Nesshutefnut (Vienna 1) begins the annotation at the foot end of Side Three.

¹⁷⁸ The version of the text on the sarcophagus of the dwarf Djedher is particularly convincing in this respect, since the text which occurs at the beginning of Side 2 on most sarcophagi (*i n n'ry.w...*) appears at the end of Side Three.

sections, based on the description of particular divinities or units of speech by Re or responses by the Underworldly denizens. However, not all of the annotation can be assigned to a particular image; cross-references are made to the scene discussions above where appropriate.

Section 1: Kneeling gods beneath pouring pots

Depiction: Side Three, Scene 1

Text: pls. 13-15

Parallel: Guilmant, *La tombeau de Ramsès IX.*, pl. 91, ll. 16-18; Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 65

*nn n ntr.w m shr pn
‘.wy=sn m rk^a tp.w=sn
šw.t hr=sn hnn=sn hr=sn^b
iʒkb=sn hr hʒ.t štʒ n.t Wsir^c hnty Dwʒ.t*

These gods are in this fashion,
with their arms near their heads,
the shade(s) before them ever hovering upon them,
when they mourn over the secret corpse of Osiris foremost of the Duat.

^a The phrase *m rk* (*Wb.* III 458.3) can be used in Late Egyptian texts like the word *hʒw* “vicinity,” but in a funerary context, the prepositional phrase commonly occurs as a description of the arms being near the face during an act of mourning. For example, in the Second Division of the Book of Caverns, a figure pulling his hair in mourning is described in the following way:¹⁷⁹ ‘.wy=f m rk hr=f “his arms are before his face.” Hornung claims the description on the sarcophagus originates in the annotation to the drowned in the Tenth Hour of Amduat,¹⁸⁰ but does not elaborate further. Although the

¹⁷⁹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 15, l. 9.

¹⁸⁰ *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 123, n. 1; part of the speech of Horus to the drowned reads (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 733): *i mh.w snk m Nwn ‘.wy=sn m rk hr.w=sn* “O drowned ones, dark in Nun whose arms are before their faces!”

figures under the “shades” are actually depicted under pouring pots on the Late Period sarcophagi, the connection between these figures and the drowned seems at best tenuous. Rather, the annotation claims that these figures “mourn” over the corpse of Osiris and the description of their hands is a further allusion to their grief.¹⁸¹

^b The “shades” in the annotation appear as pots pouring out liquid over the kneeling male figures.¹⁸² The annotation states that the shades are not only before the figures, but also “alight” upon them.¹⁸³ This apparent redundancy affirms the blessed state of these beings, because the shades of the damned are incapable of resting upon their corpses:¹⁸⁴

iwty htp šw.wt-sn hr h3.wt-sn
without their shades resting upon their corpses

¹⁸¹ For numerous parallels of mourning women seated in the same position as the figures beneath the shades, with their hands raised before their face, see the depictions collected by Werbrouck, *Les pleureuses*, pp. 147-9; compare also the great number of mourners, either standing or kneeling, that are depicted with their arms before their face on pp. 145ff., *passim* and the commentary of Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, pp. 65ff. It is possible that the gesture of the kneeling men also alludes to the position of the arms of Osiris in the concluding scene of the Book of Gates (for the suggestion that Osiris is mourning over himself in that scene, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, p. 282 n. 4).

¹⁸² For commentary on the iconography of the shades/pots, see above.

¹⁸³ The causative of the verb—*shni*—is also attested in conjunction with shades as early as the Middle Kingdom (George, *Schatten als Seele*, pp. 84-5).

¹⁸⁴ *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pl. 34, l. 1. This is one of numerous passages describing the punishment or complete nonexistence of the shades of the damned in the Underworld—a collection of such occurrences in religious literature appears in George, *Schatten als Seele*, pp. 28ff. and Hornung, *Höllenvorstellungen*, pp. 30-31.

The union of the shade and the corpse, a corollary to the more commonly expressed union of ba and corpse, is a necessary prerequisite for a successful existence in the other world.¹⁸⁵

^c Unlike the spelling of Osiris in the epithet “Osiris N,” the divine name is written as —  in most of the Late Period sarcophagi,¹⁸⁶ as it appears already in the texts on the sarcophagi of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV.¹⁸⁷ The corpse of Osiris does not appear anywhere among the depictions on Side Three of the sarcophagus, so it is almost certain that the corpse mourned by the figures under the shades is the ithyphallic figure on the opposite side of the sarcophagus (Side Two, Scene 1). If the two sides are treated as contiguous scenes, as the unity of the annotation suggests, then the beings under the shades are oriented towards the corpse over which they mourn.

Section 2: Two mourning goddesses

Depiction: Side Three, Scene 2

Text: Pls. 15-17

Parallel Text: Guilmant, *La tombeau de Ramsès IX.*, pl. 91, ll. 18-20; Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 65

*ntr.ty ndri sm3y.t^a=sn
h3i mw imy ir.ty nn n ntr.ty
m sny^b m snf*

¹⁸⁵ W. Schenkel, “Schatten,” *LÄ* V, cl. 536. For further discussion of bas and shades, see *infra*.

¹⁸⁶ Two notable exceptions are BM EA 66 which writes št3 “the Mysterious One” and CG 29317 which writes mn “so-and-so.”

¹⁸⁷ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 123 n. 5; further examples of this orthography are listed by Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 329 n. b. An exceptional spelling of the divine name as  occurs in l. 6 of CG 29317.

dw3.tyw srq im-sn^c

It is the two goddesses who pull their tresses,
while water descends from eyes of these two goddesses,
being tears and blood.

It is the Underworldly beings who breath by means of them [the tears and blood].

^a The description of the two goddesses, Isis and Nephthys, begins with an unintroduced cleft sentence,¹⁸⁸ describing the *nwn*-gesture they are performing. Orthographically, this section is particularly interesting, since it is one of the few examples of Ptolemaic-style

signs on the sarcophagi: *sm3y.t* is spelled with the sign  representing the “union of Upper and Lower Egypt.”¹⁸⁹ The use of the word *sm3y.t* “hair-lock, individual tresses”¹⁹⁰ fits well with the depiction of the goddesses, since they are tugging on only a thin strand of hair from their normal wigs. For references on practices involving hair during mourning, including parallels to mourners pulling on locks of hair, see the discussion to the depictions of Isis and Nephthys (Side Three, Scene 2, above).

^b As Hornung noted,¹⁹¹ this word is probably a nominal version of the verb *snty* “beweinen” of *Wb.* IV 177.9. The reading of this unusual word for tears is further

¹⁸⁸ For the nuances of the cleft sentence without *in*, see the references collected by Baumann, *Suffix Conjugation of Early Egyptian*, p. 27 n. 48.

¹⁸⁹ It is possible (although not likely) that this writing alludes to the coiffure of the Meret-goddesses—the symbolic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt. For Isis and Nephthys assimilated to Meret goddesses and sometimes wearing the papyrus and lotus, see Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, pp. 230ff.

¹⁹⁰ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, p. 841—she derives the specific meaning “individual tresses” from the phrase *sm3yw n šnw*.

¹⁹¹ *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 123, n. 8.

supported by the parallels listed in the next note, where Underworldly beings breathe by means of tears.

^c The tears and blood flowing from the mournful eyes of Isis and Nephthys serve as breath for the residents of the Underworld.¹⁹² Tears as a source of breath appears in the name of a uraeus guarding a chest in P. Salt 825, *nb.t rm(y) ‘nh-s im=f* “Mistress of the tears from which she lives”¹⁹³ and features in an excerpt of the Decree of the Abaton from the Temple of Philae:¹⁹⁴

*šsp Ws̄r rmm m r3=t
snsn b3=f m rmy.t*
May Osiris receive the mourning cries from your mouth!
May his ba breathe by means of the tears!

The *nwn*-gesture of mourning creates breath, as when Isis beats her wings,¹⁹⁵ and here the tears of the mourners have positive effects on the deceased, including inducing breathing. The bodily efflux of blood and tears further mimics the unlikely nourishing

¹⁹² Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 122, translates the passage as “Die Unterweltlichen atmen durch sie, wenn dieser große Gott zu ihnen spricht ...” He does not identify the referent for *im-sn* in his commentary, nor does he explain why the verb *srq* follows the subject *dw3.tyw* (one could possibly assume an omitted preposition, but that is unlikely in this corpus). Additionally, Hornung’s translation assumes that *iw ntr 3 mdw=f n-sn* is a circumstantial clause, meaning that the text uses a Late Egyptian circumstantializing *iw*; while a circumstantial *iw* + noun + *sdm-f* does occur rarely in the corpus of Underworld Books (Baumann, *Suffix Conjugation of Early Egyptian*, pp. 155-6 lists three examples from Caverns), there is no semantic reason (e.g. preceding a nominal *sdm-f*) to assume such a rare form here.

¹⁹³ Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, Col. XII, ll. 2-3.

¹⁹⁴ Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, p. 6.

¹⁹⁵ See above.

qualities of putrefaction, quite well attested in the Underworld Books.¹⁹⁶ In the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates, mummies breathe their own rotting fluids:¹⁹⁷

‘nh=t_n m hw₃.t=sn
srq=t_n m iw₃.w=sn
May you live from their rot!
May you breathe from their putrefaction!

The annotation in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses VII describing four kneeling gods under shades and Isis and Nephthys pulling their hair locks ends here.

However, the Ramesses VII text is not complete, ending with the group ✳ .¹⁹⁸

Section 3: Re addresses Underworldly gods and their *bas*

Depiction: Side Two, Scene 2 (?)

Text: Pls. 17-18

Parallel Text: Guilmant, *La tombeau de Ramsès IX.*, pl. 91, ll. 21-22

iw ntr ‘₃ mdw=f n=sn b₃.w=sn
‘q=sn ht=f
‘p b₃.w=sn^a

This great god speaks to them and their bas,
so that they follow him,
and their bas pass by.

^a The exact sequence of events expressed in this section is convoluted, but can be determined by a careful look at the variants. The text on the sarcophagus of the dwarf Djedher (CG 29307) omits a sentence and simply has: *iw ntr pn ‘₃ mdw=f n=sn b₃.w=sn*.

¹⁹⁶ L. Pantalacci, “WNM-HW₃₃t: genèse et carrière d’un génie funéraire,” *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 306-308. For breathing liquids, see also Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 170 n. 9 and Coffin Text Spell 373, with the express purpose of allowing the deceased to breathe in the water.

¹⁹⁷ Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 115.

¹⁹⁸ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 65.

This suggests that *b3.w-sn* is a coordinate object, thus Re is addressing both the gods and their bas. This understanding of the passage suggests a specific referent on the sarcophagi—the scene with four bas standing over the mummies within oval sarcophagi (Side Two, Scene 2). The statements in the other versions (*'q-sn ht=f 'p b3.w-sn*) also indicate that Re's speech has an effect on the gods and their bas.

An annotation in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses IX¹⁹⁹ is identical to the text on the sarcophagus until this phrase. To the right of the annotation are figures beneath shades, while above, four goddesses pull their tresses around the sarcophagus of Osiris. The last sentence reads: *iw ntr pn '3 mdw=f n-sn b3-sn 'p-sn m-hf* “This great god speaks to them, and their bas follow him.” The parallel text suggests that the speech might also be directed at the divinities beneath the shades/pots and the mourning goddesses.

Section 4: Re addresses the secret mound and its guardians

Depiction: Side Two, Scene 1

Text: pls. 18-21

Parallel Text: None

*dd.w R^a r hbs s̄sm-sn hr i3.t ntr imn.t shr=s^b
 i ntr.wy ntr.ty nty m-hf i3.t=tn št3^c
 i mtn Wsir N 'p=f hr=tn b3.w=tn
 hkn-sn srq-sn
 sw 'q=f^d sn
 iwty sw(t) m33-sn sw^e*

What Re says in order to clothe their image upon the divine mound,
 whose appearance is hidden.

“O you two gods and two goddesses who are in the following of your secret mound.
 Behold, Osiris N has passed over you and your bas.”
 They give praise, so they might breathe

¹⁹⁹ Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX.*, pl. 91.

when he enters them,
but without them seeing him.

^a The Late Period versions follow *dd.w* by a circle and two slanting strokes, suggesting a reading of *zp sn*—“what is said twice.” Although specifications of repetition are extremely common in magical instructions and medical texts, they are rare in the Underworld Books. It is likely that the apparent *zp sn* is merely a confusion from the original sun disk and stroke of the New Kingdom text (e.g. the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV).²⁰⁰

^b The “mound, hidden of condition” is another reference to the Osiris figure who rests inside a large oval sarcophagus (Side Two, Scene 1). The expected term for sarcophagus is *db3.t* or *hn*, but the burial place of Osiris is often a mound rather than a man-made receptacle.²⁰¹ The phrase *i3.t imn.t shr.w=s* is thus an appropriate label to the Osirian sarcophagus.²⁰²

^c This statement is a precise description of the fourth scene in the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of Ramesses VII—two gods and two goddesses emerge from four separate

²⁰⁰ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 122 translates this section as: “Ihre Ba’s treten ein, wenn Re gesprochen hat,” taking *dd* as a suffix-conjugated form; considering the presence of an *w*-coil and plural strokes, his interpretation is unlikely.

²⁰¹ For a combination of *hn*-sarcophagus with the *i3.t* mound, compare the depiction in the Edifice of Taharqa (Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *Edifice of Taharqa*, pl. 25; Koemoth, *Osiris et les arbres*, pp. 168-170).

²⁰² For other examples of such mounds, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 289-293. Note also the connection between the cube-statues of Ihy and Hetep (Twelfth Dynasty) and the *i3.t*-mounds in the Underworld Books—A. Eggebrecht, “Zur Bedeutung des Würfelhockers,” in S. Lauffer, ed., *Festgabe für Dr. Walter Will* (Köln, 1966), pp. 143-163

mounds with their arms raised in adoration of Osiris. This scene is not accompanied by any text, but is placed amongst other scenes parallel to the depictions on the Type I sarcophagi.²⁰³ The shocking specificity of the description strongly suggests that the annotation on the sarcophagi originally belonged to a composition that once included the scene of deities emerging from mounds, now known only from the depiction in the tomb of Ramesses VII. For a more general reconstruction of this new Underworld “book,” see *infra*.

^d The use of *sw sdm-f* is not an example of a Late Egyptian First Present form,²⁰⁴ but is rather a use of an archaic grammatical construction common in the Underworld Books.²⁰⁵

This form is already present in the version of the text on the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV:

*hkn-sn
srq-sn m wi²⁰⁶
‘q=i sn iwty sw(t) m33-sn wi*

They give praise,
so that they might breathe,
when I enter them, without them seeing me.

²⁰³ It appears in the same register as the sarcophagus of the ithyphallic Osiris flanked by four deities—see *infra*.

²⁰⁴ Pace Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 123 n. 17.

²⁰⁵ W. Barta, “Das Personalpronomen der *wj*-Reihe als Proklitikon im adverbiellen Nominal-satz,” *ZÄS* 112 (1985): 94-104; Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 1, pp. 150-52. K. Jansen-Winkel, “Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu den „Unterweltbüchern“” *SAK* 32 (2004): 219-223 disputes the earlier interpretation and offers new readings of some passages containing the *sw sdm-f* form, but does not offer an alternative theory explaining the prevalence of this construction in the Underworld Books.

²⁰⁶ From the photo in Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pl. 93, the bird is clearly a quail chick and not the *b3*-like bird copied by Lefébure, *Les hypogées royaux de Thèbes*, pl. 29; Hornung does not comment on the presence of the dependent pronoun and reproduces the copy of Lefébure.

^e The negative circumstantial *iwty sdm=f*²⁰⁷ is here combined with the enclitic particle *swt*,²⁰⁸ spelled defectively in all versions without the *t*. The *sdm-f* form which follows *iwty* can be either the nominal *sdm-f* or the prospective *sdm-f*,²⁰⁹ the gemination of *m33* indicates that the former occurs here. The interpretation of *iwty* exclusively as a adjectival or nominal converter²¹⁰ is unconvincing in this passage, although such uses are present elsewhere in the Underworld Books.²¹¹

Section 5: Re addresses the catfish-headed gods

Depiction: Side Three, Scene 3

Text: Pls. 21-22

Parallel Text: None

*dd.w R^c n n^cry.w
šsp=sn št³ imi-t³^a*

What Re says to the catfish,
when they receive the secret of the One-within-the-earth.

²⁰⁷ W. Barta, "Subjunktivische Konjunktionen als Einleitung von Umstandssätzen," *GM* 90 (1986): 7-10.

²⁰⁸ Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, §841; *GEG* §254.

²⁰⁹ Baumann, *Suffix Conjugation*, pp. 73-75, 259-260.

²¹⁰ Jansen-Winkel, *SAK* 32 (2004): 210-217; Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 1, pp. 186-88.

²¹¹ For example, in a passage similar to the text on the sarcophagus, *iwty* seems to negate a nominal *sdm-f* in a way similar to *tm*, maintaining the ability to emphasize an adverbial adjunct (Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pls. 14-15 [cited by Jansen-Winkel, *SAK* 32 (2004): 216]):

*iw ntr pn ‘3 dwi=f b3.w=sn
iwty m33=f sn n ‘3 sti=sn iw3=sn
This great god calls to their bas.
But because of their stench and putrefaction he does not see them.*

^a The One-within-the-earth is a designation of the unified Re-Osiris in the Underworld, and is thus applied both to Re²¹² and Osiris²¹³ in the corpus of the Underworld Books. Although the “mystery” of the unified Re-Osiris is usually the corpse of the god,²¹⁴ the catfish on the sarcophagi are not directly associated with a body, but rather the egg/disk shaped object on the rope (see *infra*).

On the sarcophagus of the dwarf Djedher, the speech to the catfish-headed deities is written on Side Three of the sarcophagus, unlike the other sarcophagi that begin the speech on Side Two. The unique text layout of Djedher is continued in the rearrangement of the text on Side Two in comparison with the other versions.

SIDE TWO: ANNOTATION CONTINUED

Section 5 (continued): Re addresses the catfish-headed gods

Depiction: Side Three, Scene 3

Text: Pls. 23-24

Parallel: None

*i (nn) n n^cry.w nty šsp=sn^a št3.w imi t3
tn srq=i b3=t_n
‘q Wsir N
srq=i b3=f*

O, these catfish who receive the secrets of the One-within-the-earth.
I cause your *bas* to breathe!
It is so that I might make his *ba* breathe

²¹² Litany of Re, 43rd Address—Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 50, written with the seated god determinative as on the Type I sarcophagi. For this designation, see also Hornung, *Das Amudat*, vol. 2, p. 12

²¹³ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 123 n. 20, citing *idem*, *Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 164.

²¹⁴ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 123 n. 20; see also *infra*.

that Osiris N enters!

^a Most versions write the word *šzp* as the verb “to receive” with the strong-arm determinative, while CG 29302 determines the word with the standing mummy and plural strokes, suggesting an alternate translation: “O catfish whose secret *forms* are within the earth.” The sarcophagus of Pairykap (BM EA 66) similarly uses variant text:


ntt m šsp(+)=sn štʒ imy tʒ “who are in their mysterious forms which are within the earth.” However, every version, with the exception of Pairykap, follows *tʒ* with a seated god, suggesting that *imy-tʒ* is a designation for the sun god (see above), and that *sšp* is to be understood as a verb.

Section 6: Re addresses the rotting mummies

Depiction: Side Two, Scene 2

Text: Pls. 24-28

Parallel: None

*dd.w R^c^a n ȝwy.w^b imi.w-ht^c³^c
iwy.w imi.w-ht^c₃
iwy.w ntyw ndr.w^d m štʒ.w-sn
hʒ.wt-sn^e ȝ.(w)^e im-sn
hʒy tn n=tn imyw=tn n=tn
i hʒy.w n=k Wsir N*

What Re says to the putrefying ones in the company of the Great One,
to the rotting ones who are in the company of the Great One:
“O rotting ones who are surrounded with their mysteries,
whose corpses have been engendered by means of yourselves.
Hail to you and those amongst whom you are!
O hail to you, Osiris N!”

^a As on the right side annotation, several sarcophagi write *zp sn* rather than *R^c* (as is written in CG 29302). For a discussion of this phenomenon, see note above.

^b The Egyptian terms for decomposition are numerous, and this text utilizes two particularly interesting words for putrefaction: *ȝyw* and *iwty*. The first is not listed in the *Wb.*,²¹⁵ although it could be a miswriting of *ȝs* (*Wb.* I 20.13), “Leichengestank;” the second is probably a permutation of the word *iwty* (*Wb.* I 48.15) defined broadly as “digestion productions” by Zandee,²¹⁶ but more commonly applied to the fluids produced by a rotting corpse.²¹⁷ The terms for putrefaction describe the mummies upon whom *ba*-birds perch—they are literally rotting next to Osiris who is within his own sarcophagus. The closest parallel for Osiris accompanied by other rotting deities appears in Spell 1131 of the Coffin Texts:²¹⁸

ii.n=i mȝn=i Wsir,
‘nh=i r-gs=f
hwȝ=i r-gs=f

I have come so that I might see Osiris,
that I might live by his side,
that I might rot (*hwȝ*) besides him.

²¹⁵ It does not appear in von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte* or the extensive glossary in R.L. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual*, P. Vindob. 3873 (Leuven, 1993), and the list of terms for putrefaction in Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*.

²¹⁶ *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 73-4.

²¹⁷ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 116 n. 167, commenting on the 60th Address to Re as the *iwtyw* “rotting one.” A collection of divine names using the term *iwtyw*, of which a fair number exist, appear in Leitz, et al., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter*, vol. 1, p. 157 (they omit the example from the Type I sarcophagi). Compare also *Urk.* V, p. 76, ll. 6-9 (Middle Kingdom antecedent to Book of the Dead Chapter 17, §31): *nḥm-k wi m^c ntr pw tȝȝ bȝ.w nsb iwtyw ‘nh m hwȝȝ.t* “May you save me from that god who seizes bas, who licks up efflux, and who eats putrefaction.”

²¹⁸ *CT VII* 473g-h.

In the passage from the middle register of the Fourth Hour of Gates cited above, mummies breathe their own putrefaction (*hwʒ* and *iwtyw*); that text also notes that the mummies are protected by their bas,²¹⁹ which is not depicted in the Book of Gates, but provides textual parallel for the rotting corpses protected by their bas on the sarcophagi.

Interestingly, Re speaks directly to the rotting corpses in the annotation. In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk *wršy.w*-mummies are only addressed through their ba-spirits, “because of the stench of their rotting efflux (*iwtyw*).”²²⁰ A close examination of parallel texts, such as these, highlights not only similarities between the Underworld Books, but also instances where the same concept is used for opposing purposes.

^c In all versions of the text, ⲥ “Great One” is not qualified further, nor are there any determinatives present outside of a bookroll. The somewhat cryptic reference is an allusion to the giant unified Solar-Osiris as the cosmic deity who fills all of space,²²¹ represented here as an ithyphallic being (sometimes headless) inside a sarcophagus (see above).

^d The verb *n̄dr* is normally used to express a violent grasping action against an enemy (*Wb.* II 382.18ff.). In older uses, the usually transitive verb *n̄dr* can have its object introduced by the preposition *m*. However, neither of these interpretations fits the present

²¹⁹ Horning, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 115; Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, pp. 94-95.

²²⁰ Piankoff, *Le création du disque solaire*, pl. 14, l. 1-15, l. 1. For further discussion of this passage, see *infra*.

²²¹ For a discussion of the “Giant Deity” see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, Chapter 6.

passage, but a use of the verb *n̄dr* in the medical texts, where a wound is *n̄dr* “bound” with various items²²² is appropriate to the description of the mummies within their sarcophagi. Their rotting corpses are similarly surrounded by a container—their sarcophagi.

^c The description of self-engendering corpses fits only Scene 2 on Side Two of the Type I sarcophagi, depicting four *ba*-birds each perched over a mummy. Although *ba*-spirits are famous for their virility,²²³ in the annotation to the Type I sarcophagi, it is the corpses who are sexually potent. The corpse creates “by means of itself,” but the exact object it creates is not apparent; the accompanying depiction, however, suggests that the corpse creates its own *ba*-spirit. The ejaculation of the *ba* of Osiris is explicitly described in Coffin Text Spell 94 (cited above). Other parallels suggest that the corpse recreates itself as well as its *ba*-spirit. The 44th Address of the Great Litany similarly describes the postmortem creation of the corpse with the verb ‘ȝ’ “to ejaculate:”²²⁴

*ḥknw n=k Rȝ qȝ shm
qmȝ sȝtȝ ‘ȝ hȝ.t
twt is hȝ.t sȝtȝ
Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Who creates the mystery, who engenders the corpse!
You are indeed the corpse of the Mystery.*

²²² *Wb.* II 383.1-2; von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, vol. 1, pp. 499-500.

²²³ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, pp. 101-3. For the sexual virility of the *ba* with an ithyphallic corpse, compare the famous depiction from the Temple of Opet (Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet*, vol. II, pl. 4). These two concepts are also linked in a statement from the Sixth Litany of the Litany of Re (Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 159): *ḥwn bȝ=k ms hȝ.wt=k* “May your *ba* have vitality! May your corpse be reborn!”

²²⁴ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 51. This is also one of the addresses preceding the Sixth Hour of Amduat on the Type II sarcophagi—for further commentary, see *infra*.

The creation of the corpses and bas also mimics the ejaculating corpse of Osiris depicted adjacent to the *ba*-birds over their mummies on Side Two, Scene 1. The sexual action of Osiris not only produces his heir, Horus, but his own form and the solar corpse, “the Underworldly One.”²²⁵

*hpr.n dw3.ty m h̄c.wt=f
st̄l st̄w.t=f c̄z̄c wt.t=f*

By means of his limbs did the Underworldly One come into existence,
the one who shoots his semen, who ejaculates what he has created.

In other religious texts, ‘*ȝ*’ means “to create,” since the very act of ejaculation brings into existence the desired object, without the need for a feminine womb.²²⁶ The use of ‘*ȝ*’ on the Type I sarcophagi enhances this nuance of the verb and provides an added funerary significance to the creative powers of ejaculation.

Section 6: Re addresses the guardians of his head and neck

Depiction: Side Three, Scene 4 and Side Two, Scene 3

Text: Pls. 29-31

Parallel: None

*nn n ntr.w m shr.w pn
sȝh=sn tw3.w^a R̄c
sw3š.w tp=f ws̄r=f štȝ^b*

²²⁵ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 124, l. 9, incorporating variants in the Osireion.

²²⁶ Sixth Division of Caverns, Litany to Tatenen (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 86, l. 1): *i Tȝ-nn ȝt mtw.t shpr.n ȝt=f hpr.w* “O Tatenen, who ejaculates semen, whose semen has created manifestations.” Compare the similar passage in P. Berlin 3049, col. IV, l. 10-V, l. 1: *nhp.n=f sw m ȝt n h̄c.w=f* “He fashioned himself from the ejaculation of his limbs.” (Gülden, *Die hieratischen Texte des P. Berlin 3049*, p. 30); and an epithet of Khonsu in the Bab el-Amra: *ȝt h̄c.w=f* “who ejaculates his own limbs.” (Clère, *Porte d’Évergète*, pl. 73 B, l. 1; *Urk.* VIII 115, l. 9). For general discussions of the verb ‘*ȝ*’, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 320-21.

sn hkn n=sn b3 n R^c
b3 n R^c hkn=f n=sn
tw ntr pn 3 dwi=f r=sn
b3=sn p=sn htw=f
<h3.wt=sn> mn.(w) m st=sn

These gods are in this fashion,
they causing the supporters of Re to be transfigured.
As for those who adore his head and mysterious neck,
they praise the ba of Re,
and the ba of Re praises them (in return).
This great god calls to them,
with the result that their bas traverse behind him,
<their corpses?> enduring in their places.

^a The use of the verb *tw3*, suggests that the “supporters of Re” in the annotation should be identified with the pair of deities around the sarcophagus of Osiris, labeled *tw3* and *tw3.t* (see above). Although the identity of the ithyphallic figure as Re-Osiris is not in doubt, this passage of the annotation secures the solar aspect of the deity. The word *twA* is omitted from CG 29307, which reads *s3h.t R^c* “who transfigure Re.”

^b The sarcophagus of Ramesses III, followed closely by CG 29307, writes *tp=f wsr=f* and begins the next clause with the dependent pronoun *sn*. This dependent pronoun has been altered in several of the sarcophagi, which write *tp=f wsr n št3*; the apparent attributive genitive is unexpected, and the text may read “his head and the neck of the Mysterious One.”

^c A close parallel in the Creation of the Solar Disk suggests the restoration of the term *hʒ.wt*.²²⁷ *bʒ.w=sn ‘p=sn m-ht=f hʒ.wt=sn mn m s.t=sn* “their bas follow after him, while their corpses remain in their place.”

SIDE ONE

The rounded head end of the Type I sarcophagi contains a single large scene with text columns to either side. The decoration of the head end, like the other scenes and texts on Type I sarcophagi, also occurs on New Kingdom royal sarcophagi.²²⁸ Two large arms, emerging from the ground or disembodied human heads, dominate the scene; inside the arms is a large mummiform figure flanked by two uraei. Each arm is surmounted by small human figures pouring liquid onto mummies standing at the edges of the scene. A version of this tableau is first depicted on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun with two short texts, one in *Normalschrift* and the other written in cryptography.²²⁹ An exact parallel to the sarcophagus scene occurs in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in

²²⁷ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 18, ll. 6-7. The same passage is cited by Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 83 suggesting a restoration for part of the enigmatic annotation on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun; the omission of *hʒ.wt* on the Type I sarcophagi further support his analysis.

²²⁸ See above. Most of the New Kingdom sarcophagi locate the scene on the foot end, while Ramesses III places it on the interior of the head end.

²²⁹ For a translation and commentary of the Tutankhamun version, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 217ff.

the Tomb of Ramesses VI, with similar labels to the figures, but a different annotation.²³⁰

Bridging the gap between the New Kingdom sources and Late Period sarcophagi is the occurrence of this scene in the tomb of Osorkon II.²³¹ After the Late Period sarcophagi, this tableau, without accompanying text, reappears on a painted Roman coffin.²³²

Compared with the other texts and scenes on the Type I sarcophagi, this intriguing depiction has received a not inconsequential amount of commentary. Myśliwiec has deemed this scene “La Renaissance solaire du mort,” and provided an analysis of its content, but unfortunately related the scene to the reconciliation of a conflict between Osiris and Re.²³³ The text as it appears on the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV, which varies little from the Late Period versions, has been translated and commented upon by Darnell²³⁴ in the context of the earliest version of the scene on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun. The commentary presented here is indebted to his extensive commentary, but specifically examines the iconographic variants amongst the early and late versions of the scene and offers a translation of the text in as it relates to the other texts and depictions on the Late Period sarcophagi, a previously unexplored approach.

²³⁰ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pp. 20-1 for labels and pl. 10, text 21 for the annotation.

²³¹ Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II à Tanis*, p. 57, fig. 16; the giant arm scene is located on the south wall and faces a complementary image on the north wall which corresponds to the depiction directly above it in the Creation of the Solar Disk—Section A, second register, third scene.

²³² C. Beinlich-Seeber, “Ein römerzeitliches Sargfragment in Marseille,” in A. Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 9-40.

²³³ *BIFAO* 81, Supp (1981): 91-106; Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 148-49 has already refuted Myśliwiec, so further arguments are not presented here.

²³⁴ *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 223-231.

The texts labeling each figure represent a common feature of the different variants of the scene. Some of the labels on the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV are damaged,²³⁵ but can be restored from the labels from the Creation of the Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses VI. A correct reading of the cryptographic annotations to the arms on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun also indicates that the late versions borrow the earlier labels. On the Late Period sarcophagi these separate annotations were combined into two columns of text located between the giant arms and the mummiform figures at the edges of the scene.²³⁶ According to the labels in the Creation of the Solar Disk,²³⁷ the right column on the sarcophagus contains the names of the small human figure atop the hand, the uraeus, and the right arm itself. The mummiform deity to the right is not named, probably because it shares the same name as the mummy on the left—*ḥz hr.*

Figure atop right arm: *Nwy*^a “Traversing one”
Uraeus, right: *twt irw.w* “United of visible forms”
Arm, right: *htm*^b *wnw.t* “He who destroys/supplies the hours.”

^a The solar nature of *nwy* is evident in a parallel name *nwyty* from the Litany of Re.²³⁸ The name indicates the desired ability of movement in the other world for the sun god and by

²³⁵ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, fig. 98 and pl. 117.

²³⁶ The attempt made by Myśliwiec to translate these labels as continuous texts is unnecessary (as already noted by Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 165 n. 542). For the right column Myśliwiec translates (*BIAFO* 81, Supp. [1981]: 101): “Deux serpents de même forme qui effacent les heures;” he renders the left as: “Celui qui est là, le visage combattif, riche en formes.”

²³⁷ Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pp. 20-1; for images of the scene, showing the exact location of the labels, see Hornung, *Valley of the Kings*, p. 85, fig. 52.

²³⁸ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 155, vol. 2, p. 134 n. 364. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 125 also cites Pyramid Texts, Utt. 404 (§702a), but the odd arm-determinative

extension all deceased individuals. Similar names of the solar deity include *gšy* “migratory fowl.”²³⁹

^b The verb *htm* in the name of the arm is typically interpreted as “to destroy,”²⁴⁰ although an intentional dual reading of *htm* “to supply” is also possible (for more on this dichotomy, see below). While *htm* “to destroy” is one of the most commonly attested lexical items in the corpus of Underworld Books, the concept of “destroying” hours in order to create them remains mysterious.²⁴¹ In the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns, giant pairs of arms hold aloft cauldrons which burn the enemies of Re—these arms are said to “come forth from the Place-of-Destruction (*pr m htmy.t.*).”²⁴² On the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun the arms are labeled ‘.wy *htmy* “the destructive arms;”²⁴³ without an expressed object, the interpretation “to supply” for the Tutankhamun shrine is unlikely.

makes this reading uncertain, and the context of the spell does not aid in understanding the word as it is used in the Underworld Books.

²³⁹ For a discussion of *gšy*, see *infra*.

²⁴⁰ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 125; Myśliwiec, *BIFAO* 81, Supp. (1981): 101 (however, Myśliwiec does not recognize this name as a separate label); Beinlich-Seeber, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, p. 23.

²⁴¹ For a general overview of time in the Underworld Books, with discussion of the “destruction” of time, see Hornung, *Eranos Jahrbuch* 47 (1978): 269-307. The verb *htm* is analyzed further *infra*.

²⁴² Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1943): pl. 66, l. 7.

²⁴³ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 149.

The left column of text appears to name the human figure atop the left arm, the uraeus, and the mummiform figure. The left arm is not named—in Creation of the Solar Disk the arm is called *Imn.t* “Hidden One” or “Western One,” while the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun labels it *‘.wy h̥tmy*, like the right arm.

Figure atop left arm: *Imy*^a “Formed One”
Standing mummy, left: *‘hʒ-hr*^b “warlike of face”
Uraeus, left: *wsr ir.w* “powerful of visible forms”

^a The Twentieth Address in the Great Litany of Re provides another occurrence of the name *Imy*.²⁴⁴

ḥknw n=k R‘ qʒ shm
Imy psd m ʒgb
twt is hʒ.t n.t Nwn
Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Formed one who shines from the flood waters.
You are indeed the corpse of Nun.

The translation “formed one” derives from three sources.²⁴⁵ the word *im* “form, image” (*Wb.* I 78.1) attested in the Pyramid Texts, *imt* in the Berlin Leather Roll (col. I, l. 11),²⁴⁶ and a word *imy.t* in Louvre C14, l. 11.²⁴⁷ The two latter occurrences are themselves obscure, but fit with a general meaning of “to form” or “outside appearance.”

²⁴⁴ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 25; vol. 2, p. 105 n. 58.

²⁴⁵ Cited with the Litany passage in Meeks, *ALEX*, p. 27 no. 77.0282.

²⁴⁶ H. Goedicke, “The Berlin Leather Roll (P Berlin 3029),” in W. Müller, ed., *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin, 1974), p. 95 n. u, suggests that the verb is related to “kingship and its conveyance through succession.” However, the passage in question does not rule out a meaning of “to form, fashion.”

²⁴⁷ W. Barta, *Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers (Stele Louvre C 14)* (Berlin, 1970), p. 123 argues that this word refers to the exterior appearance of a painting or paste-filled relief, in contrast to the binding substances used in the paint.

Hornung²⁴⁸ reads this name as *wnmy* “the right one,” a plausible solution, but one that would necessitate an odd spelling of the word.²⁴⁹

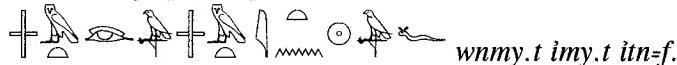
^b Gods *ḥ3y.w-hr.w* “warlike of face” also occur in Section A, first register, first scene of the Creation of the Solar Disk; their fierce appearance is the result of *sd.t m ir.ty-sn wnmy.t m ḥ3.wt-sn* “fire in their eyes and consuming flames in their corpses.”²⁵⁰ The annotation to the “arms of destruction” scene as it appears in the Creation of the Solar Disk also describes these entities:²⁵¹

‘p ḥ3.wt ‘ḥ3.w-hr in ntr pn ‘z
if ‘p=f hr ḥ3.t Hpry
i ḥ3.wt n.t ‘ḥ3y.w-hr.w ‘z hr.wt m imnt.t
Passing the corpses of the ‘ones warlike of face’ by this great god,
when he passes by the corpse of Khepri (saying):
“Oh corpses of the ‘ones warlike of faces, great of condition in the West.”²⁵²

Four mummiform deities called *ḥ3.w-hr* also appear in the middle register of the Seventh Hour of the Book of Gates (Scene 52)²⁵³ and in Cavern 10 of the Book of Quererets.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁸ *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 125.

²⁴⁹ The *Wb.* does not list any spellings of the word *wnm* “right” with the sign Z11; however, one might compare the spelling of the word *wnmy.t* (*Wb.* I 75.24) referring to the right eye of the sun god. The *Belegstellen* lists this spelling exclusively in the Leiden Amunhymnus 2,14—this text uses a graphic pun and relies on two different readings of the sign Z11:



²⁵⁰ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 3, l. 5-pl. 4, l. 2 (Text V), quoting pl. 4, l. 1.

²⁵¹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 10.

²⁵² Translation of Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 157.

²⁵³ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, pp. 201-2.

²⁵⁴ Piankoff, *Wandering of the Soul*, p. 77 (cited by Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 202).

In the Book of Gates, the “fierce-faced” mummies occur below a scene involving a rope which creates the hours, similar to the rope borne by the catfish-headed deities and Aker on Side Three of the sarcophagi.

The figures atop the giant hands deserve special attention, since their depiction changes slightly in the different versions. In the Ramesses VI version, each figure holds a simple disk; on the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV they hold disks which pour liquid atop the sun disks of the outer mummies. On most of the Late Period sarcophagi, these disks have become clearly defined vessels, and one late variant, CG 29323, depicts the small figures holding ankh-signs.²⁵⁵ The pouring water is a manifestation of the light of the sun,²⁵⁶ which is the means by which time is measured.²⁵⁷ The arms destroy the hours which travel into the darkness beneath the central mummy (see the text below)—based on the representation of the pouring liquid, the small figures atop the arms may be in turn supplying the “destroyed” time to the solar disks of the mummies beyond the arms. The position of the arms and the conflation of liquid, light, and time is reminiscent of the giant clepsydra scene also in the Creation of the Solar Disk²⁵⁸—as in this scene, a central figure participates in the destruction of the hours. The ithyphallic Osiris in the clepsydra

²⁵⁵ Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, vol. 2, p. 145 and pl. 42.

²⁵⁶ Light and liquid also interchange in some depictions of the *nny*-greeting—see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 147-48.

²⁵⁷ Beinlich-Seeber, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, p. 25.

²⁵⁸ As identified by P. Barguet, “Remarques sur quelques scènes de la salle du sarcophage de Ramsès VI,” *RdE* 30 (1978): 52-55.

scene is called *Imn-wnw.wt* “He-who-hides-the-hours,”²⁵⁹ and time is destroyed within his cavern,²⁶⁰ furthering the parallel between the two scenes.

A further clue to the significance of the standing figures atop the arms is a small detail of their representation on the Roman period coffin bearing this scene, where the figures are not human-headed, but rather frog-headed.²⁶¹ As such, they might allude to the presence of the Ogdoad at the creation of time—both the first time of creation and the cyclical recreation of time at each sunrise.²⁶²

ANNOTATION

Depiction: Pls. 32-33

Text: Pls. 34-39

*nn n ntr.w m shr <pn>
mh.w^a k3r Wsir ^{c.t} imn.t
sh3p shr.w iwty r<n> imi.ywt^b
ntr pn m shr pn
st.wt R^c q^c m h3.t=f
shd kkw hr tb.ty=f
s3m st3 hr rd.wy=f^d
b3=f q=f ht.w R^e
ntr pn m shr pn wnw.t
R^c q.(w) m h3.t=f m h^c.w=f
s3w f=f wnw.wt q.(w) kkw hr tb.ty=f
i'r.ty-fy s33-sn sw r d.t nhh Wsir N*

These gods are in <this> fashion
as guardians of the shrine of Osiris, the hidden chamber,
secret of condition, the name of that which is within it does not exist.
This god is in this fashion,
the light of Re having entered into his corpse,

²⁵⁹ Tomb of Ramesses IX: Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 63; in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the entire scene is located in the *qrr.t imn-wnw.wt* (*ibid.*, pl. 8, l. 1).

²⁶⁰ See the text from the Creation of the Solar Disk cited *infra*.

²⁶¹ Beinlich-Seeber, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, p. 21 refers to each as a “männliche Figur” and does not note their frog heads.

²⁶² For the Ogdoad present at sunrise on the sarcophagi, see *infra*.

illumining the darkness under his soles
and the secret image beneath his legs.
His ba follows Re.
This god is in this fashion at the (appropriate) hour,
 Re having entered into his own corpse,
 he protecting the hours which have entered the darkness beneath his two soles.
His two uraei protecting him forever and ever, just as (they protect) Osiris N.²⁶³

^a The reading of *mhw* as “watchers” proposed by Darnell²⁶⁴ is more likely than other interpretations of the word as the verb *mhi* “to fill.”²⁶⁵ Since the action describes several gods, it is logical that they are around the shrine as protection rather than being inside the shrine itself, which is reserved solely for Osiris (sometimes accompanied by Isis and/or Nephthys). In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, “those who are in the earth” protect the shrine of Osiris, providing a textual parallel for these *mhw* (for a translation see the next text note).

^b The Ramesses IV version of the text clearly writes *iwyt rn.w*, and the flat land sign (—) on the sarcophagus is merely a reinterpretation of the book-roll, another horizontal sign.²⁶⁶ The shrine of Osiris has the same designation as the Netherworldly chamber in the Book of Amduat—the ‘*t imn.t*, “hidden chamber.”²⁶⁷ Although no *k3r*-shrine appears in this scene, the description of the shrine closely matches the annotation

²⁶³ This translation closely follows that presented by Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 154-58.

²⁶⁴ *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 153.

²⁶⁵ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 126.

²⁶⁶ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 126, n. 3; seconded by Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 160 and n. 523.

²⁶⁷ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 3.

to the elaborately depicted shrine of Osiris in Section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk:²⁶⁸

‘q h3.wt št3w.t hr.t imy ‘.t imn.t in ntr pn ‘3 ...
h3.t pn ‘3.t snk-ib
s33 imy.w-t3 k3r=f
Entering the corpses, secret of means, within the Hidden Chamber
by this great god ...
O this great corpse, dark of heart (i.e. Osiris),
whose shrine those within the earth guard.

In the sarcophagi and Creation of the Solar Disk texts, the sun god enters the ‘.t imn.t which contains the shrine of Osiris, guarded by Underworld denizens. Even this close parallel does not provide a further explanation for the obscure description *iwyty rn imy.t*. Rather than referring to the name of the shrine or hidden chamber, this designation reflects the secret nature of its occupant Osiris.

^c The *pr*-sign following ‘q is most likely a confusion for plural strokes in the Ramesses IV version.²⁶⁹

^d In the annotation to this scene, three separate elements are located underneath Osiris: darkness (*kkw*), a secret image (*sšm št3*),²⁷⁰ and the hours (*wnw.t*).²⁷¹ The hours do not

²⁶⁸ First register, first scene, text appears in Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pl. 21.

²⁶⁹ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 160.

²⁷⁰ See Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 155 for a comparison of this passage with the description of the Chamber of Sokar in the Fifth Hour of the Book of Amduat. For a discussion of a similar phrase, *imn sšm*, see D. van der Plas, *L'hymne à la crue du Nil* (Leiden, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 61-68.

²⁷¹ These three elements also encompass all four dimensions—*kkw*-darkness is three-dimensional space, the *sšm*-form is the object which occupies that spaces, and the *wnw.t*-hours are the fourth

permanently reside in that location, but rather travel into the “darkness beneath the two soles.” Another representation in the Creation of the Solar Disk (Section A, first register, third scene) shows these hour goddesses; part of the accompanying annotation reads:²⁷²

*sšm-sn ntr pn ՚3 m ՚Imnt.t št3y.t iwr
R^e r wnw.wt=sn
ir=sn iry.wt=sn
՚pp.ti ՚q.ti m t3 r qrr.t imn wnw.wt=f*

They lead this great god in the West, hidden of visible forms,
when Re is at their hours.
with the result that they make their visible forms,
having passed by and entered into the earth,
at the cavern “He-who-hides-his-hours.”

The hour goddesses descend into the cavern of *Imn-wnw.t=f*—the same name given to the “clepsydra” scene, which itself is closely related to the arms *htm wnw.t*.

^e The *ba* who follows Re is the *ba* of Osiris, itself a hypostasis of the sun god. This simple statement, oft repeated in the Underworld Books, indicates the ultimate purpose of the events depicted in the tableau—the liberation of the *ba* from the corpse. The Osirian corpse must remain in the Underworld, just like the physical corpses within their sarcophagi, but the *ba* of Osiris follows Re out of the eastern horizon, as the sarcophagus owners also desired. The mechanism of the *ba*’s liberation is the light of the sun—direct rays provide the catalyst for the separation of the *ba* and the corpse.

dimension/time through which the other objects move (I would like to thank Prof. John Darnell for this observation).

²⁷² Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 2, l. 9-pl. 3, l. 1. A variant of this text, without the mention of the cavern “He-who-hides-his-hours” occurs on the underside of the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

^f For the morphology of the verb *s33* in this passage, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 156-157.

The annotation explains the mechanics of the accompanying image, even though several key elements are not depicted. Re enters into the corpse of Osiris, within its *k3r*-shrine,²⁷³ allowing the *ba* of Osiris to follow the solar god from the Underworld. Simultaneously, this mysterious union of Re and Osiris leads to the recreation of time—the unified deity protects the hours that enter the darkness, where they are destroyed in order to be born again with the sun god himself. To fully understand the inner workings of this process, it is necessary to turn to other representations of time in the Underworld Books.

The destruction of the hours, like the monthly deconstruction of the Eye of Horus, is a dangerous, liminal event that must be shielded from outside interference. The hours descend deep into the darkness, which is then illuminated by the sun disk. This illumination is synonymous with protection.²⁷⁴ The hours, like the *ba*-bird, leave the mysterious corpse when the light of the sun disk falls upon them, as Section D of the Creation of the Solar Disk describes:²⁷⁵

²⁷³ The *k3r*-shrine may also place Osiris in the role of Atum and Re in the role of Shu (H. Willems, “The Embalmer Embalmed: Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins,” in J. van Dijk, ed., *Essays in Honour of Herman Te Velde* [Groningen, 1997], p. 364).

²⁷⁴ Compare the “clothing” qualities of light discussed in Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 133-137.

²⁷⁵ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 23, l. 7-9. This annotation accompanies the second scene of the first register—a large sun disk between two arms. To either side stars and disks travel between two goddesses and over a mummy atop the disk.

wnn ntr pn m shr pn
 'h=f hr-tp 3h.t=f
 s33=f wnw.t htw 3h.t=f
 dwi=f r=sn
 sn r=sn 'q=sn htw=f
 hd=f sn
 pr=sn m h3.wt imn.t št3.w

In this fashion does this god exist,
 taking up position atop his horizon,
 protecting the hours who are in the following of his akhet-eye.

He calls out to them;
 with the result that they follow him.

When he illuminates them,
 they come forth from the corpse, hidden of mysteries.

The giant arms from the scene on the head end of the sarcophagus are labeled *htm* *wnw.wt* “destroyer of the hours.” The verb *htm* is used in several scenes from the Book of Gates, where the hours are “destroyed.”

Fourth Hour, Scene 20:²⁷⁶

hrr.t ms 12 htm.hr=s 'm.hr wnw.wt
 The Hereret-snake who creates the 12 hours—
 then it destroys (the hours),
 then the Hour-goddesses swallow.²⁷⁷

'm=tн msw hrr.t
 shtm=tн prt im=s

You swallow what the Hereret snake creates,
 you destroy what comes forth from it.

Sixth Hour, Scene 36:²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ Hornung, *Pforten*, p. 118 and p. 121.

²⁷⁷ The two *sdm.hr=f* forms here follow the first statement as “the second member of a ‘paratactic’ system,” (Vernus, *Future at Issue*, pp. 72-3) indicating that the destruction is intimately linked to the preceding creation. Additionally, the *sdm.hr=f* form expresses an action “governed by an external norm or necessity” (*ibid.*, p 80), further enhancing the relationship between the creation and destruction of time. Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, pp. 111-12 interprets the *hr* as the introduction of an agent—“von den Stunden(göttinnen) verschlungen werden.” The same interpretation applies to the text to Scene 36 ('m.hr 'qn m'nn) quoted below.

‘q M^cnn m r₃ ‘qn
 prr q₃bw
 hpr wnw.wt
 dwi R^c htp=s s.t=s
 ‘m.hr ‘qn m^cnn

When the twisted rope enters the mouth of Aqen,
 a twist comes forth,
 and an hour comes into being.
 Re calls so that it (the hour) make take its place;
 then Aken swallows the twisted rope.

In each of these texts, the destruction of an hour is simultaneously the creation of another. At the root of this dichotomy may lay the homophonic verb *htm* “to supply” (*Wb.* III 196.9-197.9), which often assumes the negative determinatives of its homophone.²⁷⁹ Additionally, the word *htm* is often paired with ‘m “to swallow”—which can represent a type of destruction prerequisite to rebirth.²⁸⁰ In Scene 49 of the Book of Gates, a giant snake is called: ‘m ms wnw.wt “The swallower that gives birth to the

²⁷⁸ Hornung, *Pforten*, pp. 217-18. A concise description of this scene showing the double-entwined rope emerging from the god Aken appears in the annotation to the gods holding the rope (*ibid.*, p. 215): *hr.w m^cnn prrw wnw.wt im=f* “Those who bear the entwined rope from which the hours come forth.” Similarly, the inundation waters come forth from double-entwined snakes on Ptolemaic astronomical ceilings (L. Kákosy, “The Astral Snakes of the Nile,” *MDAIK* 37 [1981]: 255-260).

²⁷⁹ For example, Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 242-3: *hpr m htm hpr.w=f* “One who becomes the one supplied with his manifestations” (here *htm* is spelled with the “killed” bird). A similar dichotomy may lie behind the name of the snake in the upper register of the Eleventh Hour of Amduat (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 753) called *sd wnw.wt* “He who takes away the hours;” the name could equally be translated “He who rescues the hours.” The verb ‘pr “to supply” can also be used with reference to hours in Scene 49 of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 278): *ntr ‘3 ‘h3y r ‘prt=f m wnw.t=f* “the great god remains until he is equipped with his hour.”

²⁸⁰ In the Eleventh Hour of the Short Amduat, it is *d.t*-eternity itself that swallows *sšm*-images and gives them back at the birth of Khepri (for a translation, see *infra*). Similarly, Nut as the cosmic sow “swallows her piglets” only to give birth to them again (Book of Nut, Dramatic Text, see discussion in N. Billing, *Nut. The Goddess of Life in Text and Iconography* [Uppsala, 2002], pp. 18-20). In magical texts, swallowing can have a destructive effect or often is used to absorb the power of another object (Ritner, *Magical Practice*, pp. 102-110).

hours.”²⁸¹ The description of the hour-goddesses “swallowing” the hours in Scene 20 could also be a type of rebirth; as such, the annotation to the scene would have an A-B-A structure of creation-destruction-creation. The annotation to Scene 36 shares the same structure, with the description of Aqen beginning and ending with an hour entering into his mouth.

The darkness in which the hours are destroyed and again created is the *kkw-sm3w*, the utter darkness outside of the ordered cosmos. In the complete absence of light, several of the most important events in the Egyptian Underworld take place. The punishment of the enemies in *htmy.t* is located in the *kkw-sm3w*.²⁸² Assigning the damned to the “outer limits” prevents their interference with the rest of the Underworld and the universe in general. The ultimate beneficial act of recreation also occurs in the *kkw-sm3w*, specifically inside the egg of Sokar.²⁸³ Since all creation involves a return to chaotic beginnings, this event too is shielded by the utter darkness.

The giant arms on the head end of the sarcophagi are strongly reminiscent of the outstretched arms of Nun in the concluding scene to the Book of Gates; the arms on the sarcophagi rise out of the darkness as well as the primordial waters. The alignment of the head end of the sarcophagus with the east further suggests a relationship between the scene from the Creation of the Solar Disk with the concluding scene of the Book of Gates

²⁸¹ A surprising parallel occurs in the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri (PGM VII.300; Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 124, trans. W.C. Grese): “SACHMOU OZOZO, you are the one who thunders, the one who shakes the heaven and the earth, the one who has swallowed the serpent, hour by hour raising the disk of the sun and surrounding the moon.”

²⁸² E.g. a description of the damned in the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944]: pl. 24, ll. 8-9): *wnn-sn m kkw-sm3w* “They exist in the unbroken darkness.”

²⁸³ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 443ff. See also *infra*.

in New Kingdom royal tombs. The feature common to these two scenes is the central focus on a giant pair of arms—either “disembodied” or part of the figure of Nun. This comparison is validated by the sarcophagus of Seti I, where the First Hour of Gates appears at the foot of the sarcophagus and the figure of Nun hoisting the solar bark adorns the interior of the head.²⁸⁴

The powerful image on the head end of the Type I sarcophagi “plugs in” the deceased to the energy driving the cyclical recreation of time. The concluding lines of the annotation to the scene incorporate the deceased—the two uraei are said to protect Osiris N in addition to Re. While the recreation of time is obviously beneficial to the deceased, since it perpetuates the entire cosmos, the renewal of time is a further archetype for the resurrection of the deceased. A description of Aqen from the Sixth Hour of the Book of Gates states this explicitly:²⁸⁵

iw wnw.wt n ntr ⲉ

ʒh=k R^c m ʒhw

htp=k h3.t imn.t hr.t

The hours belong to the great god.

May you be transfigured, o Re, with light!

May you occupy your corpse, hidden of means!

The transfiguration of Re with his own light suggests that the liquid being poured out onto the mummies in the sarcophagus scene has the same effect; through this scene, the owner of the sarcophagus hopes to become transfigured. The success of this transfiguration is suggested by the latest variant of the scene, where the mummy between

²⁸⁴ Sharpe and Bonomi, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I.*, pl. 1; Hornung, *Pforten*, p. 12.

²⁸⁵ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, pp. 218-19; for the relationship between *ʒh* and the creation of time, see Englund, *Akh*, p. 190.

the giant arms acquires attributes of the mummy of the deceased.²⁸⁶ The dangerous eastern horizon, the place of the final punishment of the damned, becomes the place of triumph.²⁸⁷ Even the destruction of time itself becomes an apotropaic image, because each destroyed hour creates a newly born unit of time.

DECORATION OF THE LID AND INTERIOR

The consistency of decoration on the Type I sarcophagi does not continue onto the lids of these monuments. The lids also vary in shape, some employing only flat planes²⁸⁸ while others have a rounded top surface. Texts on the lid range from autobiographical documents (CG 29307) to excerpts from Underworld Books (Louvre D8) to chapters from the Book of the Dead.

BM EA 66, Pairykap	not extant
CG 29302 ²⁸⁹	upper portion: BD 154, 89, 90 (variant), 151 sides: winged serpent underside: not decorated
CG 29307 ²⁹⁰	upper portion: portrait and autobiographical text;

²⁸⁶ Beinlich-Seeber, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, p. 25.

²⁸⁷ For more on the dual nature of the eastern horizon, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, Chapter 6, *passim* and references therein.

²⁸⁸ See the drawings of the lid of the sarcophagus of Wennefer in Arnold, in *Études sur l'Ancien Empire*, p. 45.

²⁸⁹ Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 73-77.

²⁹⁰ Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, vol. 2, pp. 2-6.

	BD 1, 89, 90 (variant) ²⁹¹ ends: heraldic image with jackals ²⁹² underside: Nut
CG 29317	not extant
Vienna 1	BD 72, 89, ²⁹³ 90 (variant) ends: vignette of BD 16 underside: Nut
MMA 11.154.1	upper portion: BM 1, 84, 92, 154 underside: Nut
Louvre D8	identical to lid of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306) ²⁹⁴

Nearly all the sarcophagi contain representations of the goddess Nut stretched out over the deceased.²⁹⁵ Stars often surround Nut and the carvings of the goddess are some of the most accomplished works of Egyptian Late Period art. A few sarcophagi add around the body of Nut twelve seated goddesses crowned with stars, representing the hours of the night. Cosmographic scenes are for the most part not present, except for Louvre D8, a special case, and Vienna 1. The foot end of Vienna 1 depicts a two-part tableau, the lower portion has eight apes (four to either side) and two ba-spirits with arms (the deceased) worshipping the sun. An unlabeled male deity lifts up the solar disk; he is

²⁹¹ Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, vol. 2, p. 5 identifies the text as part of Chapter 110 of the Book of the Dead, but H. Gauthier added a note indicating that the text is a chapter not found in any Book of the Dead manuscripts, but also present on the sarcophagus of Nesshutefnut (Vienna 1).

²⁹² See Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, vol. 2, pl. II.

²⁹³ Satzinger, *Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien*, p. 58 only mentions Chapters 72 and 89.

²⁹⁴ The decoration of this lid is treated in depth in Chapter 5, *infra*.

²⁹⁵ Nut is often shown in highly modeled sunk relief; for a discussion of the frontal depictions of Nut, particularly on coffins and sarcophagi, see Y. Volokhine, *La frontalité dans l'iconographie de l'Égypte ancienne* (Geneva, 2000), pp. 86-89.

only visible from the waist upwards, exactly like Nun in the concluding scene of the Book of Gates. The upper portion of the foot end of the lid shows a shining sun disk between two goddesses.

The sarcophagus of Djedher, the dwarf, is the only Type I sarcophagus to contain an image of the deceased, except for depictions of a large *ba*-bird accompanying the spells from the Book of the Dead. The portrait of Djedher is a *tour de force* of Egyptian portraiture, rendering in explicit anatomical detail the achondroplasic dwarfism of its owner.²⁹⁶ Djedher was a dancer in the temples in Memphis and owes his lavish burial to his patron, Tjaihorpata. The use of his realistic portrait on his sarcophagus may have contributed to Djedher's blessed fate in the afterlife. Throughout Egyptian religion dwarfs and pygmies are associated with the far south-east and solar worship, but in the Late Period, dwarfs take on a heightened solar significance. Solarized dwarfs and pantheistic Bes figures²⁹⁷ commonly adorn Horus cippi, and Re as the "giant dwarf" can support heaven itself.²⁹⁸ Although no texts on CG 29307 identify Djedher as a solarized dwarf, the funerary context and surrounding depictions of the Underworldly journey suggest that Djedher is a hypostasis of the great cosmic dwarf.

The interior of Type I sarcophagi consists of large representations of protective deities, particularly the four sons of Hours. These gods surround the mummy just as they adorn contemporaneous anthropoid sarcophagi.

²⁹⁶ Dasen, *Dwarfs*, pp. 34ff.

²⁹⁷ For a more precise definition of Bes pantheos, see Kaper, *Tutu*, pp. 101-104. For one of many examples, compare the dwarf within a uroboros atop two crocodiles with the label: *ntr '3 pr m [ȝh.t?]* "the great god who comes forth from the [horizon]" on a cippus in Turin (Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy* [Turin, 1999], pp. 54, 100).

²⁹⁸ Dasen, *Dwarfs*, pp. 47-48.

CONCLUSION

The theology underlying the Type I sarcophagi is firmly rooted in the New Kingdom, since the decorative scheme is a nearly exact copy of earlier royal sarcophagi. Adherence to an ancient prototype, however, did not prevent the introduction of certain innovations, such as the headlessness of the ithyphallic Osiris figure. Unfortunately, the lack of a continuous tradition between the end of the New Kingdom and the beginning of the Late Period obscures the date of these innovations, which could conceivably be as old as the New Kingdom and represent original variations rather than subsequent changes. No matter when these changes took place in the textual tradition, the images definitely resonated with Late Period theologians, as did the entire decorative scheme of the sarcophagi, considering the frequency of its use. The translations and commentary above demonstrate that the Type I sarcophagi are a single unified composition. Although the scenes are drawn from numerous sources, they all share a common theme: reconstruction through decomposition.

The unifying principle of the decorative scene is most evident in Sides One and Four of the sarcophagi, the head and foot ends. They are common to nearly all Type I

sarcophagi and possess the earliest parallel, the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun. The enigmatic shrine of Tutankhamun commences with the head and neck of Re, each adored by two goddesses and concludes with the giant “arms of destruction.” The head and neck of Re are elaborated upon in the Book of Gates and on the sarcophagi by the addition of the mountain outline and solar bark, enhancing the representation of the western horizon. In each of the Late Period sarcophagi types the opposite short sides represent east and west,²⁹⁹ so it is safe to assume that the arms of destruction on the head end of the sarcophagus represent the eastern horizon.

At each end of the sarcophagus, and thus in each horizon, an important aspect of the cosmos is disintegrated. In the western horizon, the udjat-eye, the symbol of unity and well-being, is separated into its constituent parts—each part represents a specific fraction. The desert-dwelling gods who are far removed from the rest of creation guard this dangerous process of deconstruction; the gods both take apart and restore the udjat-eye, a process which mimics the solar journey through the Underworld, the eternal cycle of life and death. The renewal of the udjat-eye itself presages another reconstructive process in the eastern horizon, represented on Side One of the sarcophagi. The image from the Creation of the Solar Disk and the text known only from New Kingdom and Late Period sarcophagi taken together describe the destruction and recreation of time. Since Re and Osiris embody time, *nḥḥ* and *d.t*, today and yesterday,³⁰⁰ the “hours” destroyed by the giant arms are constituent parts of those two deities. Just like the breaking apart of the udjat-eye, the deconstruction of time is a prerequisite to recreation.

²⁹⁹ However, in the other sarcophagi types, the head is the western horizon, while the foot end bears representations of the end of the nightly journey and sunrise.

³⁰⁰ Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, pp. 36-41.

On either end of the sarcophagi, two essential cycles mirror each other and continually recreate the fundamental aspects of the ordered cosmos.

The scenes on Sides Two and Three apply these cosmic cycles to the deceased himself, through the archetype of Osiris, and two specific processes: the decomposition of the body as prerequisite to its resurrection and the union of the ba and shade with the corpse. The primary statement concerning bodily putrefaction in the annotation is the following (see above):

What Re says to the putrefying ones in the company of the Great One,
to the rotting ones who are in the company of the Great One:
“O rotting ones who are surrounded with their mysteries,
whose corpses have been engendered by means of yourselves.”

The four mummies depicted on Side Two are the “putrefying” and “rotting” entities who accompany the “Great One,” the headless, ejaculating corpse of Osiris. However, a careful reading of the annotation reveals that the rotting corpses possess two properties also ascribed to Osiris. First, the rotting corpses “are surrounded by their mysteries.” As noted above, the *štȝ*-mystery in the Underworld is predominately a reference to the corpse, but the annotation on the Type I sarcophagi uses extended meanings of the word *štȝ*. The catfish-headed deities “receive the mystery” of Osiris, which is actually an egg or disk-shaped object, and the mummies are surrounded by their “mysteries,” a clear reference to their own sarcophagi. The odd object held by Aker and received by the catfish is probably also a symbol of the receptacle for the body of Osiris.³⁰¹ Secondly, the mummies are said to engender their own corpses, but Osiris is the only corpse in the depictions who is actively shown procreating. The root meaning of the verb ‘ȝ’ is “to

³⁰¹ Again, compare the disk as *štȝ* in the Book of Caverns, *infra*.

ejaculate,” a precise description of the Osiris figure, but applied in the annotation to the other mummies as well. Considering the application of ‘ȝ’ to the mummies, one can safely assume that the putrefaction of the other mummies also applies to Osiris. The rotting corpse of Osiris is often said to have beneficial results—the *rdw*-fluids are even the source of the life-giving inundation waters.³⁰²

The putrefaction of Osiris must be inferred from the description of the four mummies in their sarcophagi, and other scenes also aid in the examination of the union of the *ba* and shade with the corpse. The union of *ba* and corpse is one of the central themes of the entire corpus of Underworld Books,³⁰³ since it is an expression of the joining of Re (= *ba*) and Osiris (= corpse). This dichotomy further explains the headlessness of Osiris, since the head can be associated with the solar *ba*-element. While the bird-headed *ba*-souls visit their mummies in Scene 2, the headless Osiris awaits the solar disk, a representation of the head of Osiris and his *ba*-soul.

The identification of the main themes of the Type I sarcophagi and the relationship between the different scenes enables this composition to be related to other Netherworldly texts. The scenes and annotations covering the long sides of the Type I sarcophagi share many elements with the depictions in the sarcophagus chambers of

³⁰² For one of many statements tracing the source of the inundation to the efflux of Osiris, compare L. Žabkar, “Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator at Philae,” *ZÄS* 108 (1981): 142—“Gleaming child, he is the inundating water, being born on the First of the Year, when the efflux of (his) body is absorbed.” More general discussions include: J.-C. Goyon, “Momification et recomposition du corps divin: Anubis et les canopes,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen, 1988), pp. 34-44. See also the treatment of the humors of Osiris by J. Kettel, “Canopes, *rdw.w d’Osiris et Osiris-Canope*,” in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (Cairo, 1994), vol. 3, pp. 315-330.

³⁰³ A collection of passages in Amduat, Gates, and Litany that address this theme, appear in Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, pp. 190-192.

Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX, as has been noted in the commentary and text notes above. Some elements are closely related to passages in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk and the Book of Caverns. In fact, most of the elements present in the first two divisions of the Book of Caverns are present on Sides Two and Three of the sarcophagi—depictions of shades, mourning deities, the head and neck of Re, and the corporeal remains of Osiris.³⁰⁴ The decoration on the Type I sarcophagi constitutes an entirely new composition, which contains excerpts from different Underworld Books. Disparate scenes are brought together to form a unified decorative scheme, each part of which contributes to the overall theme of resurrection through deconstruction.

³⁰⁴ Detailed descriptions of the scenes in the First and Second Divisions of Caverns appear in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

SARCOPHAGUS TYPE II: AN ECLECTIC UNDERWORLD BOOK

The oldest complete copy of the Book of Amduat unfolds on the four walls of the sarcophagus chamber in the tomb of Thutmose III, closely adhering to the instructions within the text itself regarding the positions of the various divisions of the work.¹ By the time of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, the Books of Amduat, Gates and Caverns are typically spread throughout the long descending corridors and side chambers of the royal tombs at Thebes, and the physical arrangement of Amduat becomes divorced from its intended layout.² While separate books might face one another along corridors³ or different compositions might appear on the walls and columns of a particular chamber,⁴ only rarely are excerpts from individual books mixed.⁵ During the Third

¹ W. Barta, “Zur Verteilung der 12 Nachtstudien des Amduat im Grabe Tuthmosis’ III.,” *JEOL* 21 (1969-70): 164-168. The earliest extant copy of fragments from the Book of Amduat date to the reign of Hatshepsut (see the Introduction, *supra*).

² Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, pp. 28-30.

³ Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses’ VI*, pp. 61ff.; *idem*, “Bauablauf und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses’ IX.,” *SAK* 17 (1990): 12-21.

⁴ For example, addresses from the Litany of Re adorn the columns of the sarcophagus chamber of Thutmose III, thus facing various hours of the Book of Amduat.

⁵ One of the few exceptions is the left side of the second corridor of the tomb of Ramesses IX, where a gate from the Book of Caverns is followed by figures from the Great Litany and part of the Second Hour of Amduat (Guilmant, *Tombeau de Ramsès IX.*, pl. 28). Hours from a single book can also be combined in an unpredictable fashion—compare the combination of parts of the First, Ninth, and Twelfth Hours of the Book of Gates in the tomb of Merneptah (Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 14).

Intermediate Period, the “Amduat” Papyri avoid depictions from other Underworld Books,⁶ whereas the so-called Mythological Papyri often combine scenes from numerous sources, but normally the excerpts are limited to isolated figures;⁷ contemporaneous coffins utilize scenes from the Book of the Dead with occasional depictions of the solar bark and other scenes from Amduat.⁸ It is first during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, and particularly in the Thirtieth Dynasty, that entire hours and scenes from several of the New Kingdom Underworld books are combined to form a unified composition. Unlike the Type I sarcophagi, which are modeled on a New Kingdom sarcophagus type, the Type II sarcophagi do not appear before the Thirtieth Dynasty, and their sequence of texts and scenes is first attested in a Saite period tomb—Padiamenemope (TT 33). Furthermore, the use of Underworld Books on Type II sarcophagi is entirely distinct from the decorative programs of Type III sarcophagi, which contain large sections of the Book of Amduat and maintain a strict separation between that work and the Litany of Re. On Type II sarcophagi, the various compositions are inextricably intermingled—addresses from the Litany of Re precede elaborate portals from the Book of Gates, which themselves serve to introduce hours of Amduat. Scenes from the Book of Gates and the Book of the Night

⁶ Niwinski, *Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, pp. 203-209 (examples of Type A.III.2). Note in particular *ibid.*, fig. 79, where praising-*ba* birds over sarcophagi are included in the Twelfth Hour of Amduat, the *ba*-birds and sarcophagi derive from Section B of the Creation of the Solar Disk (for more on these figures and their parallels on the Type I sarcophagi, see *supra*). On the other hand, the mixture of Amduat scenes with vignettes from the Book of the Dead is more frequent (*ibid.*, pp. 188ff., including examples of Types A.II.3 , A.III.1b [coinciding with many of the Mythological Papyri], and some of Type A.III.2)

⁷ Niwinski, *Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, pp. 203ff. See also, *infra*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-28.

also appear among the hours of Amduat as if they belonged to the same original composition.

The earliest exemplar of this decorative scheme, although without the same distribution of texts, the tomb of Padiamenemope (TT 33), remains unpublished,⁹ and the six sarcophagi of this type have never been treated in detail, so the prior research on this unique mixture of Underworld Books is limited to a brief description of the arrangement of the texts.¹⁰ As with many topics, a complete lack of publications on this type of Late Period sarcophagus belies their importance for an understanding of the Underworld Books, especially the relationship of the books to one another and their possible use in the funerary cult. The following translation and commentary discusses the texts in the order they appear on the sarcophagi, with the express purpose of determining how the excerpts from Litany of Re, Book of the Night, Book of Gates, and in one instance passages from the Book of the Dead, all relate to one another.

⁹ Based on Piankoff's description of the tomb's decoration, Hall XIII, bears the same sequence of texts as the decoration on the Type II sarcophagi, although the hours of Amduat are assigned to only three walls, rather than four ("Les grandes compositions religieuses dans la tombe de Pédéménope," *BIFAO* 46 [1947]: 73-92); this similarity caused Dümichen to publish the Berlin sarcophagus of Tjaihepimu in place of the actual tomb decoration (see *infra*). A joint IFAO-Université de Strasbourg project is currently cataloguing and clearing the objects stored in the first three rooms, before photographing and copying the Underworld Books beyond the third chamber.

¹⁰ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 46 (1947): 73-92; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 665-668. In his edition of the Book of the Night, Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, included the excerpts from the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Hours on Late Period sarcophagi (with the exception of BM 1504), but he did not discuss the relationship of the Book of the Night to the other religious compositions on the sarcophagi.

LIST OF TYPE II SARCOPHAGI:

Berlin 49, *Tʒi-hp-imw*

The owner of Berlin 49, Tjaihepimu, is the son of Gemhap, the owner of EA 1504, and most likely the father of Nectanebo II.¹¹ The only publication of Berlin 49 appears in the third volume of Dümichen's *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, since the arrangement of the Underworld Books on the sarcophagus is the same as in Corridor XIII of that tomb. The plates are drawn from squeezes of the sarcophagus, so are reversed in their orientation. Furthermore, the substitution of the sarcophagus for an actual publication of the tomb texts (which remain entirely unpublished) has caused some scholars to attribute the texts of Berlin 49 to the tomb of Padiamenemope.¹² The plates accompanying the present work are high-quality scans of Dümichen's original publication, reversed to their proper orientation and combined with parallels on the sarcophagus of Gemhap, BM 1504.

British Museum EA 1504, *Gm-hp*

The sarcophagus of Gemhap, son of Onurisimu, is less well known than that of his more illustrious grandson Nectanebo II.¹³ Jenni and Roulin's lists of Late Period

¹¹ H. Ghaly, "Some Pottery Jars inscribed with the name of the father of Nectanebos II Tjai-hap-imu," in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (Cairo, 1994), vol. 4, pp. 81-84; De Meulenaere, ZÄS 90 (1963): 91-2.

¹² P. Dorman, "Creation on the Potter's Wheel at the Eastern Horizon of Heaven," in E. Teeter and J.A. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise, Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), p. 87, fig. 8.2. The references in Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2 to the tomb of "Petamenophis" all refer to this sarcophagus.

¹³ For a physical description of the sarcophagus and its ill-fitting lid, see A.J. Spencer, "Observations on Some Egyptian Sarcophagi in the British Museum," W.V. Davies, ed., *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities. A Tribute to T.G.H. James* (London, 1999), pp. 19-20.

sarcophagi omit Gemhap's sarcophagus entirely,¹⁴ although Heerma van Voss included the sarcophagus in his analysis of the Late Period copies of the Book of Gates.¹⁵ The text from the Book of Amduat in the bandeaus is consistently retrograde, but the name, titles, and filiation of Gemhap are often added in a non-retrograde fashion. The addition of the name and titles left small blank spaces in some places.¹⁶

JE 48446, Šb-mn and 48447, ‘nh-hr

The nearly identical sarcophagi of Shebmin and his son Ankhhor were found lying next to one another in a pit near Samannud; this does not appear to have been their original location.¹⁷ Parts of each sarcophagus remain unfinished, but texts left uncarved on one are often found complete on the other. Except for the notice of their discovery in *ASAE* 24 and copies/photographs of the Book of the Night excerpts,¹⁸ these sarcophagi remain unpublished. A complete publication is in preparation by C. Manassa and I. Régen in *Huit sarcophages tardifs du musée du Caire*, to appear in the *MIAFO* series; the variants offered by these two sarcophagi will be included in a future edition of the present work.

¹⁴ *Sarkophag des Nektanebos II*, pp. 8-10; *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 22-25.

¹⁵ Heerma van Voss in Clarysse, Schoors, and Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years*, vol. 2, pp. 1001-1010.

¹⁶ Compare the remarks of U. Rössler-Köhler, "Zum Problem der Spatien in altägyptischen Texten: Versuch einer Systematik von Spatiertypen," *ASAE* 70 (1984-85): 389-90, concerning a similar phenomenon in a Metropolitan Museum Book of the Dead papyrus.

¹⁷ H. Abou Seif, "Two granite sarcophagi from Samannûd (Lower Egypt)," *ASAE* 24 (1924): 91-96.

¹⁸ G. Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 23.

CG 29305, *Dd-hr*

The sarcophagus that now bears the number CG 29305 was discovered near the shaft which held the sarcophagus of Nesschutefnut (Vienna 1).¹⁹ The original owner of CG 29305, whose name is still visible in places, was Painmou, the father of Wennefer, owner of MMA 11.154.1.²⁰ Since Wennefer can be firmly dated to the reign of Nectanebo II, the decoration on CG 29305 was originally carved immediately before or during the early part of his reign. The general Djedher probably appropriated this sarcophagus and CG 29304 during the Second Persian Period.

Louvre D9, *Dd-hr*²¹

The highly polished black granite surface of this sarcophagus makes it a beautiful work of art in addition to an important religious artifact. The sarcophagus was discovered in the Saqqara necropolis, but its precise archaeological context is unknown. This is the only Type II sarcophagus to have been published in facsimile, albeit an antiquated one.²² The examination of Louvre D9 is based on these copies, as well as a

¹⁹ For the discovery of these sarcophagi, see H. De Meulenaere, “Parva Memphitica,” in J. Osing and E.K. Nielsen, eds., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt (Studies Iversen)* (Copenhagen, 1992), pp. 84-86.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

²¹ *PM III*, part 2, p. 766.

²² Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. II, pls. 1-21.

handful of published photos.²³ The titles held by Djedher suggest he lived during the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period.²⁴ Additionally, the bandeau texts with excerpts from the Book of Amduat are parallel to BM 1504 and Berlin 49, suggesting that the sarcophagus might have been commissioned late in the reign of Nectanebo II or shortly thereafter.

Partial Parallel: Vienna 5, *Ini-hr.t-nht* (Fragmentary)

Bergmann copied the small amount of extant text on this sarcophagus,²⁵ but Jenni's more recent sketch of the decorative scheme is misleading, since it only shows the hours of Amduat and not the Litany passages.²⁶ However, the sarcophagus of Onurisnakht differs from all other Type II sarcophagi in its arrangement of the hours of Amduat, particularly the hours included on the interior surface.

OVERVIEW OF THE TEXTS

With small modifications, all Type II sarcophagi have a standard decorative scheme. The basic “unit” of decoration begins with three or four addresses from the Litany of Re with the accompanying solar form, followed by a *sbh.t*-portal from the

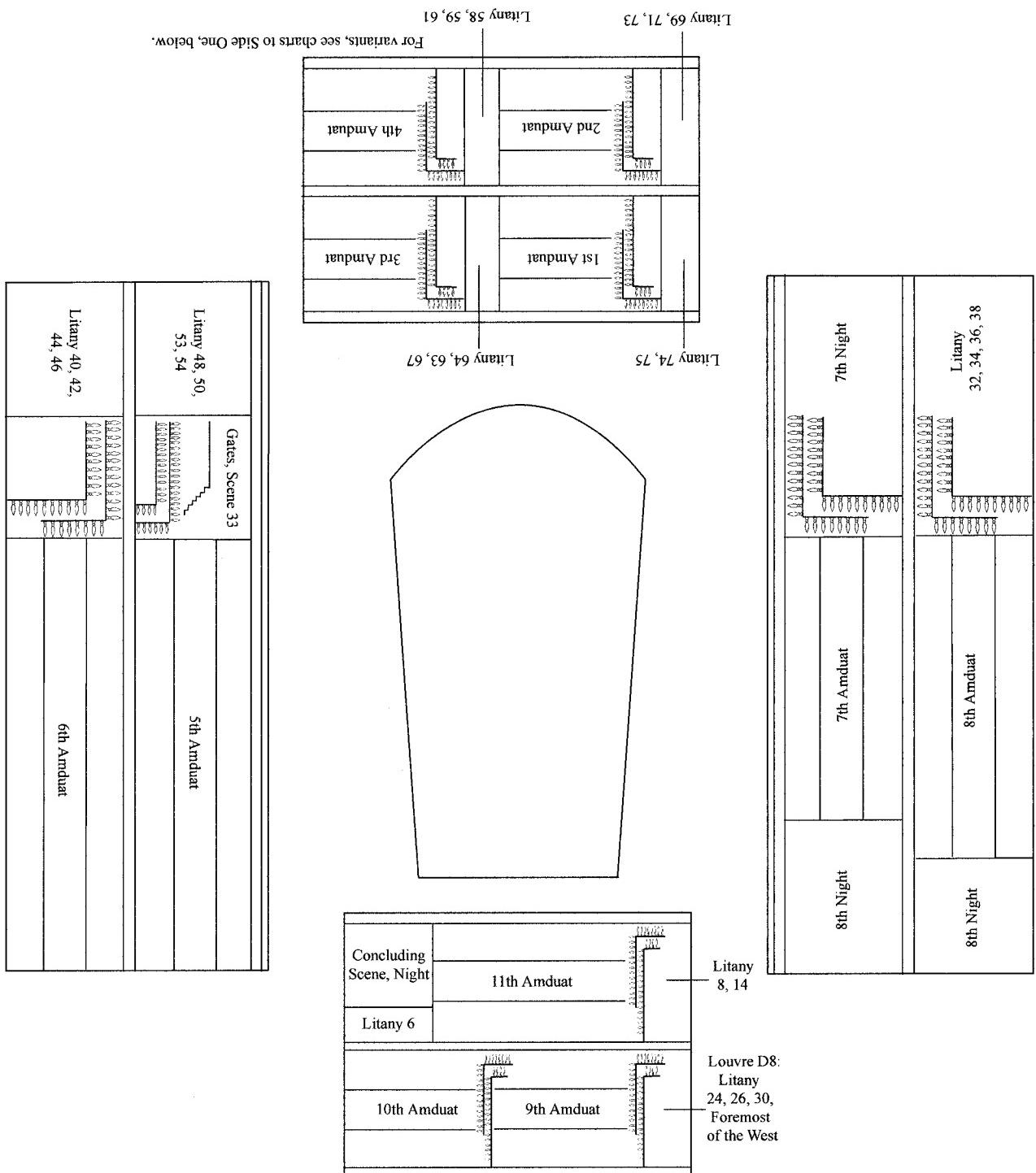
²³ Schmidt, *Sarkofager*, p. 213 and *L'Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. Musée du Louvre I* (Paris, 1935), pp. 146ff.; other sources for photos are listed in *PM III*. Publication rights for the sarcophagus are currently held by S. Cauville.

²⁴ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep. Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1977), pp. 57-58.

²⁵ “Inschriftliche Denkmäler der Sammlung ägyptischer Alterthümer des österreichischen Kaiserhauses,” *RecTrav* 12 (1892): 7-9.

²⁶ *Das Dekorationsprogramm des Sarkophages Nekanebos' II.*, p. 9.

Book of Gates, and an hour from the Book of Amduat, complete in its depictions (for the unit including the First Hour of Amduat, see pl. 40). Four of the Litany-Gates-Amduat units appear on the rounded head end and two appear on each long side of the sarcophagus. The unit containing the Seventh Hour of Amduat substitutes the lower register of the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night for the Litany addresses and follows the Amduat hour by another scene from the Book of the Night. Other alterations to the units include the Judgment Scene of the Book of Gates before the Fifth Hour of Amduat. The foot end of the sarcophagi shows the most variations, although all have in common excerpts from the Ninth through Eleventh Hours of the Book of Amduat and the concluding scene to the Book of the Night. On the sarcophagi of Gemhap, Djedher (Louvre D9), and Tjaihepimu, addresses from the Litany of Re also appear on the foot end.



For variants, see charts to Side Three, below.

Book of Amduat

Every hour of the Book of Amduat appears on the Type II sarcophagi, although the Twelfth Hour of the composition is represented only by an excerpt of text and no depictions from Amduat. Hours one through eight are complete in their representations, while hours nine through eleven are sometimes reproduced only in part, a result of the limited space on the foot end of the sarcophagi.²⁷ Normally the labels to the figures are shallowly carved and occasionally illegible, but the traces usually fit the names of the New Kingdom versions. The sarcophagi of the father and son Gemhap and Tjaihepimu as well as Djedher (Louvre D9) include parts of the long and short versions of Amduat in bandeau texts above each register. Often these three copies diverge greatly from the New Kingdom versions, while remaining remarkably similar to one another. Despite the small size of the text and the resulting difficulties in decipherment, the three copies normally utilize identical orthographies. In one exceptional case, the sarcophagus of Djedher adds a hymn to the normal text of the Eighth Hour of Amduat; although this text is not present in any New Kingdom version, it also appears on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II (Type III). In a few cases, the images from the Book of Amduat are subtly altered from the earlier copies. For example, the solar bark includes a small image of the deceased adoring Re as he travels through the hours of the night. In the top register of the Fifth Hour of Amduat a scarab emerges from a rounded chest—on the sarcophagi the chest has been eliminated and the scarab body is enlarged. Another interesting variation appears in

²⁷ Since the head end of the sarcophagus is wider than the foot end and has a curved surface, it was easier for the sculptors to fit a complete version of the first four hours on the head end, along with gates and Litany figures.

the Seventh Hour of Amduat, where Apеп is not only lassoed, but water is poured over him. Such changes to the annotations and other images are addressed in the commentary below.

Book of Gates

The elaborate portals that introduce each hour of the Book of Gates are a feature unique to that composition amongst the Underworld Books, but similar gates also appear in Chapter 144-147 of the Book of the Dead.²⁸ The continuing popularity of gates from these chapters of the Book of the Dead and their associated text is evident in Late Period tombs,²⁹ sarcophagi,³⁰ and papyri.³¹ On the Third Shrine of Tutankhamun, figures from

²⁸ Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, pp. 57-58. BD 144 has seven ‘rry.t gates and BD 145 has 21 sbḥ.t portals. There are several Coffin Text parallels to these spells (J.F. Borghouts, “An Early Book of Gates, *Coffin Texts*, spell 336,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion (FS Voss)* [Kampen, 1988], pp. 12-22); depictions of gates also appear in a Middle Kingdom funerary papyrus (J.F. Borghouts, “A New Middle Kingdom Netherworld Guide,” in S. Schoske, ed., *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985* [Hamburg, 1989], pp. 131-39). These spells are popular in burials of the royal family and queens. The tomb of Tausert (usurped by Sethnakht), uses Book of the Dead Chapter 145 in place of the Book of Gates, substituting the judgment of the deceased for the judgment hall of Osiris (Abitz, *König und Gott*, 7ff and Abb. 9). The “gate” chapters of the Book of the Dead were also popular in tombs in the Valley of the Queens (e.g. Ch. Leblanc, *Ta Set Neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire I* [Cairo, 1989], pls. 43-48). An extensive list of sources for Book of the Dead Chapters 144-147 appears in N. Guilhou, “Génies funéraires, croque-mitaines ou anges-gardiens?” in S. Aufrère, ed., *Encyclopédie religieuse de l’Univers végétal* (Montpellier, 1999), pp. 365-417.

²⁹ Assmann, *Mutirdis*, pp. 59-64. The Late Period obsession with doorways in the afterlife may have contributed to the late Ptolemaic and Roman stelae showing nestled portals (F. Le Corsu, “Stèles-portes égyptiennes à éléments emboités d’époque gréco-romaine,” *RdE* 20 [1968]: 109-25).

³⁰ CG 29315 contains vignettes and text from BD 147 and an excerpt from BD 144 (Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, vol. 2, pp. 91-5, 97-100, pls. 28-29). The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306) contains guardian figures from BD 145 and 146 on the vertical portions of the lid (see *infra*)

Chapter 147 appear on the doors and back panel, while the Second and Sixth Hours of Amduat decorate the long walls.³² The tomb of Ramesses IX also provides a partial parallel for the arrangement of the gates on the sarcophagi, since each corridor is preceded by carved doorleaves guarded by rearing serpents;³³ in the second corridor, figures from the Litany of Re accompany the left side of the door.³⁴ The addition of portals to hours of the Amduat is suggested by the text itself, which provides a name for the door (*sbȝ*) of each hour of the Underworld; in the Book of Gates, on the other hand, the gates are called *sbȝ.t*, so they are given feminine names.³⁵

The only other excerpt from the Book of Gates on Type II sarcophagi is Scene 33, commonly known as the Judgment Hall of Osiris. In all but one case, the sarcophagi reproduce the cryptographic text present in the New Kingdom versions. The *Normalschrift* version on Louvre D9 offers new possibilities for the understanding of this difficult text. The Judgment Hall of Osiris on the left side of the sarcophagi also mirrors

³¹ For post-Twenty-First Book of the Dead manuscripts, see U. Verhoeven, “Textgeschichtliche Beobachtungen am Schlusstext von Totenbuchspruch 146,” *RdE* 43 (1992): 169-171. The ritual entitled “Great decree which is made regarding the bank of Igeret” also describes twenty *sbȝ.t* portals (Goyon, *Le papyrus d’Imouthès*, pp. 19-20, 35ff.).

³² Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-ankh-amon*, pp. 69ff.

³³ Guilmant, *Tombeau de Ramsès IX.*, pls. 8, 9, 25, 26, 39, 40, 63.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pls. 39, 40. The text with this gate is excerpted from the Second Division of the Book of Caverns.

³⁵ for a comparison of names, see Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, pp. 48-9. The connection between the gates in Book of the Dead Chapter 145/146 and the Underworld Books is further suggested by the use of the same name for the first portal in the Book of the Dead and the Book of the Night (Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 55-58).

the enthroned Osiris from the Book of Gates on the right side, an important new relationship between rarely connected compositions.³⁶

Litany of Re

The Type II sarcophagi only use the “addresses” from the Great Litany of Re, whose texts and depictions typically appeared in the first two corridors of New Kingdom royal tombs.³⁷ In Hornung’s edition of the text, each address has been given a number; for example, in the tomb of Seti I, the odd numbers are located on the left side of the corridor and the even on the right.³⁸ The addresses preceding the First Hour of Amduat on the sarcophagi begin with the highest numbers, Addresses 74 and 75,³⁹ and the addresses before each subsequent hour are from lower numbers. However, not every address in the Great Litany appears on the sarcophagi, as the following chart demonstrates.⁴⁰

³⁶ For a translation and commentary of the Judgment Hall of Osiris, see *infra*.

³⁷ Abitz, *Pharaos als Gott*, pp. 51-55.

³⁸ Barta, ZÄS 113 (1986): 83-85; *idem*, “Die Anbringung der Sonnenlitanei in den Königsgräbern der Ramessidenzeit,” GM 71 (1984): 7-10.

³⁹ At the end of the addresses is an excerpt from the description of *gšy* immediately following the Great Litany, see *infra*.

⁴⁰ Numbers followed by an asterisk indicate that the address on the sarcophagus differs from the New Kingdom version.

Hour of Amduat	Addresses
1	74, 75
2	69, 71, 73
3	63, 65, 67
4	58, 59, 61*
5	48, 50, 53, 54
6	40, 42, 44, 46
7	32*, 34,* 36 (Louvre D9 only) ⁴¹
8	32*, 34,* 36,* 38* (Louvre D9: 35, 37, 39)
9	24*, 26, Foremost of the West,* 30* (Louvre D9 only)
10	None
11	8, 14 (BM 1504 and Louvre D9 only)
Concluding Scene Book of the Night	6 (Louvre D9 only)

Fig. 5: Division of the Litany of Re among the Hours of Amduat

In the New Kingdom royal tombs, the Litany of Re is normally read in a circular fashion beginning at the left side of the entrance, through the first and second corridors, continuing onto the ceiling of the second corridor,⁴² and then reading the right wall back to the entrance.⁴³ The Type II sarcophagi create a similar cyclical motion, corresponding to the hours of the Amduat (see below “Layout”), but begin with the “last” forms of Re, which occur furthest from the entrance of the royal tombs. This sequence also appears on the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre (Type III). All of these sarcophagi diverge greatly from the arrangement of the addresses in the New Kingdom royal tombs and represent a previously unrecognized textual tradition.

⁴¹ All other Type II sarcophagi precede the Seventh Hour of Amduat by a scene from the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night.

⁴² The location of the important address to *db3-dmd*—on this text, see Chapter 6, *infra*.

⁴³ Barta, *GM* 71 (1984) 7-11.

The Late Period versions of the addresses always include insertions identifying the deceased with that manifestation of the sun god.⁴⁴ This added text bears some resemblance to the annotations to the forms of the sun god in the Third Intermediate Period “Litany” papyri, but the sarcophagi do not use any of the new and often bizarre forms of Re in those papyri.⁴⁵ This extra text follows each address and usually appears in the following form:

*iw Wsir N hkn-f n R^c
twt is h3.t Wsir N h3.t DN
Osiris N always praises Re.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, (who is) the corpse of DN.*

Occasionally, the very *hkn* is changed to *w3š*. In one exceptional case—Address 69 to the “Underwordly baboon”—the insertion reads:⁴⁶ *Wsir N hknw=f n R^c htw=f n hnty d3.t* “Osiris N always praises to Re, he jubilates for the one foremost of the Underworld.” The verb *htw* is often associated specifically with the actions of baboons, and the New Kingdom version of this address refers to the baboon as *htw* “jubilating one,” an epithet that does not appear in the Late Period versions. The use of *htw* suggests both that the Late Period scribes had access to complete manuscripts of the Litany of Re as it existed in the New Kingdom and that the insertions were not thoughtlessly added, but could be tailored to fit the specific context of the address. In some cases, the normal text is not added, but instead various properties are requested from the sun god, like the “wish

⁴⁴ These additions are also discussed by Jenni, *Das Dekorationsprogramm*, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁵ For “Litany” papyri, labeled *md3.t imy dw3.t* by the ancient authors, see Niwinski, *Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, pp. 162-73 and Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, pp. 66-175.

⁴⁶ See *infra*.

formulae” for Ramesses II from the Litany of Re at the temple of Abydos.⁴⁷ Another exception is provided by Address 8 of the Litany; since the form accompanying this address is a bound enemy, the deceased is not identified with the enemy, but rather the punishing ability of the solar god—“He assigns punishment to the evil one. He destroys his enemies.” The extra text serves the primary function of identifying the deceased with each form of the sun god and repeatedly emphasizing the identification of Re with the corpse of the deceased. Just as Re is the corpse of each of his forms, so is he the corpse of the Osiride individual within the sarcophagus.

Book of the Night

The Book of the Night is traditionally considered to be a “heavenly” book, since in New Kingdom funerary contexts it appears exclusively on the ceilings of royal tombs and the Osireion.⁴⁸ However, the First Hour of the Book of the Night appears on the walls of three temple chambers⁴⁹—a vestibule in Deir el-Bahri, the solar chapel of Medinet Habu and Room D in the Edifice of Taharqa. On the Type II sarcophagi the scenes excerpted from the Book of the Night are incorporated into the decorative scheme alongside the Books of Amduat and Gates. The appearance of these scenes rules against a strict division between “heavenly” books and “underworld” books, since the Egyptians considered them all to be parts of the *sš n ḡ.t imnt.t* “book of the hidden chamber.”

⁴⁷ On the address-specific additions at Abydos, see Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, pp. 34-49.

⁴⁸ For the distribution of the Book of the Night on extant monuments, see Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 1-25.

⁴⁹ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 15-16.

The excerpts from the Book of the Night appear on Side Three of the sarcophagi, with part of the “cosmographic” scene from the Twelfth Hour placed in the upper left corner of Side Four (the foot end). The Seventh Hour of the Book of Amduat is flanked by two scenes from the Book of the Night—the scene of Horus and bound enemies with a symbolic representation of rebirth, found in the lower register of the Seventh Hour,⁵⁰ and the enthroned Osiris from the lower register of the Eighth Hour.⁵¹ In the second register, following the Eighth Hour of Amduat is the remainder of the lower register of the Eighth Hour of the Book of the Night, divinities before a portal and the address of Sia.⁵² The foot end contains a small-scale representation of the bark of the day and the night together with other icons from the concluding scene of the Book of the Night.⁵³

LAYOUT OF THE TEXTS

A comparison of the layout of the Type II sarcophagi with that of the burial chamber of Thutmosis III yields astonishing results—except for the omission of the Twelfth Hour, the hours of the Book of Amduat appear on the sarcophagi in nearly the same positions as in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb.⁵⁴ In the tomb of Thutmosis III, one

⁵⁰ See *infra*.

⁵¹ See *infra*, especially the comparison with the Judgment Hall of the Book of Gates.

⁵² Translation and commentary, *infra*.

⁵³ These images are treated at length, *infra*.

⁵⁴ The same is not true of the tomb of Padiamenemope (TT 33), which only distributes the hours of Amduat over three walls of Corridor XIII.

must circuit the sarcophagus chamber twice to read the entire twelve hours.⁵⁵ A different pattern emerges on the sarcophagi: the text begins at the corner of Side Three and the head end and reads counter-clockwise along Side Two (encompassing hours 1-6)—then returns to the starting point and reads Sides Three and Four (hours 7-11 plus symbols relating to hour twelve). Amazingly, this is *identical* to the layout and direction of reading which Abitz reconstructed as the “ideale Raum, welcher die Vorschriften der Wanddekoration und der Fahrtrichtung der Barken berücksichtigt.”⁵⁶

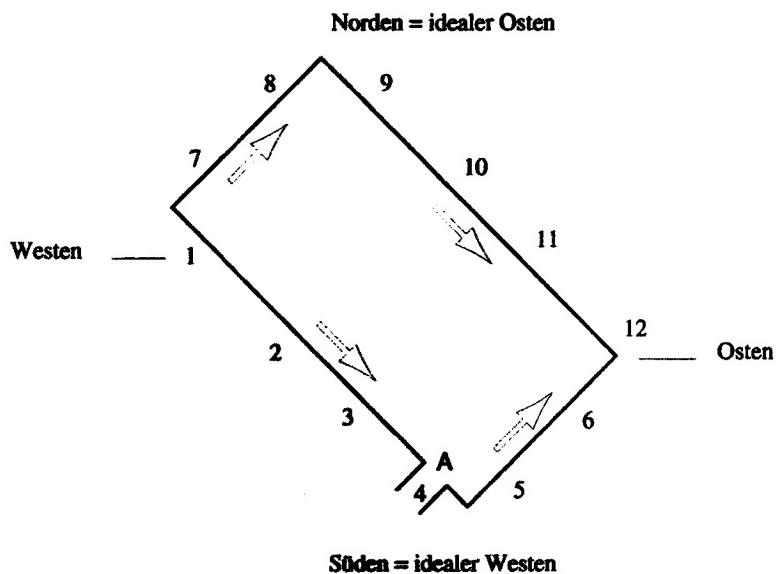


Fig. 6: Ideal Arrangement of the Book of Amduat⁵⁷

⁵⁵ W. Barta, “Zur Verteilung der 12 Nachtstudien des Amduat im Grabe Tuthmosis’ III.,” *JEOL* 21 (1969-70): 164-168.

⁵⁶ *Pharao als Gott*, p. 44. The direction in which the text is read in the “hidden chamber of the Underworld” as expressed on the sarcophagi is also the same as the orientation of hieroglyphic texts on Middle Kingdom coffins (Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 119).

⁵⁷ After Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, p. 44.

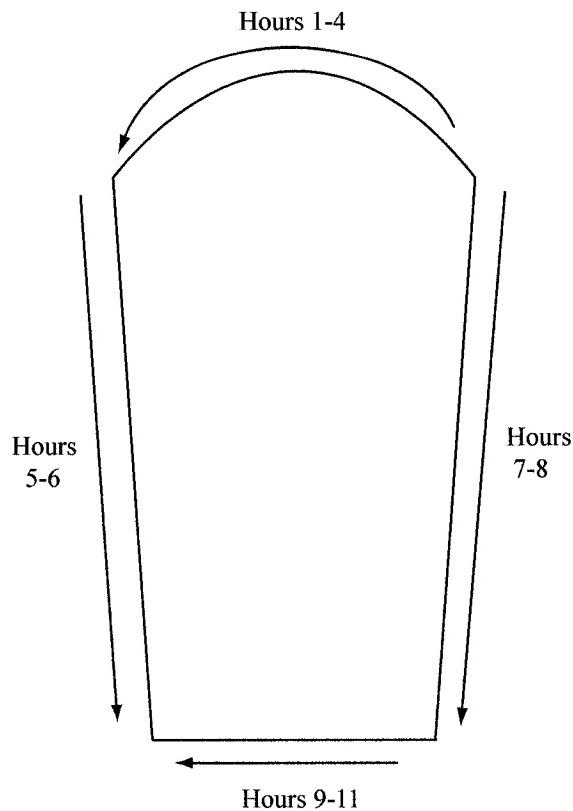


Fig. 7: Arrangement of the Book of Amduat on the Type II sarcophagi

The Type II sarcophagi and the Tomb of Thutmose III also share a bipartite division of the first and last six hours of the night.⁵⁸ The middle hours of the night, hours five through eight, form another distinct unit framed by two depictions of the enthroned Osiris, the Judgment Hall (Gates, Scene 33) and the scene from the lower register of the Eighth Hour of the Book of the Night. According to the directions in the Amduat itself, hours 1-4 should be on the west side, 5-6 on the south, 7-8 on the north, and 9-12 on the east; if one interprets the foot end of the sarcophagus as the “east”⁵⁹ then the sarcophagi

⁵⁸ Interestingly, during the first six hours of the night, the ram-headed sun god occupies a shrine, but for the last six hours of the night he is shown protectively surrounded by the Mehen serpent.

⁵⁹ The same orientation occurs on the sarcophagi of Aspelta and Anlamani (G. Soukiassian, “Une version des veillées horaires d’Osiris,” *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 334-5, fig. 1; *contra* Doll, *Napatan Sarcophagi*, p. 7).

follow the textual directions precisely. Again, this is remarkable, considering that the segments of text containing these instructions do not appear on any Late Period sarcophagi. In fact, outside of the burial chamber of Thutmosis III,⁶⁰ the Type II sarcophagi are the only preserved instances of the Book of Amduat being organized according to the instructions within the text.

SIDE ONE

The rounded head end of the Type I sarcophagi contain a total of four “units” of decoration, consisting of two to three Addresses from the Litany of Re, a *sbh.t*-portal from the Book of Gates, and depictions from an hour of Amduat. Each Type II sarcophagus contains the First through Fourth Hours of Amduat on Side One; the Type II sarcophagi divide into two slightly different groups, based on the placement of the Second and Third Hours of Amduat and their accompanying Addresses from the Litany of Re (see the Figures below). The following translation and commentary follows the order of the first group, including Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9.

⁶⁰ W. Barta, “Zur Verteilung der 12 Nachtstudien des Amduat im Grabe Tuthmosis’ III.,” *JEOL* 21 (1969-70): 166-167.

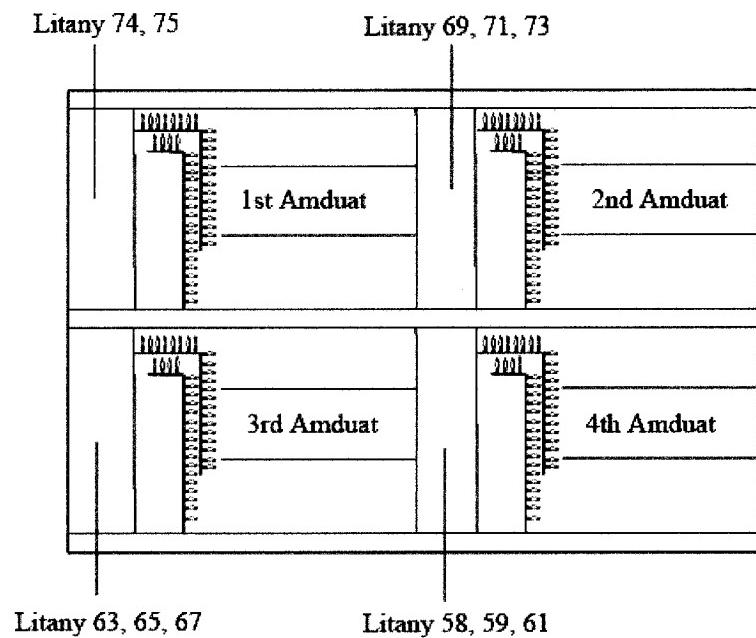


Fig. 8: Summary of Side One decoration on Berlin 49, BM 1504, Louvre D9

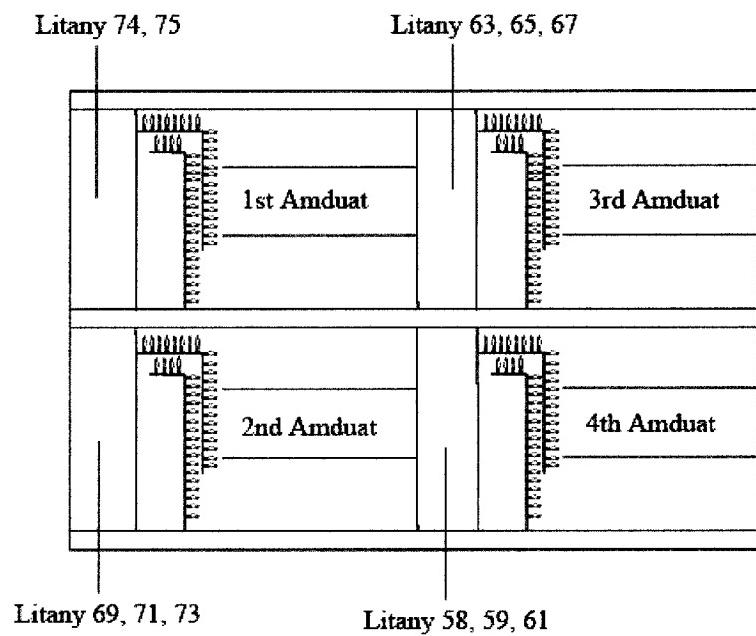


Fig. 9: Summary of Side One decoration on CG 29305, JE 48446, and JE 48557

FIRST REGISTER

LITANY OF RE BEFORE THE FIRST HOUR OF AMDUAT

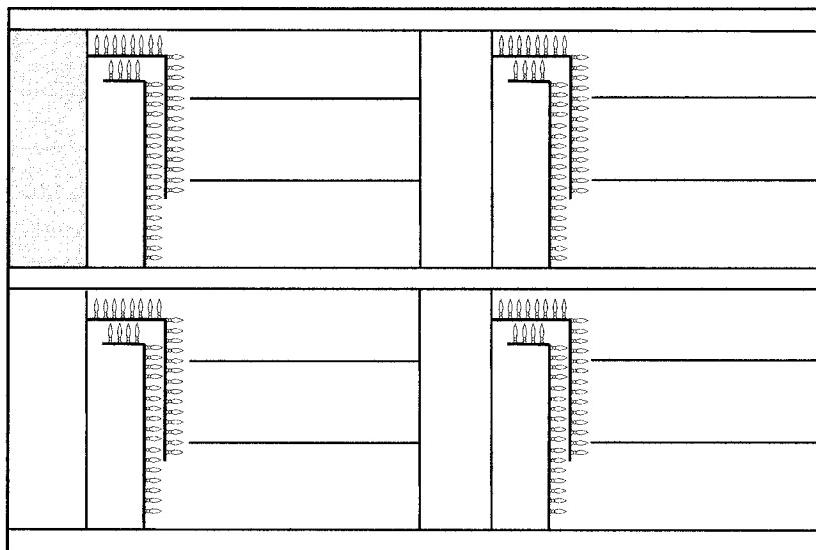


Fig. 10: Placement of Addresses 74 and 75 on all Type II sarcophagi

Address 74

Depiction: Human-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 43

BM 1504: pl. 43

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 174

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 1, pl. 13

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 83

hk̄nw n=k R^c
q₃ shm
hw.y.(ty)^a bnbn.ty^b
ntr c₃ tsi nw^c
twt is h₃.t Hwy

Praise to you Re,
 high and mighty,
 Obelisk point, He of the Benben sanctuary,
 the great god who creates time
 Indeed, you are the corpse of the Obelisk point

iw Wsir N hnkw=f n R^c
ntf ntr c₃ tz nw
twt is h₃t tsi nw

ḥ3t Wsir N

Osiris N praises Re.

It is he who is the great god, who creates time.

Indeed you are the corpse of the one who creates time,
the corpse of Osiris N.

^a Hornung translates *hw* as “Lichtglänzender(?)”⁶¹ based on the shining sun-disk determinative in the New Kingdom versions,⁶² but points towards a potential solution in *Wb.* III 45.12—a word *hw* with the *spd*-sign determinative, that may refer to the tip of an obelisk. The attestation listed in the *Belegstellen* is P. Anastasi I 15.5⁶³—“its pyramidion is a cubit in height; its *hw*-part is two fingers.” The *hw* may be a sheath of precious metal or stone that would have covered the top of the pyramidion.⁶⁴ Based on this evidence, this address likely compares Re to the gold or electrum point that sheathed the very tip of an obelisk.

^b The *benben*-sanctuary, one of the most prominent monuments in ancient Heliopolis, was both the center of solar worship and, paradoxically, the location of the solar corpse.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, pp. 72 and 121, n. 203.

⁶² The sarcophagus of Usermaatre, the one Late Period sarcophagus with a determinative in the address, uses a rectangular stone determinative (Jenni, in A. Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, p. 142); Louvre D9 does not contain this set of Litany addresses and the other sarcophagi of this type do not have any determinative after *hw*. However, in the label to the figure in Shebmin (JE 49447) a shining sun disk appears as a determinative.

⁶³ L. Lesko, ed., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* 2nd ed. (Providence, 2002),, vol. 1, p. 303 cites the Anastasi example and accepts the *Wb.* translation of the point of an obelisk.

⁶⁴ H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I: Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 141-2, citing a pyramidion from Tell el-Daba with recesses for just such a cap.

⁶⁵ This idea extends back to the Middle Kingdom—for explicit passages from the Coffin Texts, see Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 61 n. 144.

The Heliopolitan burial of Re-Osiris appears prominently in the Sixth Hour of the Book of Gates, 38th Scene, where clothed figures called “Hidden-of-arm who bear the mysteries” are accompanied by the following text:⁶⁶

*wnn-sn hr s̄st3 n ntr ‘3
iwy m33 sw imy.w dw3.t
m33 sw mw.wt 3mm-sn m hw.t-bnbn r bw hr h3.t ntr pn*
They exist in this fashion bearing the mystery (i.e. corpse) of the great god,
without those in the Underworld seeing them.
The damned see him when they burn up in the Temple of the Benben,
at the place which bears the corpse of this god.

The damned are burned in the presence of the corpse of Osiris, just like the fiery punishment of the damned at the cusp of the eastern horizon before the giant unified Re-Osiris.⁶⁷ “He of the benben” may also refer to the associations of Osiris and the *bnw*-phoenix:⁶⁸

*ink bnw pw nty m Twnw
iry sipty n nty wn
ptr rf sw Wsir pw*
I am that phoenix who is in Heliopolis,
the one who reckons all which exists.
Who is it? It is Osiris.”

Osiris had a well-attested cult center at both the *hw.t-bnw* and the *hw.t-bnbn*,⁶⁹ which contributed to his later associations with the phoenix.⁷⁰ One of the main purposes of the

⁶⁶ Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 224-5.

⁶⁷ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 397.

⁶⁸ Book of the Dead Chapter 17 (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, pp. 39-40, version Aa). For the relationship between the Egyptian *bnw* and the phoenix in classical mythology, see R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 14ff.

⁶⁹ El-Banna, *BIFAO* 89 (1989): 109ff. The association of the *bnbn* and *hw.t-bnw* appears already in the Pyramid Texts (Utt. 600, §§1652a-b): “O Atum-Khepri, you became high as the high mound, you rose as the *bnbn*-stone in the Mansion of the Phoenix in Heliopolis ...”

bnbn-temple was the worship of the body of the solar god,⁷¹ and as such a *bnbn*-shaped reliquary can contain the body parts of Osiris spread throughout Egypt.⁷²

^c The use of *tz* with a noun of time appears only rarely in Egyptian texts. The closest parallel to the Litany passage is Leiden I 350:⁷³

iri rnp.wt
tz zbd.w hrw.w grhy.t wnw.wt
r nmt.wt=f
Who creates years,
who binds months, days, nights, and hours
according to his peregrinations.

The combination of the epithet “who binds time” with the image of the obelisk may actually suggest that the obelisk itself could measure time. Although the most well-known time keeping device in ancient Egypt is the clepsydra, shadow clocks are also attested during the New Kingdom. The best example is the shadow clock text on the

⁷⁰ L. Kákosy, “Phönix,” *LÄ* IV, cl. 1032. Osiris is called “phoenix” in the Ritual of Smiting the Four Balls (Goyon, *Le Papyrus d’Imouthès*, col. 27, l. 10 [the *hw.t-bnbn* is mentioned a few lines earlier]). For other references to Osiris-Phoenix, see Goyon, *RdE* 20 (1968): 90 n. 11; El-Banna, *BIAFO* 89 (1989): 121-122.

⁷¹ P. Berlin 3049, col. XV, ll. 1-2: *htp.ti m iwnw dsr.n hw.t-bnbn r sh3p d.t=k* “May you rest in Heliopolis; it is in order to hide your body that the Beben-temple is sanctified” (Gülden, *Die hieratischen Texte des P. Berlin 3049*, p. 67). The ba of Osiris is also located at the *hw.t-bnbn* (Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, pp. 62-3). See also *supra*.

⁷² See *infra*, discussing the upper register of the Sixth Hour of Amduat

⁷³ Col. II, ll. 16-17; for transcription, see Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon*, pl. II and p. 30 for other passages where deities create time; see also Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, pp. 49ff. Another damaged parallel, containing the expression *tz i zbd.w* occurs in TT 65 (Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, pp. 118-19, text 83). For the creation of time being the work of the sun god during the day as well as at night, see J. Assmann, “Zwei Sonnenhymnen der späten XVIII. Dynastie in thebanischen Gräbern der Saitenzeit,” *MDAIK* 27 (1971): 13-15; Zandee, *Amunhymnus*, vol. 1, pp. 234-238. The use of *tz i* stands in contrast to other verbs, such as *wpi*, where the sun god creates time by dividing it into units—Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 82 n. 125, 98-99.

ceiling of the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, which depicts such a device (known also from extant objects) and describes its use.⁷⁴ While it is unlikely that obelisks were ever used for keeping time in ancient Egypt,⁷⁵ the long shadows they cast very probably called to mind the more mundane shadow clocks. The use of a shadow clock to keep time for a ritual is also attested in P. Bremner-Rhind 23,11:⁷⁶

pg3 hr=f ḫ3.w zp-snw m ḫ3.t wnw.t nb.t n.t hrw nfry.t phr šw.t
Spit upon him [Apep] very many times at the beginning of every hour
of the day until the shadow turns.

The time-telling aspects of the sun god may also be expressed in Address 68 in the Great Litany:⁷⁷

hk̄nw n=k R^c
q3 shm
dn.ty pt sb3 n dw3t
bsy s^qhw=f
twt is ḫ3t bsy

Praise to you, o Re!
High and mighty!
Clepsydra of the sky! Star of the Netherworld!
Conductor of his mummies.
Indeed, you are the corpse of the conductor.

⁷⁴ A. de Buck in H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 1, pp. 76-81 and vol. 2, pls. 82-3.

⁷⁵ However, the Romans did use ancient Egyptian obelisks as giant sun-dials (S. Woodhouse, “The sun god, his four bas and the four winds in the sacred district at Sais: the fragment of an Obelisk (BM EA 1512),” in S. Quirke, ed., *The Temple in Ancient Egypt* [London, 1997], p. 143, nn. 12-13, see particularly G. Alfoldy, *Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom, Ein historisches Monument der Antike* [Heidelberg, 1990], pp. 55-67).

⁷⁶ Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 46, l. 15-47, l. 1. Time-keeping was also important within the royal tombs themselves—the decan charts in the Nut Book may have helped the New Kingdom tell time during their Underworldly journey (Barta, *Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, pp. 148-50).

⁷⁷ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 77. I thank Prof. John Darnell for the interpretation of this passage.

The djenet pot⁷⁸ is probably identical to the word for a “large vessel”⁷⁹—this personification of the solar god as a large vessel suggests a clepsydra as depicted in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁸⁰ The term *dn.t* here may be related to an odd passage in the autobiography of Amenemhat, the horologist; after stating that he made a *dbḥ pn šps* “this noble clepsydra,” and its functions, he states:⁸¹ *prr mw hr wdn.t* (鳥 ) *wc.t* “From the single outlet the water flows.” The word *dn.ty* may be related to a *nisbe*-formation of this word for outlet, characterizing the clepsydra as “the one with the outlet hole.” If this identification is correct, then the 68th Address characterizes the solar god as a time-keeping device; similarly, the 74th Address from the Litany of Re depicts the sun as Chronos, but rather than holding an hourglass, Re embodies the tip of an obelisk, the gnomon of a giant sun dial.

Address 75

Depiction: Human-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 43

BM 1504: pl. 43

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 174-75

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 1, pl. 13

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 84-85

⁷⁸ *Wb.* V 575.2 “Name des Sonnengottes.”

⁷⁹ *Wb.* V 575.11 = single attestation in the Pyramid Texts §437, which refers to spending the night in the *dn.t*-pot, possibly a reference to early “pot burials” (C. Hope, *Egyptian Pottery*, 2nd ed. [Buckinghamshire, 2001], p. 53). See also, R. Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les noms et signes égyptiens désignant des vases ou objets similaires* (Paris, 1935), pp. 27, 138 for the shape of the *dn.t* pot.

⁸⁰ For the identification of the clepsydra in the tomb of Ramesses VI, see Barguet, *RdE* 30 (1978): 52-4. The word once believed to be the main term for clepsydra—*šb.t/wnšb*—is now generally recognized to be a cultic symbol rather than functioning device (C. Sambin, *L’offrande de la soi-disant „clepsydre.” Le symbole šbt/wnšb/wtt* [Budapest, 1988]; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, pp. 238-9).

⁸¹ W. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 112.

hnk n=k R^c
qȝ shm
nb snk.t
štȝ bȝ nis imy.w qrr.wt-sn
twt is hȝ.t nb snk.t

Praise to you oh Re,
high and mighty!
Lord of Darkness,
One secret of ba who calls to those who are in their caverns.
You are indeed the corpse of the Lord of Darkness.

iw Wsir N hknw=f n R^c
ntf bȝ nis imy.w qrrt-sn
twt hȝt n Wsir N
hȝt n štȝ bȝ
i R^c imi qrr.t=f
hknw n=k R^c qȝsy sp.w 4

Osiris N praises Re, his father,
It is he who is the ba who calls to those who are in their caverns
You are indeed the corpse of the Osiris N.
the corpse of the one secret of ba,
O Re within his cavern!
Praise be to you o Re, migratory one, 4 times!

Following the normal “addition” to the Litany address, the Type II sarcophagi⁸² also add the first few lines of the first of the eight long litanies that follow the “Great Litany,” according to Hornung’s division of the text. The description of Re in the first of these litanies is as the *gȝy* “migratory one,” an epithet attested only here.⁸³ The interesting epithet is related to the Late Egyptian term *gȝs.w* “migratory fowl” (*Wb.* V

⁸² Nectanebo II and Usermaatre, Type III sarcophagi, follow the text of the Type II sarcophagi exactly.

⁸³ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 122, n. 210. A solar bird in *CT III 79g* (Spell 184) is called one who *ir gȝ* “makes a migration,” but the content of the spell does not otherwise relate to the Litany of Re, other than emphasizing the antiquity of the connection between the sun god and migratory fowl.

208, 2), who come from the *qbḥ.w* region in the story of Wenamun.⁸⁴ In the Book of Nut, the birds who migrate to Egypt from the *qbḥ.w-Hr* are *ba*-spirits, who transform into normal birds upon their arrival in the Nile Valley.⁸⁵ Re as the migratory bird is similarly a spiritual and divine power, who comes to Egypt and becomes visible in his various manifestations.⁸⁶ The philosophical contemplation of Re's numerous forms in the Litany of Re leads to the ultimate source of his visibility—the transformation that takes place when entering the sky after he migrates from the cool waters of the outer darkness.

⁸⁴ For the migratory birds in the story of Wenamun, see A. Egberts, “The Chronology of *The Report of Wenamun*,” *JEA* 77 (1991): 62 and n. 36; note also the discussion of migratory birds in Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen*, pp. 135-6.

⁸⁵ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 50, text Dd:

*kkw sm3w qbhw ntr.w
bw iwt zpd.w im*

The uniform darkness, the cool waters of the gods,
a place whence birds come.”

The birds themselves are described in text Ee:

*wnn nn zpd.w hr-sn m rm̄l qd-sn m zpd.w
w̄c im mdw=f hft snw-f m mdw rmi ...*

hn-sn hr h̄dw n.t p.t

hpr. hr-sn m qd-sn zpd.w

These birds exist with their faces as people, but their bodies as birds,
each one speaking to his companion with the speech of crying ...

They are alighting beneath the light of heaven.

Then they transform into their forms of birds.

⁸⁶ Utterance 267 of the Pyramid Texts suggests a connection between the bird form of Re and his physical manifestation as a scarab (§§366-367):

i.p̄y Wsir N pn m zpd hn̄n-f m hprr

i.p̄y-f m zpd hn̄n-f m hprr m ns.t šw.t(i) imy.t wi3-k R̄c

Just as Osiris N ascends as a bird, so does he alight as a scarab.

Just as he ascends as a bird, so does he alight as a scarab on the empty throne
which is in your bark, o Re!

FIRST HOUR OF AMDUAT

The sarcophagi of Tjaihepmu, Gemhap, and Djedher (Louvre D9) contain bandeau texts above each hour of Amduat, which are taken from the Short or Long Amduat, often with additional texts unique to the sarcophagi. Above the First Hour of Amduat, these sarcophagi begin with an excerpt from the Introductory Text of the First Hour, which is quite similar in both versions of the Amduat, but Late Period sarcophagi also add text not directly attested in any New Kingdom version of the composition. However, it is undeniable that the text on the sarcophagi was composed with reference to the earlier versions. The inspiration of the following lines appears to be the introduction to the Book of Amduat, which repeats the verb *rḥ* several times and enumerates the knowledge contained within the text.⁸⁷ The introduction to the Amduat does not appear

⁸⁷ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 100-109:

*sš n ḥ.t imn.t
‘ḥ. w b3.w ntr.w šw.wt ʒḥ.w ir.w
ḥṣt wp imn.t sb3 n ʒḥ.t imn.t
pḥ kkw-sm3.w sb3 ʒḥ.t imn.t
rḥ b3.w dw3.tiw
rḥ irw
rḥ sʒḥw-sn n R^c
rḥ b3.w št3w
rḥ imi wnw.t ntrw-sn
rḥ dwi-f sn
rḥ sb3.w w3.wt ‘pp.t ntr ‘ʒ hr-sn
rḥ šm.t wnw.t ntr.w-sn
rḥ w3šy.w htmy.w*

Illuminated texts of the hidden chamber,
the positions of the bas, the gods, the shades, the akh-spirits,
and visible forms

The beginning is the horn of the West, namely the portal of the western horizon,
the end is the unbroken darkness, the portal of the western horizon
To know the bas of the Underworld dwellers,
To know their visible appearances.
To know their effective spells for Re.
To know the secret bas
To know what is in the hour and their gods,

on any of the Late Period sarcophagi, but the bandeau texts on the sarcophagi Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9 suggest that papyrus copies of the introduction of the Amduat were probably still in existence. The author of the text on the sarcophagi used the introductory text of the Amduat as a template, but substituted the names of the groups of gods listed in the First Hour⁸⁸ as the objects of knowledge, rather than the more general categories which appear in the New Kingdom texts. The variant text to the First Hour of Amduat on some of the Type II sarcophagi are further proof for a fascinating process of textual criticism on the part of Late Period scribes.

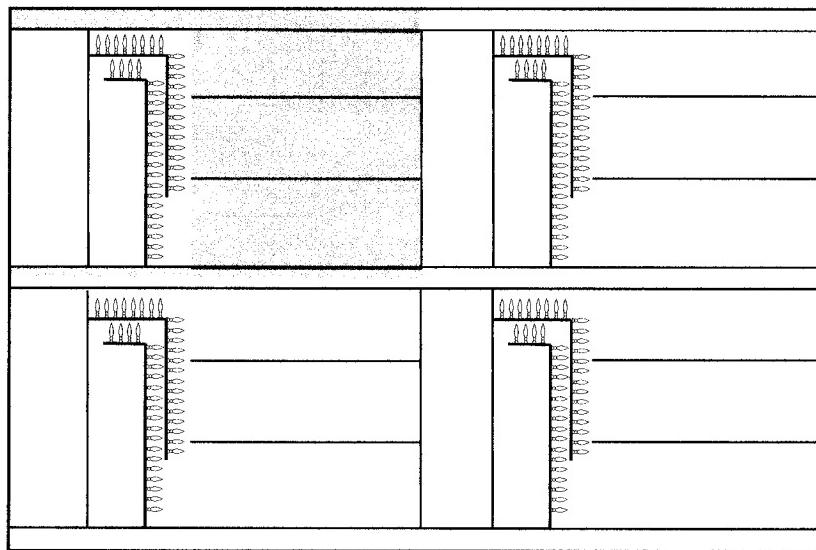


Fig. 11: First Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

First Hour of Amduat, Introductory Text

Text: Berlin 49: pls. 44-46

BM 1504: pls. 44-46

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 1, pls. 12-13

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 3-5, 7-8

To know how he calls them

To know the doors and the paths over which the great god passes,

To know the course/progression of the hours and their gods,

To know the honored and the damned.

⁸⁸ For these deities and their labels, see Chapter 4, *infra*.

nt R^c rn n sh.t tp.t n.t dw3.t
 hnb=f ʒh.wt r <n> n n ntr.w imy.w ht=f
 š3^c.n=f^a wd-mdw r ir.t shr.w n dw3.tyw imy.w sh.t tn^b
 wšm h3ty.w hfty.w n R^c
 rn n wnw.t tpy.t n.t grh
 sšm ntr pn ɔ (m) ɔrry.t tn^c
 sšm=s Wsir N hn^c imy.w ht R^c
 iW Wsir rh nn sšm mitt ntr ɔ
 iW hnb=f m sh.t tn hn^c ntr.w imy.w ht ntr pn ɔ
 iW=f rh.(w) rn.w n.w ntr.w wn (n) b3 ɔ
 iW=f rh.(w) rn.w n.w ntr.wt sšm ntr ɔ
 iW=f rh.(w) rn.w n.w ntr.w snsy R^c
 iW Wsir N iW=f rh.(w) rn.w n.w ntr.w shd kkw
 shd=[tn n]=f m w3.t kkw
 iW=f rh.(w) rn.w n.w dw3.w
 iW=f rh.(w) rn.w n.w hsi.w n R^c
 ɔq=f Wrns

“The water of Re” is the name of the first field of the Underworld.
 He measures out field-plots for these gods who are in his following.
 He begins to command in order to care for the Datians who are within this field.
 “She who cracks the skulls of the enemies of Re”

is the name of the first hour of the night
 who conducts this great god (in) this forecourt.

May she conduct the Osiris N along with those who are in the following of Re.

Osiris N knows these images like the great god.

His portion of land is in this field together with the gods

who are in the following of this great god.

He knows the names of the gods who open (for) the great ba.

He knows the names of the goddesses who conduct the great god.

He knows the names of the gods who praise Re.

Osiris N knows the names of the gods who illumine the darkness.

May you illumine for him along the dark road!

He knows the names of those who adore.

He knows the names of those who make music for Re,
 when he enters Wernes.

^a The New Kingdom versions write š3^c-f, which like hnb-f, is probably a dramatic circumstantial *sdm-f*.⁸⁹ Gemhap and Tjaihepimu replace š3^c-f by š3^c.n=f, although this

⁸⁹ On this form in the Underworld Books, see Baumann, *Suffix Conjugation*, pp. 125-135.

addition could be a simple error, the consistency between the two copies suggests that a present *sdm.n=f*⁹⁰ is here replacing the dramatic circumstantial *sdm-f*.

^b Gemhap and Tjaihepimu consistently omit the “directions” concerning the placement of the hours of Amduat,⁹¹ and here in the First Hour leave off the remarks concerning its usefulness both on earth and in the Netherworld.⁹²

^c The First Hour of Amduat, like most of the hours of Amduat on the Type II sarcophagi, is preceded by a *sbȝ.t*-gateway from the Book of Gates. Since the First Hour is distinctive as the liminal *rry.t*-portal of the Netherworld, the relationship between these two areas of passageway should be elucidated. The entire First Hour of the Amduat is a transitional zone between the world of the living and the realm of the dead,⁹³ as the beginning of the Short Amduat text of the First Hour states:⁹⁴

itrw 120 pw hr skdwt m rrty.t tn ni sprt-f r ntr.w dwȝ.tyw
It is 120 iteru of sailing in this forecourt, *before* he reaches the
Underworldly gods.

⁹⁰ Servajean, *Les formules des transformations*, pp. 33-48.

⁹¹ Although the directions are not written within the texts on the sarcophagi, the Type II sarcophagi follow the directions completely, representing the “ideal” layout of the hours of the Amduat (see *supra*).

⁹² On these statements, see the discussion *infra*.

⁹³ The liminal nature of the first hour of the night is expressed even more strongly in the Book of the Night, which omits the transitional zone and begins with the second hour (Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, p. 31; *idem*, “The Book of the Night: A Royal Composition Documenting the Conceptions of the Hereafter at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty,” in C.J. Eyre, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* [Leuven, 1998], p. 1006).

⁹⁴ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, pp. 2-3; the same statement is repeated in the long Amduat (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, pp. 110-113).

In temple complexes, the *‘rry.t* is not a physical gateway through which one passes, but rather a forecourt, the approach to the temple.⁹⁵ On the other hand, a *sbḥ.t* is a defined architectural feature,⁹⁶ like the elaborate porticos in the Book of Gates. By analogy with the other hours of Amduat, a gateway was placed before the First Hour of Amduat, even though the First Hour of the Book of Gates lacks such a feature. Similarly, the forecourt to the eastern horizon in the Eleventh Hour of Amduat is also called an *‘rry.t*.⁹⁷

LITANY OF RE BEFORE THE SECOND HOUR OF AMDUAT

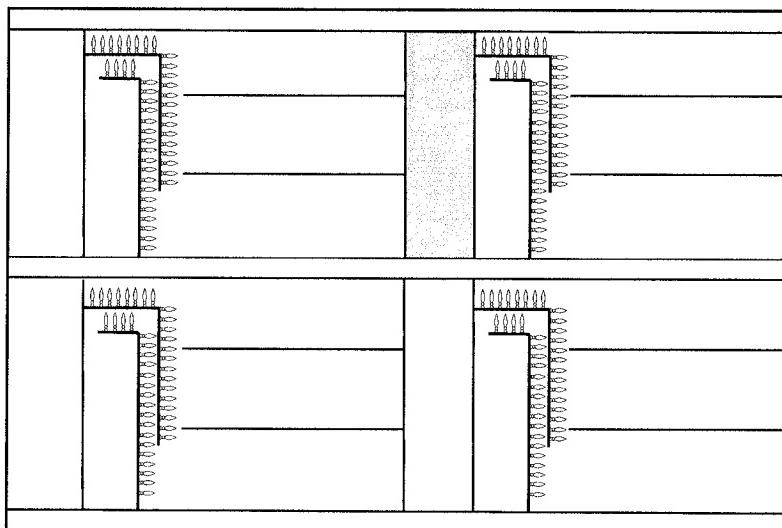


Fig. 12: Placement of Addresses 69, 71, and 73 on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

⁹⁵ P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple. A Lexicographical Study* (London, 1984), pp. 147-155. See also Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 422-423 on the architecture of the Netherworld and the *‘rry.t* “forecourt.”

⁹⁶ Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, pp. 161-168, defining the *sbḥ.t* as a “screen-walled portico.”

⁹⁷ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 771-2, and commentary *infra*.

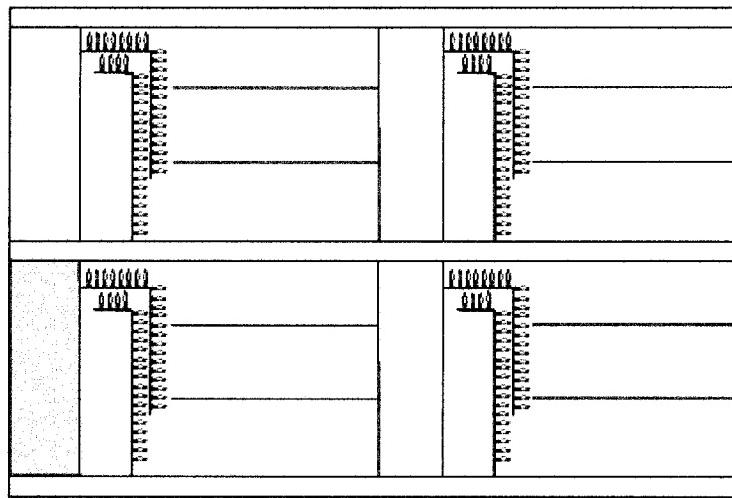


Fig. 13: Placement of Addresses 69, 71, and 73 on CG 29305, JE 48446, and JE 48557

Address 69

Depiction: Baboon-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 48

BM 1504: pl. 48

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 183

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 12

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 78

*hk̄nw n=k R̄ q3 shm
īnw Hpry-R̄
m3̄ īrw
twt is h3.t n īnw d3.t
Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R̄ htw-f n hnty dw3.t
twt is h3.t n Wsir N h3.t īnw*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!

Baboon, Khepri-Re,

True of visible forms.

You are indeed the corpse of the Underworldly Baboon!

Osiris N always praises to Re, he jubilates for the one foremost of the Underworld.

You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Baboon.

The Late Period versions of Address 69 from the Litany of Re demonstrate that the late scribes knew the complete, New Kingdom versions of the netherworldly texts, even if the full text was not included on the sarcophagi. The late variants of Address 69 omit the epithet of the baboon in the New Kingdom version: *htt wtnty* “jubilating one, he

of Wetchenet.”⁹⁸ However, the additional text on the Type II sarcophagi and the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre⁹⁹ contains the verb *htw*, rather than the verb *hknw*, which is used consistently in the text following the standard addresses from the Litany of Re. The sarcophagus of Tjahepimu (Berlin 49) places *htw* in parallel with *hknw*:¹⁰⁰ *hm ntr tȝi-hp-im mȝc hrw hkn=f n Rȝ htw=f n hnty dȝ.t.* This fascinating substitution and/or addition indicates that the seemingly banal extra texts on the sarcophagi were composed with reference to a copy of the more complete versions of the Underworld Books attested in New Kingdom royal tombs. In Address 69, Re is said to be the corpse of the Osirian individual *and* the Underworldly Baboon, thus, the deceased does not merely “praise” Re, but “jubilates” for him exactly as the baboons.

The jubilation of baboons for Re usually alludes to the rising of the sun in the eastern horizon:¹⁰¹

*iw N rh mdw pw štȝ dd bȝw iȝb.tyw
 hsl=sn tȝȝ n Rȝ
 wbn=f hȝ=f m ȝh.t*
 N knows the secret language of the eastern bas,
 as they sing the chatterings to Re,

⁹⁸ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 78.

⁹⁹ The verb is written with a *pr*-sign on these two Type III sarcophagi, but the parallels on the Type II sarcophagi make a reading of *htt* certain (thus eliminating the doubts of Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, p. 114-115). The substitution of the *pr*-sign for the *h*-courtyard (and the reverse substitution) appears already in New Kingdom cryptography (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 263 n. 410).

¹⁰⁰ Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, vol. III, pl. 6, col. 2.

¹⁰¹ For a collection of the relevant texts, of which the following quote is only one, see H. Te Velde, “Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagtedonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen, 1988), pp. 129-137; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 208-10. See also the discussion of Address 69 in Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 403-404 n. 146.

when he rises and appears in glory in the horizon.¹⁰²

However, Address 69 from the Litany of Re on the sarcophagi occurs in conjunction with the Second Hour of Amduat, and the form of Re in the address is not a baboon at the eastern horizon, but rather the *Underworldly* baboon. Another text describing the activities of the baboons supports their presence within the Underworld itself:¹⁰³

*i^cny.w sr.w R^c
msi.(w) n_ltr pn '3 r wn.wt m dw3.t
h^c=sn n=f m-ht hpr=f
wnn=sn m itr.ty n n_ltr pn m wbn=f
m z_h.t i₃bt.t n.t p.t ...
sdm=sn md.wt hnw n Wtn.t
Baboons who announce Re,
when this great god is born at the hours in the Underworld.
They appear for him after he transforms.
It is when he rises in the eastern horizon of heaven*

¹⁰² Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 17. A copy of this text occurs in the Edifice of Taharqa and the tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33).

¹⁰³ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. VI, pl. 420B. For a parallel to baboons who “announce Re” in the Underworld, compare the four baboons in the Twelfth Hour of the Book of Gates, Scene 90 (Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, pp. 393-4):

*wnn=sn m shr pn
ntsn sr R^c m z_h.t i₃bt.t n.t p.t
sr=sn n_ltr pn '3 qm3=sn m 'wy=sn
snw hr i₃bt.t snw hr imnt.t m itr.ty n n_ltr pn
prr=sn m-ht=f w3s=sn b3=f m33=f sn
ntsn smn itn=f
They exist in this fashion:
It is they who announce Re in the eastern horizon of heaven.
They announce this great god who created them with their two arms—
two to the east and two to the west at the two sides of this great god.
With the result that his *ba* is pleased when he sees them,
do they go forth in his following.
It is they who secure his sun disk.*

Although this is the most extensive description of apes in the Underworld Books, Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 278 also points towards the presence of apes as helpers of the solar god in the First Hour of Amduat and in Scenes 66 and 81 from the Book of Gates. Compare also the cryptic reference to *gfty.w*-monkeys that aid *Inty* “the Binder” in the 64th Address to Re in the Great Litany (Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 73).

that they are on both sides of this god ...
They (i.e. *rhy.t* and *hnmm.t*) hear the words of praise of Wetchenet.

This passage indicates that the baboons not only accompany the solar god at his birth in the eastern horizon, but also his “rebirths” during his nightly journey. The version of this text in the Edifice of Taharqa specifically refers to Re’s birth at “the sixth hour,”¹⁰⁴ although this has been interpreted as an error in the text,¹⁰⁵ the presence of the Underworldly Baboon in the Litany of Re before the Second Hour of Amduat suggests that Taharqa’s version is a legitimate variant.¹⁰⁶

Finally, it is important the juxtaposition of the baboon with Khepri-Re,¹⁰⁷ both of which are normally forms of the diurnal sun, is notable. In fact, the ape-headed sun god is associated with the seventh hour of the day.¹⁰⁸ Scarabs and baboons both appear during the hours of the night¹⁰⁹ to allude to the inevitable victory of the sun and his subsequent diurnal transformations.

¹⁰⁴ Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, pl. 21, l. 12.

¹⁰⁵ Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁶ As suggested already by Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, p. 46 n. 11. Further support for the Taharqa variant is the scene in the tomb of Basa, where baboons praise the crioccephalic sun god in the night bark (Assmann, *Basa*, pl. XIII and pp. 76-77).

¹⁰⁷ For the sun praising himself as a baboon, compare Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes*, pl. 17, fig 32, where a scarab in a bark is flanked by two baboons, labeled Ra-Horakhty and Atum (*pace ibid.*, p. 46 who claims that the names label the wings of the scarab).

¹⁰⁸ Mysliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1, pp. 81-91, including a discussion of the Underworldly aspects of baboons.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. the scarabs prominently featured in the First and Fourth Hours of Amduat in addition to the concluding hour.

Address 71

Depiction: Baboon-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 48

BM 1504: pl. 48

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 183

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 12

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 80

*hk̄nw n=k R̄ qȝ shm
nh̄i smȝ hfty.w sd.t ns.t^a
twt is hȝ.t n Nhy
iȝ Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R̄ n nȝr pn ȝ
twt is hȝ.t n Wsir N hȝ.t n Nhy*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Nehi who slays the enemies, flaming of tongue!
You are indeed the corpse of Nehi.
Osiris N always praises to Re, to this great god.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of Nehi.

^a The sarcophagi of Shebmin and Ankhhor substitute the word *ȝsȝw*, used for tongue in the New Kingdom versions,¹¹⁰ with the more common *ns*.¹¹¹ The sarcophagus CG 29305 contains an important variant to the epithet of Nehi: *sd.ty sti <n>stt(?)* “Flaming child who shoots (flame)!”

The god Nehi¹¹² is commonly connected with the god Ptah, but the name appears originally to belong to the sun god.¹¹³ As in this address, the Book of Amduat grants

¹¹⁰ For this word, see Hornung, *Anbetung des Re*, p. 120 n. 196.

¹¹¹ For the association of flames and tongue, see C. Cannuyer, “Onomasiologie du feu,” *ZÄS* 117 (1990): 109.

¹¹² Parker, Leclant, Goyon, *Edifice of Taharqa*, p. 31 translate this form as “The Eternal One,” but the consistent lack of two *h*-signs argues against this reading.

¹¹³ Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, pp. 178-182; A. Schulman, “The God NHJ,” *JNES* 23 (1964): 275-279; Schlägl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, pp. 73-74. Note particularly the solar associations

Nehi the ability to punish enemies.¹¹⁴ Although most sarcophagi consistently write the *bȝ*-bird for the *nh*-bird, which appears in all New Kingdom versions, one orthography in the sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305) uses a well-formed *nh*-bird, followed by an *h* as phonetic complement. The substitution of the two birds is not entirely meaningless, since an aggressive *ba*-spirit is well attested in Egyptian theology.¹¹⁵ It is possible that several of the sarcophagi versions understood the form of Re in this address to be “He-of-the-*ba*.” The validity of both readings—*nh* and *bȝ*—is supported by a similar interchange in Coffin Text Spell 307 and Book of the Dead Chapter 85. Coffin Text Spell 307 begins:¹¹⁶

*ink Nh ink Rȝ pri m nwn
m rn=ī pw n hpr*
I am Nehi, I am Re who came forth from Nun
in this my name of Khepri.¹¹⁷

The title of the Book of the Dead version (Chapter 85) instead reads:¹¹⁸

*rȝ n ir.t hprw.w m bȝ ‘nh
tm ‘q r hȝb.t
nn sk rh [st]
dd mdw in Wsir N ink Rȝ pr m nwn
bȝ=ī pw ntr*

of *Nhi* in CT Spell 307 discussed below. The name *Nhi* is also associated with Amun-Ra and Tatenen (Leitz, ed., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter*, vol. 4, p. 271; he falsely assigns the Litany example to Osiris, although it is equally a solar designation).

¹¹⁴ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 120 n. 194.

¹¹⁵ Cf. the term *bȝ tkk*, discussed *infra*.

¹¹⁶ CT IV 307b-e.

¹¹⁷ For a translation of the remainder of the spell, see Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages*, pp. 548-49; he translates *Nhi* as “eternal one,” although neither of the two versions follow the *nh*-bird by any phonetic complements.

¹¹⁸ Verhoeven, *Das saitische Totenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 85, 39,15-16.

Spell for making a manifestation into a living *ba*,
not entering into the slaughtering pit.
The one who knows it will not perish.
Words spoken by Osiris N: "I am Re who emerges from Nun,
my *ba* is a god ..."¹¹⁹

Address 73

Depiction: Human-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 48

BM 1504: pl. 48

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 183

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 12

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 82

hk̄nw n=k R̄ q3 shm
nb b3.w imy bnbn=f
hry-tp ntr.w hnty
twt is h3.t nb b3w
iw Wsir Ni3w=f n R̄ n it=f nb b3.w hr.t nh.w
twt is h3.t Wsir N h3.t nb b3.w imyw bnbn

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!

Lord of bas, who is within his benben.

Chief of the gods of the forehall.

You are indeed the corpse of the Lord of *bas*.

Osiris N always adores Re, his father, the Lord of *bas*, chief of the living.

You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Lord of the *bas*
who are within the benben.

The Address 73 forms a pair with the Address 74, preceding the First Hour of Amduat, since they both focus on the Heliopolitan benben-stone. The sun god is both the focus of the solar cult—the very pinnacle of the obelisk—and the ruler of all the *bas* of Heliopolis.

¹¹⁹ The content of the remainder of the Book of the Dead Chapter has much in common with the earlier Coffin Text version—see the comparison made in the notes by Barguet, *Le livre des morts*, pp. 122-23. On Book of the Dead Chapter 85, see also Servajean, *Les formules des transformations*, pp. 58-62.

SECOND HOUR OF AMDUAT

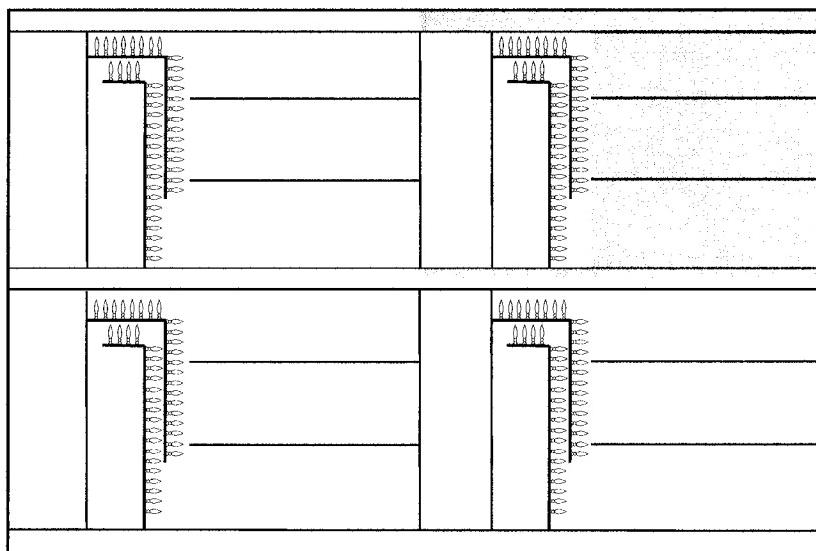


Fig. 14: Second Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

Second Hour of Amduat

Text: Berlin 49: pls. 49-51

BM 1504: pls. 49-51

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 11-12

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 10-14, 175-181

The bandeau texts to the Second Hour of Amduat on these three sarcophagi closely parallel the Introductory Text on the Type III sarcophagi, translated and commented in Chapter 4, *infra*.

SIDE ONE, SECOND REGISTER

LITANY OF RE BEFORE THIRD HOUR OF AMDUAT

The Third Hour of Amduat is preceded by three addresses from the Litany of Re, 63, 65, and 67, all accompanied by their corresponding forms. The version on the sarcophagus of Djedher CG 29305 is the best preserved, while Louvre D9 contains

Address 63 and the introduction to Address 65.¹²⁰ Unfortunately, the sarcophagi of Gemhap and Tjaihepimu are not very useful for these addresses, since the former is virtually illegible with the exception of a few words and the latter is damaged.

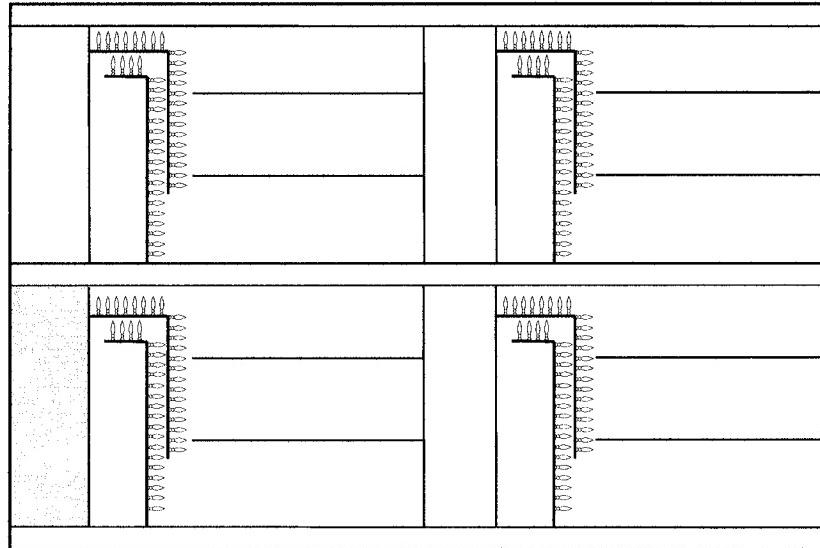


Fig. 15: Placement of Addresses 63, 65, and 67 on Berlin 49, BM 1504, Louvre D9

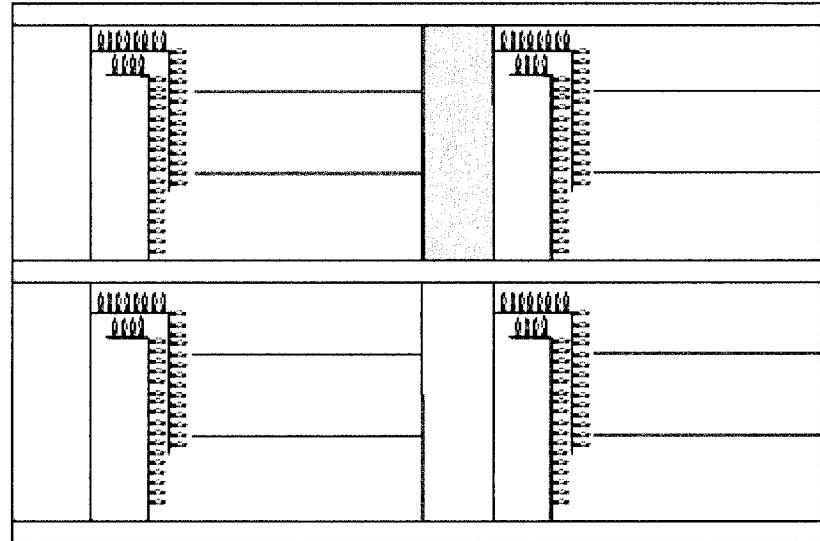


Fig. 16: Placement of Addresses 63, 65, and 67 on CG 29305, JE 48446, and JE 48557

¹²⁰ Although the address to the *wršy.w* is omitted, they are depicted alongside the two other forms as on the rest of the Type II sarcophagi (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 13).

Address 63

Depiction: Human-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 52

BM 1504: pl. 52

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 172

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 13

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 72

*ḥknw n=k R^c q₃ shm
nd=f d.t=f wd^c ntr.w
zmiw št₃ imy t₃
twt is h₃.t zmiw imy t₃
Wsir N ḥknw=f n R^c nd d.t=f wd^c ntr.w
twt is h₃.t Wsir N h₃.t zmiw št₃ imy t₃*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Who greets his djet-body, who judges gods,
the mysterious flaming one within the Earth.
Indeed, you are the corpse of the Flaming one within the Earth.
Osiris N always praises Re, who greets his body, who judges gods.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N,
the corpse of the secret Flaming one within the earth.

The epithets of the 63rd form of the sun god locate the Flaming One in the eastern horizon; despite the lack of determinative, the name *zmiw* is probably derived from the word *zm* “flame.”¹²¹ The presence of “He of the cauldron” as the next form of the sun god further suggests a fiery form of the sun here. The *nd*-greeting, performed on the “body” of the sun god, is a clear reference to the union of Re and Osiris in the Netherworld.¹²² The use of the verb *nd* suggests a specific allusion to the eastern

¹²¹ The word is probably related to *zmi* “to seize,” emphasizing the violent, punishing aspects of fire (Cannuyer, ZÄS 117 [1990]: 107); the expected flame determinative is missing from the Late Period versions as well. Several divine names are compounded with the verbs *zm* “flame” and *zmi* “to seize,” so both are ultimately possible readings of the name in the 63rd Address (for a list of such names, see Leitz, ed., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter*, vol. 1, pp. 15-20).

¹²² For *nd* greetings and the eastern horizon, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 346-47.

horizon, which is reinforced by the punishing aspects of the “Flaming One” who judges the gods.¹²³

Address 65

Depiction: Human-headed mummy with cauldron on his head

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 52

BM 1504: pl. 52

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 172

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 13

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 74

*hk̄nw n=k R^c qȝ shm
wȝ sd.t m kt̄w.t=f
pn^a nt̄ sni tp.w htm.tyw
twt is hȝt Kt̄wy
iȝ Wsir N dwȝ=f R^c wdi=f sd.t m hfty.w=f
twt hȝ.t Wsir N hȝ.t Kȝtwy.ty*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Who decrees flame in his cauldrons,
This one who cuts off the heads of the destroyed ones.
Indeed, you are the corpse of He of the Cauldron.
Osiris N always adores Re when he places fire amongst his enemies.
You are the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of He of the Cauldron.

^a The pronominal use of the demonstrative *pn* is a grammatical feature peculiar to the Litany of Re; in some cases, the relative adjective *nty* follows *pn*. In this address, the sarcophagi versions follow the text in the tomb of Ramesses IV which writes *pn nty*, rather than simply *pn* as in all the other versions.¹²⁴

¹²³ For firey punishment taking place in the eastern horizon, see Van Dijk, *JEOL* 26 (1979-80): 16-17 and *infra*. The reference to “judging the gods” should probably be understood in contrast to the tasks given to the king on earth: *wȝ rmt shtp ntr.w* “judging mankind and pacifying the gods” (Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 19).

¹²⁴ Hornung, *Anbetung des Re*, vol. I, p. 74.

Cauldrons are present in nearly all of the Underworld Books, a poignant image for the punishment of the damned.¹²⁵ Not only are the enemies of Re burned within these cauldrons, they are also separated into their constituent parts, literally disintegrating their identity before turning everything into ashes. Dismembering and cauldrons appear together frequently in the Creation of the Solar Disk and the Book of Caverns and is featured prominently in the 65th Address, but is attested as early as the so-called “Cannibal Hymn” in the Pyramid Texts.¹²⁶

Address 67

Depiction: Three vertical mummies

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 52

BM 1504: pl. 52

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 172

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 13

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 76

*hk̄nw n=k R̄ q3 sh̄m
‘h̄ n=k wr̄šy.w sn r=sn hr mk(3.t)=sn
iwt̄y m33 ss̄t3-sn
twt̄ is h̄3.t Wr̄šy.w
i w Ws̄ir N hk̄nw=f n R̄
twt̄ is h̄3.t wr̄šy.w h̄3.t Ws̄ir N*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
For whom the waking ones stand, while yet upon their biers.
There are none that can see their mysteries (corpses).
Indeed, you are the corpse of the Waking one!
Osiris N always praises Re.
You are indeed the corpse of the Waking ones, the corpse of Osiris N.

Four similar mummies “on end” appear within separate sarcophagi in the bottom register of Section B of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The annotation to

¹²⁵ Hornung, *Höllenvorstellungen*, pp. 24-29, on which the following discussion is based.

¹²⁶ Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn*, pp. 119-122. The use of the term *ktw.t* in the 65th Address and the depiction of the vessel atop head of the accompanying figure argues against Eyre’s interpretation of *ktw.t* as “the cauldron support, and not the cauldron itself” (p. 122).

these figures explains why the “mysteries” of the *wršy.w* in the 67th Address are not visible to other deities:¹²⁷

*nn n ntr.w m shr pn m i3.t=sn
‘h̄y m hnty db3.t=sn
hw3y=sn m iwtyw=sn
iw ntr pn ‘3 dwi=f b3.w=sn*

iwty m33=f sn n-‘3 sty=sn iwtyw=sn

These gods are in this fashion in their mounds,
those who stand in front of their sarcophagi.

Their putrefaction consists of their rotting efflux.

This great god calls to their bas,

without seeing them because of the stench of their rotting efflux.

The desire to make rotting efflux smell sweet is of paramount concern during the process of mummification.¹²⁸ Since the *wršy.w* in their process of reawakening are still afflicted by the stench of their putrefaction, they are hidden from sight until their bodily reconstitution is complete. The passage from the Litany of Re and its parallel in Creation of the Solar Disk suggest a realistic perspective on mummification and the inevitability of decay.¹²⁹ Even for the properly mummified individual, putrefaction does not prohibit a

¹²⁷ Piankoff, *Le création du disque solaire*, pl. 14, l. 1-15, l. 1. In Section C, similar figures laying upon their stomachs are given the same designation; unfortunately, this annotation is not fully preserved (*ibid.*, pl. 17, ll. 5-6): *ddw R^C n b3 wršy.w hry.w idb.w=sn i b3.w wršyw hry.w* “What Re says to the ba(s) of the wakeful ones, who are atop their banks: ‘O bas of the wakeful ones who are upon ...’” Another reference to the *wršy.w* appears in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses IX in an address by Re to different deities in the Underworld (Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX.*, pl. 92, l. 28); slightly later in the hymn (l. 35) *iw3tyw* are also mentioned. Finally, the *wršy.w*-pose appears in a statue of Osiris from the Saite Period (Hornung and Bryan, eds., *The Quest for Immortality*, p. 177).

¹²⁸ Compare the statements in the variant text of the Second Hour of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II: “Dessication be to your corpse, because of the evil stench of your putrefaction! May your corporeal remains (*nfrw.t*) smell sweet! (see *infra* for discussion and parallels). The negative connotations of putrefaction in the Underworld Books and hymns to Osiris are also overcome by comparing the *rdw* with the life-giving waters of the inundation (see the references in, Chapter 5, *infra*).

¹²⁹ The concern with putrefaction is similar with other negative connotations to mummification, necessitating the deceased to be freed from their mummy bindings in the afterlife (see the still

blessed afterlife in the company of Re. These texts indicate that the rotting stench might cause Re to keep his distance in the Underworld, but his life-giving voice still aids these “awakening” mummies, forms of Re himself, in their resurrection.

THIRD HOUR OF AMDUAT

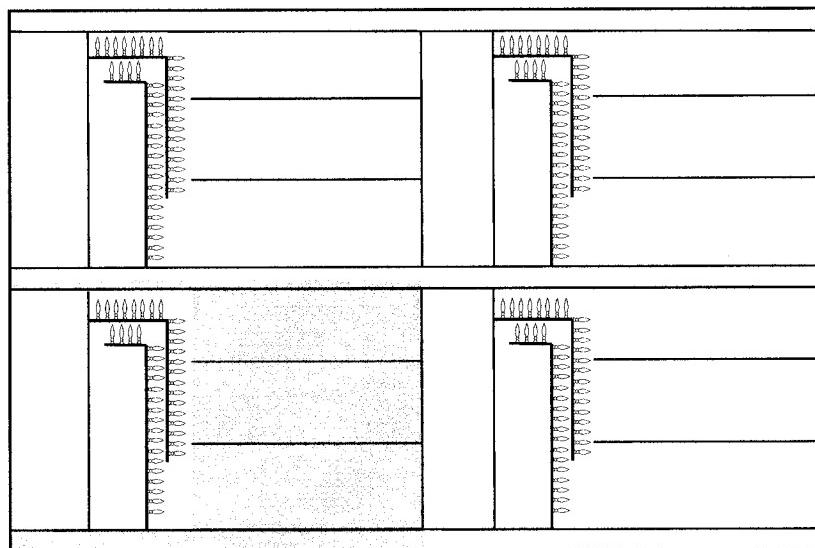


Fig. 17: Third Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

Third Hour of Amduat

Text: Berlin 49: pls. 54-56

BM 1504: pls. 54-56

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 12-13

Parallel: Similar to Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 22-30

As in the Second Hour of Amduat, the bandeau texts associated with the Third Hour closely follow the Introductory Text present on the Type III sarcophagi; for translations and commentary, see Chapter 4, *infra*.

fundamental study of E. Hornung, “Vom Sinn der Mumifizierung,” *WdO* 14 [1983]: 167-175; and the evidence from the Pyramid Texts gathered by Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs*, pp. 248-252.

LITANY OF RE BEFORE FOURTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

The three addresses which precede the gate to the Fourth Hour of the night are versions of Addresses 58, 59, and 61 from the Great Litany. The Type II sarcophagi add four more copies; Louvre D9 is partly eroded in this area, while BM 1504 sustained much damage here. The first two addresses describe the distant nature of the solar ba and his two main tasks—union with the corpse and destruction of enemies. The third address proclaims the sexual potency of Re in the Underworld.

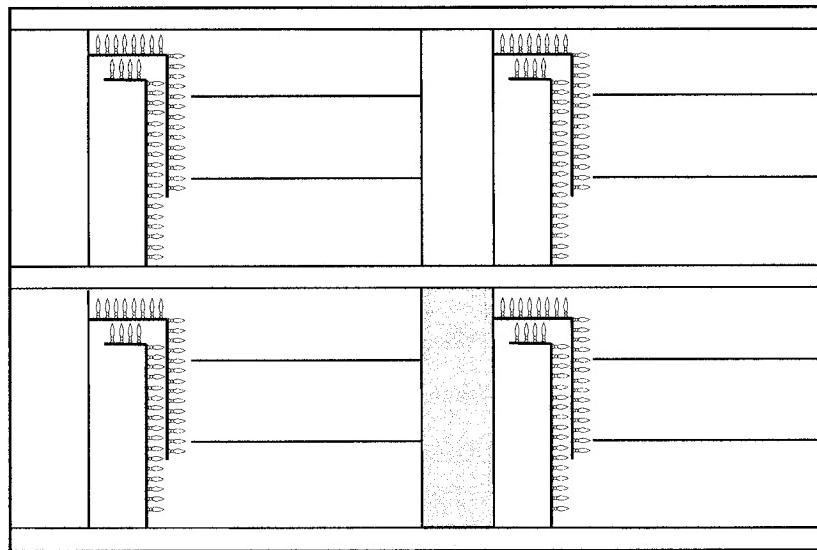


Fig. 18: Placement of Addresses 58, 59, and 61 on all Type II sarcophagi

Address 58

Depiction: Falcon-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 53

BM 1504: mostly damaged

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 180

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 13

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 67

*hk̄nw n=k R^c q3 shm
hry b3 imn h3.t=f
hd=f m33=f s̄st3=f
twt is h3.t hry b3*

*iw Wsir N hknw.n=f n R^c m33 ss̄t3=f
twt is h3.t n Wsir N h3.t n hry b3*

Praise to you o Re, high and mighty!
Remote ba, whose corpse is hidden!
He illumines so that he might behold his mystery.
You are indeed the corpse of the Remote *Ba*.
Osiris N always praises Re, the one who sees his mystery.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Remote *Ba*.

The description of the *ba* and the corpse indicates their respective fates in the Netherworld—the ba to heaven and the corpse to the Underworld.¹³⁰ The 58th Address also includes the desired union of ba and corpse each night, when the ba descends in order to shine upon and see his “mystery,” a common euphemism for corpse.¹³¹ In addition to the solar-ba and Osirian-corpse so prevalent in the Underworld Books, a complementary interpretation of this passage is possible. The father-son dichotomy may find expression through *ba*-theology, where the son may appear in the role of the *ba*-spirit of the father.¹³² The falcon-headed god “Remote (*hry*) *Ba*” is also Horus, who visits the corpse of his father Osiris.¹³³ Close examination of the Underworld Books reveals a significant number of allusions to the birth of Horus from the corpse of

¹³⁰ As Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 116 n. 161 has noted; for an extensive list of occurrences of this phrase, see Zandee, *Amunhymnus*, vol. 1, pp. 188-191, see also his pp. 196-198 for the epithet “far of ba.”

¹³¹ See the references collected by Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 384 n. 54.

¹³² D. Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften in der Barkenkapelle des Chonstempels von Karnak* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 25-26, 38-39 (Amun as the *b3 šps* of Kematef).

¹³³ The parallel between Re/Osiris and Horus/Osiris in the Netherworld has also been noted by Willem, in J. van Dijk, ed., *Essays in Honour of Herman Te Velde*, pp. 361-364, based on evidence from the Coffin Texts.

Osiris,¹³⁴ which adds another level of meaning to the *ba*-corpse union. The remote *ba* is simultaneously Re uniting with his corpse and Horus visiting his father.

Address 59

Depiction: Ram-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 53

BM 1504: mostly damaged

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 180

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 13

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 68

*ḥknw n=k R^c q₃ shm
b₃ dr=f nšn=f
wdi=f nsr.t m niky.w=f
twt is h₃.t q₃ b₃
di=f q₃ b₃ n Wsir N dr=f hfty.w=f
twt h₃.t n Wsir N h₃.t q₃ b₃*

Praise to you o Re, high and mighty!
Ba who drives off his tempest.^a
Who decrees flame among his criminals.
You are indeed the corpse of High of *Ba*.
May he cause that the *ba* of Osiris N be high,
so that he might drive off his enemies.^b
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of High of *Ba*.

^a The initial epithet of Address 59 is altered on the sarcophagi. The epithet begins with *b₃* rather than *q₃ b₃*. The verb *dr=f* is present on all versions, but the object of the verb is difficult to determine. The New Kingdom versions write *dr=f hfty.w=f*, which appears in the added text involving the deceased on the sarcophagi. The minuscule hieroglyphs on the Type II sarcophagi can be difficult to decipher, and the sarcophagi differ in the word chosen, but the shapes of the signs are very similar, suggesting that the differences might be the result of confusions. CG 29305 writes *nšn=f* “his tempest” which fits the passage

¹³⁴ See *infra*, below in the commentary to the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night.

perfectly and is probably related to the name *dr.t-nšn* “She who repels the tempest.”¹³⁵ JE 48446/48447 write *sštʒ=f*, which is slightly odd, because the sun god should not repel his “mystery” (i.e. corpse). The two flat signs flanking the š-pool could be a graphic confusion for *nšn*. Unfortunately, Berlin 49 has a small damaged area directly after *dr*, in which Dümichen restores *hfty.w*. The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, a Type III sarcophagus, uses parts of the New Kingdom and sarcophagi versions, and offers a solution to the use of *štʒ* on JE 48446 and 48447: *dr=f hftyw=f n štʒ=f* “he repulses his enemies from his mystery.”

^b Unlike most of the other addresses, Address 59 does not reiterate how Osiris N praises Re in this manifestation, but rather requests that certain properties be granted to the deceased. The use of a “wish-formula” is reminiscent of the copy of the Litany of Re at Abydos, where a similar request occurs:¹³⁶ *sqʒ=k bʒ n sʒ-Rc Rc-ms-sw mm bʒ.w qʒy.w* “May you make high the *ba* of the son of Re, Ramesses (II), among the high *bas*!”

The Remote *Ba* in Address 58, the first address before the Fourth Hour of Amduat, unites with the corpse, while High of *Ba* in Address 59 punishes his enemies. This aggressive *ba*-spirit provides further evidence for the association of *hry-bʒ* with the god Horus, who destroys the enemies of his father Osiris as *nd-it=f*, “He who protects his

¹³⁵ Uraeus in the lower register of the Ninth Hour of Amduat, no. 675 (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 158). For a masculine version attested at Kom Ombo, see Leitz, ed., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter*, vol. 7, p. 557.

¹³⁶ Hornung, *Anbetung des Re*, vol. 2, p. 47.

father.” In addition to their other qualities, *ba*-spirits can be characterized by their bellicose nature, such as the expression *b3-tkk*.¹³⁷

Address 61

Depiction: Human-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 53

BM 1504: mostly damaged

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 180

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 13

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 70

*hk̄nw n=k R^c q₃ shm
smsw c₃ m hnty dw₃.t
hpr hpry sd.ty
twt is h₃.t sd.ty
i^w Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R^c
sw₃s=f ntr pn c₃ it=f
ntf sd.ty
swh.t pr hnt=f
twt is h₃.t sd.ty h₃.t Wsir N*

Praise to you, o Re high and mighty!
Great elder in the forecourt of the Duat.
Khepri who became the Flaming child!
You are indeed the corpse of the Flaming child.
Osiris N always praises Re.
He adores this great god, his father.
It is he who is the Flaming child,
the egg who emerged before him.
You are indeed the corpse of the Flaming child, the corpse of Osiris N.

Address 61 on the Type II sarcophagi and the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II¹³⁸ reproduce the New Kingdom text, but add an important new sentence: “It is he who is the Flaming child, the egg who emerged before him.” The association of the Flaming child with the egg is particularly significant, since it is absent in the New Kingdom texts. The

¹³⁷ On the “bellicose *ba*” and its associations with justification, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 441 n. 74; see also Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 295-96.

¹³⁸ Jenni, *Das Dekorationsprogramm*, p. 32 does not note this important addition.

main section of the address describes Re at the beginning and end of his journey through the Netherworld: he enters as an old man¹³⁹ and emerges as the scarab that transforms into the flaming child.¹⁴⁰

The mention of the *swḥ.t*-egg enhances the connection between Address 61 and an interesting ostracon, CG 25074, which depicts an ithyphallic child within the womb of Nut.¹⁴¹ The hieratic inscription accompanying the child is not legible in the published photograph,¹⁴² but inspection of the original in Cairo reveals that the child is labeled as follows; *R‘ q.(w) m itn-f* “Re, having entered into his disk.” The disk-egg-womb constellation¹⁴³ is present in numerous contexts and is employed both to describe the creation of the world¹⁴⁴ and its re-creation at the start of each day. The Late Period

¹³⁹ The ram-headed deity representing the night sun is often bent forward leaning on a staff in the classical Egyptian depiction of old age.

¹⁴⁰ For Re as the “flaming child,” with extensive references, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 319-321, discussing the *sd.ty* figures in the Enigmatic Wall from the Tomb of Ramesses IX.

¹⁴¹ Mentioned by Hornung, *Anbetung des Re*, vol. 2, p. 117 n. 170.

¹⁴² Daressy, *Ostraca*, pl. 15. On p. 15, Daressy mis-transcribes the hieratic label as  , which has been followed in subsequent publications; for example, the ostracon is labeled “Little Re” (*r‘ šri*) by Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 31, fig. 15.

¹⁴³ The equation of disk and egg is present already in the Pyramid Texts (use of egg determinative for the verb *wbn*) and explicitly stated in the Coffin Texts—see O. Goldwasser, “*Itn* – the ‘Golden Egg’ (CT IV 292b-c [B9C^a]),” in J. van Dijk, ed., *Essays in Honour of Herman Te Velde* (Groningen, 1997), pp. 79-84; see also Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 22-23. An interesting variant on the typical womb-egg pattern is the serpent egg from the Fifth Hour of Amduat inside the womb of Nut on the Ptolemaic coffin of Horendotes (BM 6678).

¹⁴⁴ In the Coffin Texts, the egg has two functions: the creation of Atum, from which his son emerges or a substitute for the solar disk (Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, pp. 233-239). Some of the textual evidence from the New Kingdom, particularly Amun hymns, is collected by E. Graefe, “Phallus und Ei,” in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years* (Leuven, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 121-123. The egg also plays a role in the Sokar Festival—C. Graindorge, “La quête de la lumière au mois de Khoiak,” *JEA* 82 (1996): 99-101. In the Roman Period Khonsu cosmogony, an egg emerges from heaven after the birth of the first primordial serpent (Iri-ta) and although not directly stated, the egg plays a role in the creation

version of Address 61 ties together the elderly and youthful forms of the sun god through the egg, which was present *before* Re, alluding to the primordial creator deities such as the serpents Irita and Kematef, and Ptah/Amun as the father of the Ogdoad. While the primordial gods belong only partly to the created world, their work culminates in the egg from which the creator of the ordered cosmos, Re, is born. The creation of the flaming child through the primordial gods also fits well with the *sd.ty* figures beneath the ejaculating phalli of the androgynous beings in the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX. Address 61, in conjunction with other depictions from the Underworld Books, suggests two possibilities for the creation of the “flaming child:” from the egg fertilized by the primordial creator or directly from his semen.

FOURTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

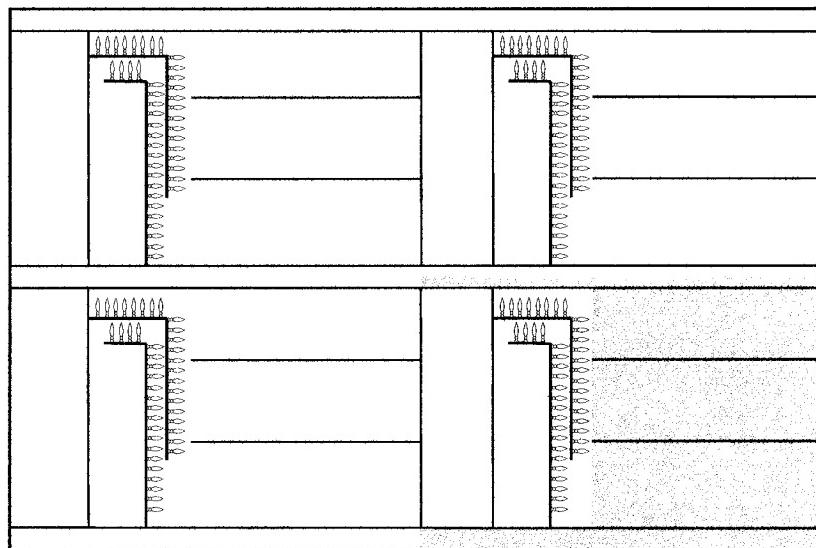


Fig. 19: Fourth Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

of the next serpent (Kematef). Following the initial acts of creation, Ptah creates a second egg, which he fertilizes and subsequently gives birth to the Ogdoad (for translation and commentary on this text, see Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inscriften*, pp. 64-74).

Fourth Hour of Amduat

Text: Berlin 49: pls. 59-61

BM 1504: pl. 59

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 11-12

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 31-38.

*rn n qrr.t tn 'nh hpr
rn n sb3 n qrr.t tn i<mn> st3w
iW Wsir N rh.(w) [sšm] pn w3.t št3 n.t R3-st3w
mtn dsr n 'Imh.t sb3.w imn.w t3-skr hry-šc=f
wnm=f t3 r r3 'nh.w m hw.t-itm
iW=f rh.(w) m3c w3.t
šm mtn m R3-st3w
m33 sšm.w m 'Imh.t
rn n wnw.t tn n.t grh sšm ntr pn '3 Wr.t m shm=s
iW Wsir N shm m rd.wy=f
iWty 'q=f m htmy.t
iW=f 'q=f imy-f
pr=f m irw.w=f m qrr.t?
Wsir N mi Hr m33=f ntr.wy*

The name of this cavern: “Living of manifestations”

The name of the portal of this cavern: “Hidden of haulings.”

Osiris N knows this image of the mysterious road of Rosteau,

the holy path of Imhet, the hidden portals which are within the land of Sokar,
who is upon his sand.

He shall eat food intended for the mouths of the living in the temple of Atum.

He knows how to travel the roads rightly,

how to go upon the paths in Rosetau,

how to see the images in Imhet.

The name of the hour of the night that leads this great god is

She-who-is-great-in-her-power.

Osiris N has power over his two legs,

without entering into the Place of Destruction.

He always enters the one among whom he is,

and goes forth from his visible images in the cavern(?).

Osiris N is like Horus, when he sees the two gods.

The region of the Fourth and Fifth Hours of the Underworld forms a unity, since both are a sandy region filled with serpents—the Land of Sokar. The Fourth and Fifth Hours both use of a number of earthly toponyms from the regions of Heliopolis and

Memphis. Imhet is the Upper Egyptian source of the Nile near Heliopolis,¹⁴⁵ and Ra-setau is a common designation of the necropolis of Memphis. The occurrence of Heliopolitan and Memphite toponyms deep within the earth is not coincidental, since much evidence suggests that Heliopolis contained a model of the Underworld.¹⁴⁶ The union of Re and Osiris existed not only as a sacred event in the Netherworld but was an architectural reality in the cults of Heliopolis. The identification of parts of the Underworld with places on earth also allows events in one sphere to influence activity in another. Thus, if a deceased knows the mysterious roads which fill the Fourth Hour of Amduat, he will consume offerings in the temple of Atum with the living.

SIDE TWO

After reading the first four hours of Amduat on Side One of the Type II sarcophagi, the reader moves from the end of the Fourth Hour to the first register of Side Two, which contains Addresses from the Litany of Re, the Judgment Hall of Osiris (Book of Gates, Scene 33), and the Fifth Hour of Amduat. The second register contains more Addresses from the Litany of Re, a large *sbḥ.t*-portal from the Book of Gates and the Sixth Hour of Amduat. All of the Type II sarcophagi possess the same organization, although CG 29305 adds introductory texts to the Fifth and Sixth Hours of Amduat, while Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9 contain texts from those hours in bandeau texts.

¹⁴⁵ Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 123-24.

¹⁴⁶ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 311 n. 47; see also the extensive discussion, below, relating to Chapter 164 of the Book of the Dead and the commentary to the Address 75 from the Litany of Re, *supra*.

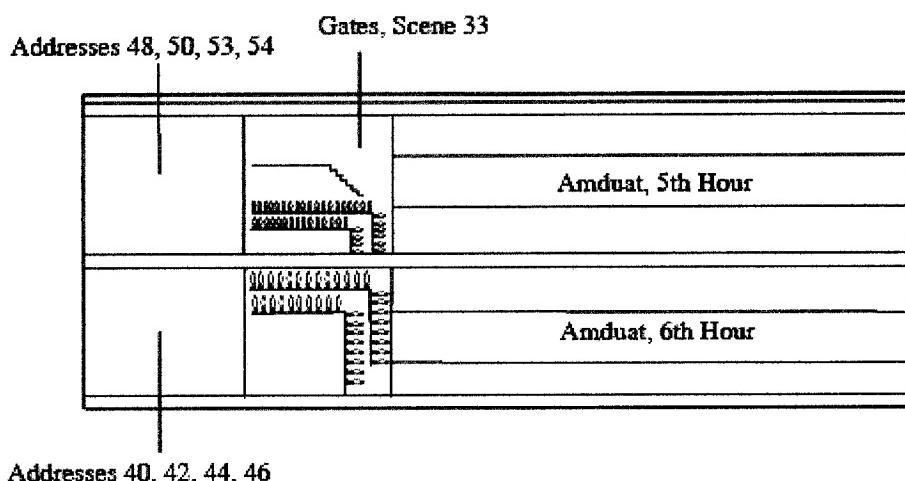


Fig. 20: Summary of the Decoration of Side Two of the Type II sarcophagi

FIRST REGISTER

LITANY OF RE BEFORE THE JUDGMENT HALL OF OSIRIS

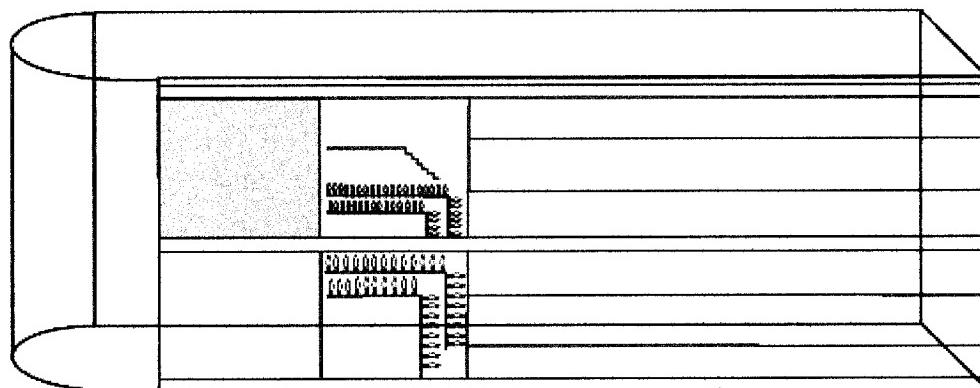


Fig. 21: Addresses 48, 50, 53, and 54 on all Type II sarcophagi

Address 48

Depiction: Human-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 64

BM 1504: pl. 64

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 194

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 10

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 55

*hk̄nw n=k R^c q₃ shm
wb₃ mtn.w m Št₃y.t^a
twt is h₃.t m₃^b w₃.wt*

iw Wsir N hkn=f n R^c
wb₃.n=f mtn.w m³c w₃.wt m Št^y.t
twt is h₃.t Wsir N h₃.t m³c w₃w.t

Hail to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Who opens the roads in Shetayt.
You are indeed the corpse of the “Straightener-of-Paths”
And Osiris N praises Re,
 he having opened the roads, straightening the paths in Shetayt.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of “Straightener-of-Paths”

^a The late versions use the chest-sign (≡)¹⁴⁷ as a determinative of the toponym Shetayt, rather than the *pr*-sign of the New Kingdom.

^b The verb *m³c* expresses the notion of making roads passable,¹⁴⁸ like the verb *wb₃* also used in Address 48. Re as the “Straightener-of-Paths” makes even the twisted roads of the Underworld adhere to Maat; for this play on words, compare the description of Shu in the Harris Magical Papyrus, vs. III, ll. 2-3:¹⁴⁹

m³c=k () *wi3 m m³c w nfr m rn=k pwy n M³c.t*
You lead the bark rightly with a beautiful proper wind,
 in this your name of Maat.

The distribution of the addresses from the Litany of Re on the Type II sarcophagi leads to some surprising correspondences between the content of the addresses and the content of the hour of Amduat they accompany. Here, the sun god is invoked as

¹⁴⁷ This sign was miscopied by Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 194 as a *p.t*-sign in lines 1 and 3.

¹⁴⁸ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 113 n. 131. The pairing of *m³c* and *št^y.t* in the 48th Address to the Litany of Re also calls to mind the description of the snake-legged deity in the *Schutzbild* (tomb of Ramesses VI): *m³c=f hr št^y.t* “he traveling rightly through Shetayt” (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 262, see also pp. 264-5 on the verb *m³c*).

¹⁴⁹ Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, pl. 14.

“Straightener-of-Paths” between the Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat, which are exceptional in their depictions of the complex paths through the Netherworld, the *w3.wt št3.wt n.t r3-st3.w* “secret roads of Rosetau.”¹⁵⁰ The roads in these two hours are far from straight, and their tortuous appearance is enhanced by the doors bearing threatening names that periodically block the way. However, the person with the correct knowledge will travel successfully upon even these difficult roads—in expressing this, the Book of Amduat uses the same verb (*m3c*) as Address 48 from the Litany of Re:¹⁵¹

*iw=f rh.(w) m3c.w
šm mtn.w n r3-st3
m33 sšm m imh.t*
He knows how to travel well,
to tread the paths of Ra-setau,
to sees the image of Imhet.

The roads depicted directly after Address 48 in the Fifth Hour of Amduat are also called *m3c: st3 ntr pn c3 hr w3.t m3c.t n dw3.t* “Hauling this great god upon the straight roads of the Duat ...” The description of Khepri aiding the solar bark in the middle register is particularly appropriate:¹⁵²

*di=f c n Rc
m3c=f w3.wt št3.t n Rc-Hr-3hty*
He gives his hand (i.e. help) to Re,
so that he might make right the secrets ways for Re-Horakhty.

¹⁵⁰ These are closely related to the winding paths in the Book of the Two Ways (Hermsen, *Die zwei Wege*, pp. 178-80).

¹⁵¹ Text above the Fourth Hour of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Tjaihepimu (Berlin 49), Dümichen, *Grabpalast*, vol. III, pl. 9 (the parallel text of Gemhep is damaged); see also, *supra*.

¹⁵² Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 419.

The wide range of iconographic elements in each hour of the Amduat makes it difficult to demonstrate that particular addresses from the Litany of Re are specific to an hour of the night. However, the arrangement of addresses on the Type II sarcophagi suggest such correlations indeed existed, and surprising lexicographic similarities, such as the use of the verb *mʒc* in the 48th Address and the Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat, provide corroboration for such an assumption.

Address 50

Depiction: Scarab beetle with disk

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 64

BM 1504: pl. 64

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 194

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 10

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 57

*ḥknw n=k R̄c qʒ shm
shd kkw m qrr.t štʒ ir.w
twt is hʒ.t ḥdw.t
iわ Wsir N ḥkn-f n R̄c
swʒš=f ntr pn ՚ʒ
twt is hʒ.t Wsir N hʒ.t ḥdw.t*

Hail to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Who illuminates the darkness in the cavern, mysterious of visible forms.
You are indeed the corpse of the Illuminer.
Osiris N praises Re,
 he adores this great god.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Illuminer.

The late versions of this address omit the first epithet in the New Kingdom versions:¹⁵³ *wd sbʒ.w=f* “who commands his stars.” The area illuminated by the sun god in this address is a cavern, which in the New Kingdom versions is modified by the epithet *štʒ.t* or *štʒ.t irw*. However, on the Type II sarcophagi and in the tombs of Merneptah and

¹⁵³ This omission is a general feature of the litany passages on the sarcophagi—it may be the result of the extra space taken up by the added statements incorporating the deceased.

Ramesses IV, the epithet is written *štȝ irw*, which could refer back to Re, who illuminates the darkness. The juxtaposition of illumination and hiddenness is yet another example of the clothing properties of light—the “Illuminer” hides his visible manifestation in his own light.¹⁵⁴ The form of the “Illuminer” is not the expected sun disk, but rather a scarab beetle, which is particularly appropriate to the Fifth Hour of Amduat, where Khepri emerges from a secret chest to aid the sun god on his journey.

Address 53

Depiction: Antelope headed-mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 64

BM 1504: pl. 64

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 194

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 10

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 61

*ḥknw n=k R^c qȝ shm
wbn ḫb.wy iwn imn
snk nȝb imy khȝ
twt is ḥȝ.t wbn ḫb.wy
iȝ Wsir N ḥkn=f n R^c
twt is ḥȝ.t Wsir N ḥȝ.t wbn ḫb.wy*

Hail to you, o Re, high and mighty!

Rising of horns, hidden pillar.

Dark of lock who is within the cauldron.

You are indeed the corpse of “Rising-of-horns!”

Osiris N praises Ra.

You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of “Rising-of-horns!”

The object of this address, a mummiform deity with tall curving horns, is located within a cauldron, a place where the damned are punished; the role of “Rising-of-horns” is thus appropriate to the scene of the Judgment Hall of Osiris which follows. A nearly exact and previously unrecognized parallel to the 53rd Address of the Litany of Re

¹⁵⁴ For the hiding qualities of light, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 133-37.

appears in the Pyramid Texts, Spell 254; the “beautiful West” addresses her son, the king, with the following epithets (PT §282c): *wbn ‘b=f iwn sdm.t k3 n p.t* “Rising of horn, painted pillar,¹⁵⁵ bull of heaven.” The horned creature that accompanies the 53rd address is a permutation of the *k3*-bull, often a lunar symbol.¹⁵⁶ The epithets of *wbn ‘b.wy* suggest that in addition to a deity of punishment, he represents the lunar aspects of the sun in the Netherworld.¹⁵⁷ The epithet “hidden pillar” incorporates *iwn*, a common designation of Osiris as the moon.¹⁵⁸ However, the imagery can be taken to another level, since *iwn* can also be a pun on the name of Heliopolis. The *iwn imn* is simultaneously a reference to the sun-moon and Re-Osiris dichotomy, as well as the burial of Osiris within Heliopolis, the adjective *imn* referring to the hidden corpse.¹⁵⁹

Address 53 in the Litany of Re is yet another example of lunar symbolism present, but rarely obvious, in the corpus of Underworld Books. The First Hour of the

¹⁵⁵ The odd phrase “painted pillar” is almost certainly a pun on *smd.t* (*Wb.* IV 147.1) as the designation of the 15th day of the lunar month (the transliteration is given as uncertain in the *Wb.*; on this word, see also P. Wallin, *Celestial Cycles* [Uppsala, 2002], pp. 61, 159-60). The reading of *sdm* is supported by the parallel in CT Spell 622 (*CT VI* 237e): *iw s3=’l ms.n=’l m wbn ‘b=f w3d sdm-f* “My son, whom I bore, is one whose horn rises and whose eyepaint is green.” .

¹⁵⁶ Fr. Labrique, “Khonsou et la néoménie, à Karnak,” in D. Budde, S. Sandri, and U. Verhoeven, eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Leuven, 2003), pp. 195-224; Smith, *On the Primeval Ocean*, p. 120 and n. 459, particularly Aufrère, *L’univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, vol. 1, pp. 221-222, n. h. Note especially the common phrase *snsn k3.wy* “union of the two bulls” as an expression of the union of solar and lunar disk during the full moon (Smith, *On the Primeval Ocean*, p. 123 n. 476).

¹⁵⁷ As noted by Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 115.

¹⁵⁸ *Iwn* is an epithet of Osiris in his lunar form (Cauville, *Théologie d’Osiris*, pp. 186-187; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 52). For the lunar associations of the *iwn* pillar, see M. Morfin, “Le support-ioun et la lune,” in C. Berger and B. Mathieu, eds., *Études sur l’Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Phillipe Lauer* (Montpellier, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 315-325 (who also discusses the relationship between the moon and bulls as well as the lunar aspects of Osiris); and Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 300, note a.

¹⁵⁹ For the burial of Osiris in Heliopolis, see *supra*.

Book of Gates as well as the Judgment Hall of Osiris all possesses latent lunar imagery, presented for the first time in the present work. Fortunately, these interpretations are supported by more apparent references to the lunar cycle, such as the group of fourteen heads, stars, and disks in the lower register of the Fourth Hour of Amduat.¹⁶⁰

Address 54

Depiction: Human-headed mummy with two raised arms

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 64

BM 1504: pl. 64

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 194-95

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 10

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 62

*hk̄nw n=k R^c q₃ shm
tnw irw.w
š3s=f dw3.t
di=f hk̄nw b3.w m qrr.t-sn
twt is h3.t tnw irw.w
i^w Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R^c
di=f i^w n hnty qrr.t
twt is h3.t Wsir N h3.t tnw irw.w*

Hail to you, o Re, high and mighty!

Distinguished of forms,

when he traverses the Underworld,

when he gives praise to the bas within their caverns.

You are indeed the corpse of Distinguished of Forms!

Osiris N praises Re,

as he gives adoration to the foremost of the cavern.

You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the one Distinguished of Forms.

¹⁶⁰ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 89 (subsequent scholars have repeated his argument without adding further references).

BOOK OF GATES, SCENE 33
THE JUDGMENT HALL OF OSIRIS

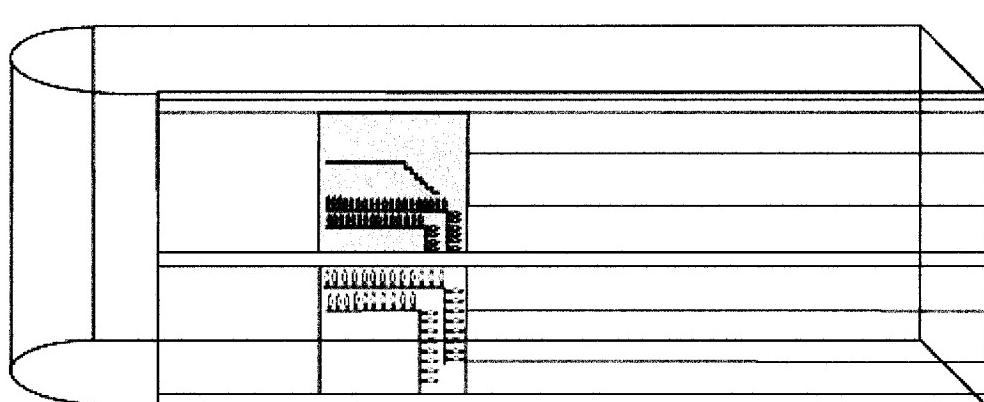


Fig. 22: Placement of the Book of Gates, Scene 33 on all Type II sarcophagi

Amongst the corpus of texts known as the Underworld Books, certain scenes, although part of larger unified compositions, were treated as particularly important by the ancient Egyptians,¹⁶¹ and chief among them is the Thirty-Third Scene from the Book of Gates, commonly known as the Judgment Hall of Osiris. The text accompanying this scene is entirely cryptographic, without *Normalschrift* translations, a rare occurrence in the corpus of Underworld Books outside of the purely cryptographic compositions.¹⁶²

This enigmatic tableau of Scene 33 is the focus of the first attested example of the Book of Gates in the tomb of Horemhab (KV 57).¹⁶³ The unique character of the

¹⁶¹ Such scenes can appear removed from their parent compositions, or possess features differentiating them from the surrounding hours, such as the use of cryptographic annotations. Examples include the Osiris scene from the lower register of the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates (Abitz, *König und Gott*, pp. 163-5 and 206) and the bark atop Aker from the Creation of the Solar Disk (Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 87; *idem*, MDAIK 37 [1981]: 225-6).

¹⁶² Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 29-33.

¹⁶³ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 143; see also Abitz, *König und Gott*, pp. 14-17 for the placement of the Book of Gates in New Kingdom tombs prior to Ramesses III. For a large image of the scene, see T.M. Davis, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatankhamonou* (London, 2001 [reprint]), pls. 53-55.

Judgment Hall is also suggested by its conspicuous omission in decoration of the tomb walls of Seti I,¹⁶⁴ Merneptah, and Seti II, where Scene 33 is replaced by a scene of the king before an enthroned Osiris.¹⁶⁵ Ramesses III grants the scene a distinguished position at the end of his tomb,¹⁶⁶ while Ramesses VI places it in normal position within the Book of Gates,¹⁶⁷ like Ramesses II and the Osireion version before him. On the Late Period sarcophagi, the Judgment Hall always occurs in the top register of Side Two, following four addresses from the Litany of Re. The sarcophagus of Djedher, Louvre D9, includes a *Normalschrift* version of parts of the annotation, while the other sarcophagi contain only excerpts of the earlier enigmatic text.¹⁶⁸ The text on the sarcophagus of Djedher provides a unique “translation” of some of the cryptographic text in the Judgment Hall of Osiris.

The Late Period versions have been recognized since Piankoff and Hornung, but only Heerma van Voss has offered translations of the Late Period texts as such.¹⁶⁹ However, the present examination seeks to improve upon the previous translations in two key areas. All scholars have been hampered by the acceptance of acrophonic derivations

¹⁶⁴ In the decoration of the sarcophagus of Seti I, the Judgment Hall appears in its normal position within the composition, at the end of the Fifth Hour.

¹⁶⁵ Abitz, *König und Gott*, pp. 17-21.

¹⁶⁶ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, pp. 143-44.

¹⁶⁷ Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 48.

¹⁶⁸ Excepting the sarcophagi JE 48446 and 48447, which do not have any text accompanying the scene.

¹⁶⁹ M. Heerma van Voss, “Späte Texte aus dem Pfortenbuch,” in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years (Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur)* (Leuven, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 1001-1010.

for sign values, particularly those advanced by E. Drioton, which have been definitively countered by Fairman for the Ptolemaic period and Darnell for the earlier New Kingdom cryptography.¹⁷⁰ Although some of Drioton's readings are correct, since they can also be derived through other accurate cryptographic principles, many of his interpretations, as well as those of other scholars, must be reexamined, since they rest on acrophony alone. Additionally, earlier scholars lacked complete translations of other cryptographic Underworld Books, which are now available in Darnell's edition. The following translation also differs in places from the order in which the signs are read by previous scholars. These new interpretations result from a detailed examination of the layout of the original texts, a crucial aspect of deciphering cryptographic inscriptions. Although each exemplar is unique in various aspects, the reading of specific texts (particularly those around the boat and the apes, Texts D-F) attempts to find a translation that fits all versions. Heerma van Voss' understanding of the Late Period versions is also hampered by incomplete publications of late sarcophagi. The present work seeks to rectify this lack by placing the Judgment Hall in its proper context as part of the overall decorative scheme of the Late Period sarcophagi. The correspondences with other Underworld Book scenes on the sarcophagi opens new vistas for the meaning of the cryptography of the Judgment Hall. However, a description of the Judgment Hall on the Type II sarcophagi necessitates a detailed re-examination of the more complete enigmatic annotations in the New Kingdom versions.

¹⁷⁰ For an overview of the debate and overwhelming arguments against acrophony, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, Chapter 2.

New Kingdom, Text A:¹⁷¹ Title¹⁷²

In the New Kingdom, the Judgment Hall of Osiris is surmounted by its own label, which Hornung suggests may be a separate “title,”¹⁷³ based on Drioton’s earlier translation:

mdʒ.t n.t nd wsjr m dʒtjw

Book of protecting Osiris among the Underworldly beings.

This translation reads the signs in an almost random fashion. Although perturbation can be exploited in cryptography, it almost always adds meaning to the text.¹⁷⁴ No such reason exists here. If one reads the signs in order, one must first determine whether they are to be read in a normal or retrograde fashion. Based on the arrangement of the texts into columns, and without the presence of corruption within the text, one must assume the signs are to be read in a normal fashion.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, in the Underworld Books, the *mdʒ.t*-title only occurs at the beginning of the works,¹⁷⁶ and even

¹⁷¹ The designation given to each text is similar to the Roman numerals used by Heerma van Voss in *World of the Old Testament*, pp. 80-89, but differs in several divisions of the text.

¹⁷² Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 192.

¹⁷³ *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 146.

¹⁷⁴ For example, the writing *sn m-hʒ=f* in a circular fashion on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 45-49, also discussing cryptography through “perturbation”). See also the reading of the signs in Text F below.

¹⁷⁵ A retrograde reading would also place several of the signs in different positions within separate versions; for example, the goose would be after the *nd*-group in the Horemhab and Ramesses VI versions, but after the *dwʒ.t*-group in Seti I sarcophagus and Osireion. Additionally, the other texts to the Judgment Hall are non-retrograde, the text to the enemies beneath the throne of Osiris being the only exception.

¹⁷⁶ A possible exception to this rule is the label next to the giant figure of Shetayt in the Fifth Division of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 [1944]: pl. 60), part of which has been read as *mdʒ.t štʒy.t* (E. Hornung, *Die Unterweltsbücher der Ägypter* [Zürich, 2002], p. 374 translates the annotation as “Buch der Geheimen, erste Erscheinungsform, große Revision”). However, an

in the Amduat Papyri, the title is separated from the rest of the composition at the end of the papyrus. A *mdʒ.t* label would be unexpected over this scene, while a description of the gods who appear within the scene would be more fitting.

Zeidler suggests that this label is the title to the entire Book of Gates, arguing that in an original papyrus version Scene 33 occurred underneath the First Hour, so that the title was directly below the introduction of the text.¹⁷⁷ While clever, this idea has little to recommend it, since the cryptographic writing of the “title” connects it directly with Scene 33 and not the rest of the composition.¹⁷⁸ Zeidler, followed by Wiebach-Koepke,¹⁷⁹ reads the signs as: *mdʒ.t n.t (i)m.i(w) dwʒ.t nd.iw (W)s(i)r* “The book of the Underworldly gods, who protect Osiris.” This reading still requires that signs in virtually every word be read in inverted order,¹⁸⁰ and reads the signs in a retrograde fashion, which is *a priori* problematic, as noted above.

A third option is proposed here, namely reading the so-called title as an annotation to the scene. The values assigned to the cryptographic signs are supported by parallels in other Underworld Books, and the following translation links the short text specifically to elements within the Judgment Hall of Osiris:

alternate reading is more appropriate to the manifestations of the sun god traversing the body of the goddess: *bʒ.w imy.w štʒy.t hprw tpy* (for a similar reading, and explanation of the cryptographic values, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 109 n. 342). The absence of the word *mdʒ.t* is particularly suggested by another occurrence of the phrase *bʒ.w imy.w štʒy.t* in another annotation, which is preserved as a continuous text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306, see *infra*).

¹⁷⁷ *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, pp. 10-13.

¹⁷⁸ However, one piece of evidence in support of Zeidler’s argument and not mentioned by him is the occurrence of cryptographic text in the First Hour of Gates on the sarcophagus of Merneptah (Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 6).

¹⁷⁹ *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, pp. 268-69.

¹⁸⁰ As indicated by the text notes, Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, p. 10.

ḥbs.w^a imy^b dwȝ.t r ndt ḥ(ȝ)wt^c

Those who clothe the one who is in the Duat in order to protect He-of-the-Dais.

^a The sign S28 can be read *ḥbs* based on direct representation.¹⁸¹ Deities who “clothe” are present in the Book of Amduat, the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, the Book of Caverns, and Creation of the Solar Disk.¹⁸² As in the enigmatic texts on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, “clothing” in the Underworld and in other religious texts often indicates *illumination*—the light of the sun can “clothe,” and thus hide deities in the Netherworld.¹⁸³ The verb *ḥbs* in relation to Osiris is closely paralleled to the name of the gateway *ḥbs bgȝ* “who clothes the weary one,” attested in a multitude of sources as far back as the Middle Kingdom.¹⁸⁴

Several other labels in the Judgment Hall of Osiris suggest the clothing abilities of the gods within it. Anubis “swallows” his father, another way to simultaneously hide and renew Osiris,¹⁸⁵ and the nine gods on the steps are the “Ennead in which Osiris is,” the reverse nisbe suggesting a protective arrangement.

¹⁸¹ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 133 n. 428 and p. 612 for the substantial number of attestations in the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

¹⁸² Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 103 n. 309, 131-32. Also relevant to the Judgment Hall are two more deities from the Book of Caverns: in the upper register of the Fifth Division a being is named *iry ḥbs Wsir*, using the sign S28 for *ḥbs* in the cryptographic writing of the name (Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 [1944]: 55); in the second register of the same division a hieracocephalic mummy is called *hr ḥbs R* “Horus who clothes Re” (*ibid.*, p. 55).

¹⁸³ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 133-137.

¹⁸⁴ *Wb.* III 65.12-14; J. Assmann, “Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt,” in W.K. Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 147-149.

¹⁸⁵ See *infra*.

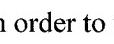
^b The grasshopper's usual cryptographic value is *r*, although *w* is also attested.¹⁸⁶ The consistent placement of the grasshopper below the determinative and plural strokes of the previous word argues against a reading of *w* as a phonetic reinforcement of the plural. The value *i* for the grasshopper proposed here follows the derivation of the value *w*, an adoption of the cryptographic value for the *r*-mouth for which the grasshopper often substitutes.¹⁸⁷

^c The final word of the label is here read as a variant spelling of the word *ntʒ.t* (*Wb.* V 384.14-385.9), which is characteristically written in a number of odd permutations.¹⁸⁸ Besides shifts in the position of the aleph, the *n* can be dropped¹⁸⁹ or shifted to last position.¹⁹⁰ In even more radical spellings, the final dental is omitted,¹⁹¹ but this may be a corruption in the text. A spelling maintaining the *n*, but lacking the final dental is not

¹⁸⁶ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 108-10.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 604.

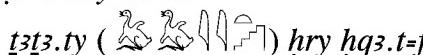
¹⁸⁸ For an overview of orthographies, some of which are cited below, see K.P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1977), p. 76 n. 4; J.C. Darnell, “**XWPM**, to Train, and *Tʒmy.t*, the Bit,” *Enchoria* 24 (1997/1998): 158-162.

¹⁸⁹ Darnell, *Enchoria* 24 (1997/1998): 158-59 n. 8 and 160 n. 18. Compare the shield of Tutankhamun (no. 1070 = *Urk.* IV 2059.14 [slightly miscopied]): “His Majesty appear in Thebes upon the steps (=) in order to foretell marvels.”

¹⁹⁰ For example, the spelling in the crossword hymn in the tomb of Nebwenenef (TT 157):  (Zandee, *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle*, p. 3, l. 7 [= *Belegstellen*, vol. 5, p. 73]); Zandee (p. 41), commenting on the passage in the crossword hymn, already notes the connection between the Judgment Scene of the Book of Gates and the Seventh Address in the Litany of Re. However, this combined evidence has never been applied to reading the cryptographic text in the Judgment Scene

¹⁹¹ On shield no. 1066 from the Tomb of Tutankhamun, the word is spelled *tw*  (= *Urk.* IV 2059.12).

otherwise attested, so a reading *tny* for *tntʒ.t* in the label here would be at odds with known orthographies. However, the *n*-water possesses several cryptographic values, including *t*, from a substitution of shape with the *tʒ*-sign.¹⁹² The *ʒ* is easily left unwritten in cryptography and with the use of plural strokes for the weak ending *y*,¹⁹³ the signs form a reasonable cryptographic orthography for *tntʒ.ty* “he of the throne dais.” Such a reading fits perfectly with the depiction in the Judgment Hall in the Book of Gates—Osiris enthroned atop a staired platform.¹⁹⁴ In similar depictions from Third Intermediate Papyri, Osiris also appears atop a throne base, labeled *tntʒ.t*.¹⁹⁵ A passage from the Seventh Litany of the Litany of Re provides a close parallel:¹⁹⁶

hn.wy hr=k imy-dwʒ.t
tʒtʒ.ty (*) hry hqʒ.t=f*
nswt dwʒ.t hqʒ igr.t
‘ʒ wrr.t ntr ‘ʒ imn s.t=f
nb wd‘.w hr(y) dʒdʒ.t=f

How pleased are you, o one within the Underworld,

¹⁹² Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 54 n. 90.

¹⁹³ The interchange of *-y* and *-w* endings is well attested and exploited in other cryptographic texts (Darnell, *Engimatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 119, n. 380 and 304 n. 135, citing Fecht, *Wortakezent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 94, §172).

¹⁹⁴ The *tntʒ.t* is also associated with Maat, further contributing to its applicability in the Judgment Hall (W. Westendorf, “Maat, die Führerin des Sonnenlichtes, in der Architektur,” *ZÄS* 97 [1971]: 143-46, particularly p. 143).

¹⁹⁵ Niwinski, *Illustrated Papyri*, p. 40; Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri*, pp. 58-61. The double staircase also occurs in the papyrus of Nesiitatebetaheru and the tomb of Osorkon II (for a discussion of the scene in this tomb, see G. Roulin, “Les tombes royales de Tanis: analyse du programme décoratif,” in Brissaud and C. Zivie-Coche, eds., *Tanis: travaux récents sur le tell Sân el Hagar* [Paris, 1998], pp. 218-221). Compare also the Wadjet-serpent upon a staircase, called the place of judgment, in the Book of the Fayum (Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, vol. 1, p. 116).

¹⁹⁶ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 224-25. Nearly the same epithets occur in Book of the Dead Chapter 168 (G. Burkard, *Spätzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien* [Wiesbaden, 1995], p. 23 and nn. 4-5).

He-of-the-dais, chief of what he rules/his *hq3*-scepter,
king of the Underworld, ruler of Igeret,
great of white crown, great god, whose place is hidden,
lord of judgment, chief of his council.

Every element in this address is included within the Judgment Hall of Osiris, who is atop his *tnt3.t*, wearing the white crown, judging the deceased, and presiding over his Ennead.

New Kingdom, Text B: Hartebeest Heads

The hartebeests heads¹⁹⁷ are labeled *hmhm.yw* “roaring ones,” and their position recalls the antelopes with burning wicks between their horns in the introductory scene of the Litany of Re.¹⁹⁸ The fiery aspects of the hartebeest heads enable them to replace uraei-friezes above divine shrines,¹⁹⁹ a function which the *hmhm.yw* serve here in the Judgment Hall of Osiris. Heerma van Voss proposed an alternate reading, *h3h3.ti* “the mourning ones,” suggesting that the heads are of sacrificial antelope that can dispel evil.²⁰⁰ While the well-known rite of sacrificing the oryx²⁰¹ proves that antelope species

¹⁹⁷ For the identification of this species (*Alcelaphus buselaphus buselaphus*) and images, see P.F. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs* (New York, 1996), pp. 57-58.

¹⁹⁸ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, pp. 29 and 55.

¹⁹⁹ The scenes of the king and Osiris that replace Scene 33 of the Book of Gates in certain New Kingdom tombs depict Osiris within a shrine with a plethora of uraei atop the cassetto cornice (Abitz, *König und Gott*, pp. 18-19). In the small Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Medina, the judgment hall of Osiris from Chapter 125 is similarly crowned with a frieze of uraei alternating with flame-signs and Maat-feathers (P. du Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médina*, p. 57; in texts, doors are also said to be decorated with uraei—CT IV 327t and 328b-c (cited by J.C. Goyon, *Le Papyrus du Louvre N. 3279* [Cairo, 1966], p. 4 and n. 1). For antelopes in similar positions, compare J.-L. de Cenival, *Livre pour sortir le jour* (Bordeaux-Paris, 1992), p. 78, P. Louvre N 3070 where an antelope head stands about the door of the shrine of the forty-two judges in the Book of the Dead (this scene is cited by Heerma van Voss, in Clarysse, Schoors, and Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion*, p. 1006 n. 17, but he does not note the similarities between the positions of the uraei and the antelope heads).

²⁰⁰ In Clarysse, Schoors, and Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion*, pp. 1006-7. Heerma van Voss interprets the aleph-birds on Louvre D9 and CG 29305 as non-cryptographic writings, since other texts to the scene are not written in cryptography. However, as the stairway texts demonstrates,

can be among the enemies of the sun god and slaughtered for their evil deeds,²⁰² the antelope heads in the introductory scene of the Litany of Re are actually protectors of the sun god. As Darnell's translation of the text on the Late Period sarcophagus of Tadipakem has shown,²⁰³ the snake and crocodile in the Litany of Re are emissaries sent out by Re, and the flaming antelope heads guard the corners of the universe for the sun god.²⁰⁴ This new understanding of the protective aspects of the antelope heads and their alliance with Osiris and Re concurs with their description in the enigmatic annotation of the New Kingdom versions of the scene:²⁰⁵

*htm^a=sn mw.wt
wd^c nty.w sip.w^b
ntsn p(w) tni' sn
in imy.w-tz swd sn n htmy.t
nty tp.w=sn pr.(w) m štz^c
h^c=sn m s̄sm^d=<s>n*

They destroy the dead,

Louvre D9 does not actually transcribe all the text in *Normalschrift*, and the same is true with the label to the antelope heads. He also cites the mutilated calf in Book of the Dead Chapter 1, but the calf represents Horus, and if one accepts the "mourning" aspect of the antelopes as inimical animals, it is doubtful that the lamenting for the injured son of Osiris can be compared to a Sethian animal.

²⁰¹ Ph. Derchain, *Le sacrifice de l'oryx* (Bruxelles, 1962); one might also compare the metamorphosis of the Seth head on a *hq3* scepter from the lower register of the Tenth Hour of Amduat into an antelope head (Niwinski, *Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, p. 177).

²⁰² A negative quality of the bubalis might be behind the obscure epithet of Khnum known from Eighteenth Dynasty temples in Nubia, *hw i ss3.w* (*Wb.* III 46.11). Translated as "who strikes the bubals" by R.A. Caminos, *Semna-Kumna I The Temple of Semna* (London, 1998), vol. 1, p. 35.

²⁰³ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 247.

²⁰⁴ Compare the four bulls' heads on the Corridor G ceiling in the Tomb of Ramesses VI associated with the firey punishments in the four corners of the world (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 164-65)

²⁰⁵ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, pp. 193-94; Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, pp. 142-45.

namely those who judge the damned.
It is they who distinguish themselves.
It is those within the earth who assign them to the place of annihilation,
whose heads come forth from the mystery.
They appear out of their visible forms.

^a Hornung²⁰⁶ interprets the beginning of the annotation as *s3(w)t.sn* “Was sie hüten ...”

This interpretation only works directly for Horemheb whose inscription begins  , but even then, the arm holding the loaf does not have a clear value. All other versions of this text begin (with variations in the bird sign)  . The strong arm () can interchange with the *dw*-mountain through hieratic confusion, but a much simpler solution is to assign the arm with loaf and *dw*-mountain a common cryptographic value, namely *t*, *t̄*, *d*, or *d̄*. Of these options, *t* fits best with the context: the bird stands for *htm*, while the arm/mountain is the phonetic complement *t*, and the *t̄*-hobble has the value *m* through substitution of shape.²⁰⁷ Zeidler’s reading²⁰⁸ of *sht*, reading the *dw* mountain as *h* from acrophony with *h3s.t* is untenable.

^b Hornung²⁰⁹ interprets *sip.w* as “damned,” a common use of the word in the Underworld Books. As such, it is parallel to the word *mw.wt* in the first phrase, another term describing the damned, since they have died the dreaded “second death.” Another interpretation, but less likely, could derive from the context of the weighing of the heart,

²⁰⁶ *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 147.

²⁰⁷ All readings can be found in the Appendix of Cryptographic Values in Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*.

²⁰⁸ *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, p. 142.

²⁰⁹ *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 147.

where *sip* can also have a more neutral, technical sense.²¹⁰ Also possible is a reading *sp.w* “the remainder,” but a clear parallel is lacking.

^c A passage from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk supports the reading offered here:

*dī=sn tp=sn m hnty št3.t=sn*²¹¹
They stick their heads out from within their mystery.²¹²

The difference in verbs between the Judgment Hall and the Creation of the Solar Disk is due to the direction from which the heads emerge—in the former, heads come down from the ceiling, while in the latter, gods emerge up out of mounds.

^f This interpretation shares many parallels throughout the Underworld Books, since many of the representations are not stationary, but come to life when the sun god reaches their region of the Underworld. The bubalis heads come forth from their “images” just like the human heads from the *sšm*-signs in the middle register of the Eighth Hour of Amduat:²¹³

*dwī ntr pn ‘3 r=sn
‘nh imī.t=sn
pr tp.w m sšm.w=sn*
It is when this great god calls to them,
that what is within them lives,

²¹⁰ Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, p. 78.

²¹¹ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 11, ll. 8-9. Another, less likely possibility (Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 147; Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, p. 144) is to read *p.t*, referring to the top of the chamber. However, one would really expect a reference to the *nn.t* Undersky.

²¹² Translation of Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 291, see pp. 290-91 for a discussion of the context of this passage.

²¹³ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 616.

and the heads emerge from their images.

New Kingdom, Text C: Anubis

Inpw s̄m it=

Anubis who swallows his father.

The presence of Anubis in the Judgment Hall relates to Anubis' role as judge in the afterlife,²¹⁴ in particular his epithet *ip ib.w* “assessor of hearts.”²¹⁵ The odd epithet “he who swallows his father” deserves further examination. The father of Anubis is Osiris,²¹⁶ an extension of the identification of Horus and Anubis in particular contexts.²¹⁷ That Anubis’ action for Osiris is a positive one cannot be doubted—on a pillar in the tomb of Ramesses VI,²¹⁸ Anubis is labeled *Inpw hnty imnt.t ntr ՚s s̄m it=f Wsir* “Anubis foremost of the west, great god who swallows his father Osiris.”²¹⁹ The act of swallowing is synonymous with hiding the corpse of Osiris, a task for which Anubis was responsible.²²⁰ Swallowing is a nefarious action when performed by a pig, but a

²¹⁴ H. Willems, “Anubis as a Judge,” in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years (Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur)* (Leuven, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 719-743.

²¹⁵ For the relation between this epithet and the weighing of the heart, see *ibid.*, pp. 728-743. The meaning of this expression in the Pyramid Texts is discussed by S. Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs in den Pyramidentexten* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 2002), pp. 160-167.

²¹⁶ Willems, *Coffin of Hegata*, pp. 89-92; G. Vittmann, “Ein neuer religiöser demotischer Text,” *ZÄS* 117 (1990): 80 n. 9; Köhler, *Imiut*, pp. 384-85.

²¹⁷ J. Quaegebeur, “Anubis, fils d’Osiris, le vacher,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1977), pp. 119-130.

²¹⁸ Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Rameses VI*, pl. 139.

²¹⁹ Passage noted by U. Köhler, *Das Imiut* (Wiesbaden, 1975), vol. 2, pp. 388-89 (see pp. 390-95 for Anubis as “swallower”) and cited by Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 148.

²²⁰ For a collection of textual references, especially the Twelfth Address to the Litany of Re and Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 73-74.

beneficial action executed by Anubis and other divinities.²²¹ The Egyptians seem to have intentionally chosen an otherwise negative action to counteract that very event from happening. Since Osiris and his means of rejuvenation, the eye of Horus, are in danger of being swallowed by the Typhonian pig, Anubis swallows Osiris instead to protect him. A nearly exact sequence of events occurs in the Seventh Hour of the Book of Amduat, where Re swallows his own eye until he passes over Apep.²²²

The Bark with Baboons and Pig

The upper right corner of the judgment hall contains a small bark in which two monkeys brandish throw sticks, one apparently in the act of striking a large pig. These monkeys are hypostases of the god Thoth, who attacks the swine of Seth.²²³ The Late Period versions differ from the earlier versions by placing both monkeys within the bark, rather than having one hovering outside of it.²²⁴ In the Tomb of Ramesses VI, the pig is

²²¹ Cf. Nut who swallows her “piglets” in order to give birth to them in the morning (N. Billing, *Nut. The Goddess of Life in Text and Iconography* [Uppsala, 2002], pp. 18-20, and Neith (Esna no. 60) who shelters the eye of Re by swallowing it (*ibid.*, p. 20 n. 29).

²²² Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 552.

²²³ C. Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, pp. 269-71 interprets this scene in light of CT Spell 157-158 (II 326-62), but he falsely associates the black pig of Seth with Anubis. Unfortunately, the obscurity of the spells does not shed much light on the Judgment Hall scene. For other mythological allusions relating to the monkey striking the pig in the bark, compare the myth involving Thoth and a pig (who swallows the star of the night) in P. Brooklyn 47.218.84 (unpublished)—for a brief description of this episode, see D. Meeks, “Un manuel de géographie religieuse du Delta,” in S. Schoske, ed., *Akten des vierten internationalen ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985* (Hamburg, 1989), vol. 3, p. 300; Thoth also attacks a pig in P. Bibliothèque Nationale 177 (as described in Dawson, “The Number Seven in Egyptian Texts,” *Aegyptus* 8 [1927]: 104), accompanied by seven udjat-eyes, seven falcons, seven cats and seven ibises. For Thoth’s role in judgment scenes, see Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pp. 147-154.

²²⁴ For another parallel to this scene, see Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pl. 128 and p. 76; unfortunately, the scene is very damaged and none of the accompanying text survives. Underneath this scene are two *dd*-pillars with elaborate “solarized” Osirian crown, providing a parallel with the Re-Osiris in the Judgment Hall of the Book of Gates.

accompanied by a small label,  , while the sarcophagi versions reproduce these signs at the same scale as the pig itself, but still arrange the hieroglyphs as a label. Heerma van Voss²²⁵ reads this as ‘*m dī* “der die Portion verschluckt,” but a reading of simply ‘*m* “swallower” enables a greater number of mythical references. The pig of Seth can swallow the eye of Horus,²²⁶ like the evil *rrk* serpent²²⁷ or Seth in the form of an oryx.²²⁸ The action of Seth against Horus is analogous to the swallowing of the solar eye by Apep.²²⁹

New Kingdom, Text F: Label to Boat and Apes

mdw mʒc.tyw tni a wdʒ-f mdw dhwty
The words of truth are distinguished,
as he renders judgment, namely Djehuty.²³⁰

²²⁵ In Clarysse, Schoors, and Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion*, p. 1007.

²²⁶ H. te Velde, “Some Egyptian Deities and their Piggishness,” in U. Luft, ed., *Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (Budapest, 1992), pp. 572-4; Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs in den Pyramidentexten*, pp. 197-199 (discussing passages in the Pyramid Texts where Seth is not specifically in the form of a pig). For a malevolent pig who “swallows,” also compare a demon who appears several times in the Magical Papyrus of Brooklyn: §3y.t ‘*m.t n.t imnt.t* (S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré*, pp. 7-8). Sauneron also connects the “swallowing” pig form of the demon with the pig in the Judgment Scene of the Book of Gates. The malevolence of the pig in these magical texts is further expressed by the demonic *hdr.t*, probably an Egyptian transcription of the Semitic word for pig (*ibid.*, p. 9). Even when not specifically in pig-form, Seth can swallow (‘*m*) the eye of Horus (G. Meuer, *Die Feinde des Königs in den Pyramidentexten* [Freiburg, 2002], pp. 198-199).

²²⁷ J.F. Borghouts, “The Victorious Eyes: A Structural Analysis of Two Egyptian Mythologizing Texts of the Middle Kingdom,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolhart Westendorf*, vol. 2: *Religion* (Göttingen: Hubert and Co., 1984), pp. 703-16.

²²⁸ Derchain, *Le sacrifice de l'oryx*, pp. 26-27 and text 15 (p. 54).

²²⁹ J.F. Borghouts, “The Evil Eye of Apopis,” *JEA* 59 (1973): 114-121.

²³⁰ This translation agrees with the readings of Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 149 and Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, pp. 148-149, who reads *mʒc.tyw* “Rechtschaffen,” rather than *mʒc.t*. Both are possibilities, since the bird following the *mʒc*-socle could be read as *tyw* (substitution) or *t* (substitution followed by consonantal principle *tyw > t*).

^a The use of the verb *tni* in conjunction with *mʒc.t* is normally used in negative connotations—truth *cannot* be distinguished from falsehood (*Wb.* V 375.24-25). Here, the verb *tni* refers to the judgment, because the blessed dead (*mʒc.tyw*)²³¹ will be separated from the damned.

*ntr h=f ir.t hry-tp(?)^{a=f}
dwʒtyw n sʒʒw=f
tnn tn dwʒ.tyw m šsm=tn^b*

The god appears in glory, the eye atop(?) his head.
The Underworldly gods pertain to his guardianship.
Distinguish yourself, Underworldly gods, by means of your visible forms.

^a In the tombs of Horemheb and Ramesses VI, hieroglyphs which normally write the phrase *gm-wš* follow the sun-disk sign, here read as *ir.t*. The other versions either omit these signs or leave a blank space. As in the numerous examples of *gm-wš* in the Book of Amduat, the papyrus original to the Judgment Hall may have been damaged by the time it was used as a template for the decoration of the tomb of Horemheb. Another possibility is proposed here—the hair sign, read as a sportive writing *hry-tp* “that which is upon the head,” called to mind the common expression *gm wš*. The presence of the sun disk/eye atop the head of the ape recalls an event in the story “The Contendings of Horus and Seth” (see below).

²³¹ Compare the deities called *mʒc.ty.w* in the 43rd Scene of the Book of Gates, who hold aloft a *mʒc.t* feather (Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, pp. 254-57).

^b In the version from the tomb of Horemheb, this statement appears at the beginning to the labels of the apes, which fits an address to both monkeys, before describing each individually.

Label to Lower Ape

ky^a
ntr pn h^c.(w)
di=f nh^b ‘m^c

The ape.

This god has appeared in glory,
causing to be spat out that which was swallowed.

^a This word consists of a *g*-pot and two reed-leafs in various arrangements. In each version, this word appears immediately adjacent to the ape hovering outside the boat. The terms *kiw/kiki/ky* (*Wb.* V 110.4, 116.12) for “ape” suggest a value of *k* for the pot-stand, a reasonable phonetic interchange between *g* and *k*.²³²

^b The reading *h* for  (F26) is not based on acrophony from *hn*,²³³ but a substitution of kind with the animal belly (F32).

^c In the tomb of Horemhab and the Osiricon, this line is separated into three elements: *ntr pn h^c* near the prow in front of the ape, *di=f nh* near the stern behind the ape, and ‘m above the pig. The second element is missing in the tomb of Ramesses VI, where the text is arranged in a more ordered fashion. The circular motion required to read the signs

²³² Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 36 (discussing the develarization of *q* and interchange with *g* and *k*); Sethe, *Aegyptische Verbum*, vol. 1, pp. 168-171. For a similar interchange between *g* and *k*, compare hieroglyphic *gif/gwf* written as *kf/kwf* in Demotic (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 562) and *σαμι* in Coptic (Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 462). References courtesy of John Darnell.

²³³ Questionably suggested by Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, p. 148.

enhances the cyclical nature of the text, an excellent example of cryptography by perturbation. The pig might even serve as another over-sized hieroglyph—“causing to be spit out, what the *pig* swallowed.”

Read together as annotations to the apes, new meanings of the text appear. The second person plural pronoun is used to address both apes, while each is described as “this god.” Both appear in glory, but the top ape has a sun disk atop his head (according to the text), while the second causes the pig to “spit out that which was swallowed.” The actions involved as well as the characters—the pig (Seth) and the ape (Thoth)—suggest a connection with a central event in the Contendings of Horus and Seth. After Isis smears Horus’ semen on lettuce in Seth’s garden, Seth consumes Horus’ semen. During the next court proceedings, Seth claims to have violated Horus, but Horus convinces the tribunal to seek out the semen to prove that the opposite is the case. When Thoth calls the semen forth from Seth, it refuses to emerge from his ear, but takes the form of a “disk of gold” atop his head. Before Seth can destroy the disk in his rage, it is appropriated by Thoth.²³⁴ Applied to the scene and annotations in the Judgment Hall, the lower monkey is striking Seth, causing the divine material to be expectorated, while the upper monkey adorns himself with the sun disk.

²³⁴ This latter episode is translated by M. Broze, *Mythe et roman en Égypte ancienne: Les Aventures d'Horus et Seth dans le Papyrus Chester Beatty I* (Brussels, 1996), pp. 95-97. An excellent examination of this episode, with parallels from the Pyramid Texts, appears in Te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion*, pp. 43-46. J.G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources* (Liverpool, 1960), pp. 45-46 also notes two texts from Edfu where Seth swallows lettuce, becomes pregnant, and “gives birth” to a sun disk atop his head. See also the examination of F. Servajean, “Lune ou soleil d’or? Un épisode de Aventures d’Horus et Seth,” *RdE* 55 (2004), p. 125-147.

The ape of Thoth causes the pig to spit out that which he has swallowed. An annotation to the crocodile Wenty in the Creation of the Solar Disk describes similar action and provides a previously unrecognized parallel to the cryptographic text in the Judgment Hall:

*Wnty bš=f ȝ=f ir.t Rȝ imy h.t=f
km.t=s ȝ=q=s m hȝ.w=s*

Wenty vomits and ejaculates the eye of Re which is in his belly,
its pupil entering in its glorious apparitions.²³⁵

Even the swallowing of Re by an at best ambivalent creature, Wenty, has a renewing and positive effect. A similar process of “swallowing” appears in several scenes from the Book of Gates, where time is swallowed by various beings (e.g. the Herert snake and Aqen), only to be regurgitated.²³⁶ The potentially destructive act of swallowing is a prerequisite to the recreation of time. While the “swallowing” performed by the pig is clearly an evil action (hence the punishment by the apes), when Anubis “swallows his father,” he is acting as a beneficial member of the Judgment Hall of Osiris. However, both actions ultimately support the maintenance of the cosmos, because what the Seth-pig swallows reappears as a manifestation of the solar god, just like the Wenty vomiting and ejaculating the eye of Re which he swallowed.

Although the translation above differs greatly from Hornung’s translation, the final statement—“the Datians pertain to his guardianship”—agrees with his interpretation

²³⁵ Translation of Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 185, see also pp. 320-21 for further commentary to the passage.

²³⁶ Hornung, *Pforten*, pp. 113-14 and the references cited by Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, p. 99 n. 1. See also the use of “swallowing” as a punishment of enemies throughout the Underworld Books (E. Hornung, “Schwarze Löcher von innen betrachtet: Die altägyptische Hölle,” in T. Schabert and E. Hornung, eds., *Strukturen des Chaos* [München, 1994], pp. 227-262).

of the overall meaning of the text—the apotropaic function of the divine eye.²³⁷ The sun disk which emerges from the head of the Thoth baboon extends protection over all the Underworldly denizens.

Text G: New Kingdom/Late Period Text to the Scale

Label (in all New Kingdom versions):

This label appears in a column in front of the “solar text” above the gods on the stairs and is followed by a label describing the gods on the steps (*ʒh.w imy Imn.t*).

ntr fʒi mhʒ.t
God who carries the scale.

Louvre D9 variant:

iry mhʒ.t
He belonging to the scale.

Additional text in Horemhab and Ramesses II:

th ‘b mhʒ.t^a
The plummet which unites the scale.

^a The cryptographic values of the signs are easily explained. The word *th* is spelled with an elaborate *t*-loaf in its mould (X2) followed by a sun-disk substituting for the third *h*. The *wp*-horns possess the value of the single horn—*b*. The standing deity, who is in the position of the plummet, “unites” the scale, since he is simultaneously the center balance for the two scale-pans.

²³⁷ Hornung, *OLZ* 96:2 (2002): 195 takes issue with Zeidler’s criticism of his reading, citing J.C. Darnell, “The Apotropaic Goddess in the Eye,” *SAK* 24 (1997): 35-48 for this important quality of the udjat-eye.

The scale is a hypostasis of Thoth,²³⁸ and he can be specifically identified with the indicator of balance, the plummet (*th*).²³⁹ Similarly, the god in the Judgment Hall carries the scales, but his body is in the position of the support and plummet. The plummet shows the difference between the two objects being weighed, and in descriptions of the weighing of the heart, the *th* should be at *s.t=f* “its (proper) place.” An epithet of Thoth, *th ‘q3 hry-ib mh3.t* “the precise plummet in the midst of the scale,”²⁴⁰ expresses a similar idea.

Text H: New Kingdom Label to the Gods on the Stairway

*ntr rdi wd^c šbw šc.w^a m z̄h.w
f3i wdn.w^b m mh3.t
isf.tyw mw.wt tm(w) hpr
wd^c mdw h̄wi ir.t*

God who causes the apportioning of offerings and portions among the blessed spirits.
Who carries the weights on the scale,
with the result that the evil doers and damned cease to exist.
The one who judges, who protects the eye.

²³⁸ Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, p. 68. However, Zeidler’s reading (*Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, p. 152) of the cryptography as *Dhwty nb mh3.t* is flawed with the exception of the last word. For a collection of passages dealing with the imagery of the scale, see H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Agyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 168-170.

²³⁹ Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1149. Note the interesting discussion of *th* in M. Stracmans, “Sur un passage altéré de la stèle de Kouban II. 11-15 (à propos de la balance de la Justice),” *La nouvelle Clio* 6 (1954): 378-385.

²⁴⁰ *Urk.* IV 2093.7.

^a The šc.t offerings further relate the judgment scene to the offering of the eye of Horus; in the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus, the offering of two šc.t loaves by the lector priest to the king is interpreted as Thoth offering the eye of Horus:²⁴¹

[*hpr n dī hry]-hb šc.ty nsht ...
Dhwty Hr dd mdw Hr mn n=k ir.t=k ni šc=s ir=k
Dhwty [r]dit šc.t snw*
[Then the lector] priest [gives] two loaves to the king ...
Thoth says to Horus: “Horus, take your eye! It shall never be separated from you!
Thoth gives two loaves.

The requirements of the udjat-eye which are weighed in this scale also measure out the provisions for the blessed dead, because the provisions themselves are metaphorically the udjat-eye!

^b *Wdn*-weights (*Wb.* I 390.17) can refer specifically to the weight at the end of the plumb line, which is typically shown being adjusted by Anubis in the weighing of the heart scenes. Reading *wdn.w*, as opposed to *mdw*,²⁴² is suggested by a passage in the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant, where the peasant addresses the official as *hʒy fʒi wdn.w* “O plummet line which carries the weights.”²⁴³ The three *mdw*-sticks which write *wdn.w* here are also used to write *mdw* at the end of the annotation, echoing another pun in the

²⁴¹ Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, pl. 2, ll. 18-19 and p. 121; as Sethe notes, this statement borrows from PT Utterance 142 (§87): “O Osiris the King, take the Eye of Horus, for it will not be sundered from you—2 šc.t-cakes” (translation Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 28).

²⁴² Cf. Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, p. 153: “der die Worte mit der Waage wiegt;” Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 150 has a similar translation.

²⁴³ B1 122; Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, p. 22.

Eloquent Peasant where aspects of speech and judgment are metaphors for the parts of a scale: “Your tongue is the plummet; your heart is the weight; your lips are its arms.”²⁴⁴

For further commentary on the scales, see *infra*.

Gods on the Steps

Label to the gods on the steps:

New Kingdom/CG 29305: *ʒh.w imy.w^a inn.t* “blessed spirits who are in the West”
Louvre D9: *psd.t imy.w ht Wsir* “Ennead who is in the following of Osiris”

^a The New Kingdom versions use the *hn*-skin sign, while CG 29305 writes the preposition with the prostrate mummy²⁴⁵ and plural strokes.

Text I: Solar label

The single vertical line, which is normally interpreted as part of the label of Anubis,²⁴⁶ is here linked with the annotation of the gods on the stairs, which is predominately solar in nature. Both texts share cosmographic allusions and the use of the painted eye, albeit with different cryptographic values.

ḥy R

‘n.(w) m dšr.t

The standing place of Re,
having become beautiful in redness.

A close parallel to this short description appears in texts F and G from the Book of Nut:

Book of Nut, Text F:

*w'b=f m-hnw ‘it=f Wsir
sw ‘nh it=f*

²⁴⁴ Translation of Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems*, p. 66.

²⁴⁵ A fairly common cryptographic writing for *m* (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 25-26).

²⁴⁶ None of the translations of this text as a label to Anubis are persuasive.

ʒh=f n=f hr=f

He shall become pure in the hand of his father Osiris.
Then his father comes to live,
becoming effective and beautiful before him.

Book of Nut, Text G:

dšr.t (☰) m-ḥt ms=f
The redness after his birth.²⁴⁷

The appearance of cryptographic orthographies which can all be read as astronomical terms—*ḥt*, *n*, and *dšr*—should not be coincidental. The short vertical annotation commonly read as a label to Anubis may now be reinterpreted in light of the parallels in the Book of Nut. Re halts within the Judgment Hall of Osiris for the momentous event of the weighing of the udjat-eye (see below), but the label indicates the assured outcome—Re will once again shine brightly in the redness of dawn.

Text J: New Kingdom/Late Period Text over the Gods

This annotation appears mostly preserved in five New Kingdom versions and on one Late Period sarcophagus, CG 29305 (pl. 65B). The text appears over the gods on the steps, but describes the actions of Re within the Judgment Hall.

*i(w) ʒh R^a htp=f m dw₃.t
wb₃=f kkw-sm₃w
rnpi m n_h^b
htp ntr m wdt.n=f
wbn m itn=f*

Re is luminous when he rests in the Duat,
when he opens the uniform darkness,
and rejuvenates in life.

The god is content with what he has commanded,
and shines from his disk.

²⁴⁷ The P. Carlsberg I version of Text G, spells out *dšr.t*, and explains that the red-crown in the hieroglyphic writing is to be read *dšr.t*

^a Several variants exist among the different versions; while three write reed leaf plus bird, Seti I sarcophagus and Ramesses III add a sign after the reed leaf, a *t*-loaf or round sign respectively. The reading *i(w) ʒḥ* could fit either reading. An alternate reading²⁴⁸ as *iw Rc* ... cannot be ruled out.

^b This reading follows previous translators²⁴⁹ and is particularly supported by the version on CG 29305, which replaces the *p.t* sign with a *p*-stool. Although the “uniform darkness” can describe the limitless expanse beyond the ordered cosmos²⁵⁰ and is often a term for Underworldly regions, the present text offers clues to a specific location—the Egg of Sokar, which is said to exist in the *kkw-smȝw*. The Egg of Sokar is the place of the solar rebirth within the Underworld, immediately preceding the reanimation of the corpse in the Sixth Hour and battle with Apep in the Seventh Hour. The “roar of heaven when it storms” that is heard within the Egg of Sokar is the sound of creation itself.²⁵¹ The phrase “rejuvenation in life” in the Judgment Hall text suggests that the uniform darkness refers to this regenerative oval.

²⁴⁸ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 149; Zeidler, *Pfortenbuch Studien*, vol. 2, pp. 150-51; Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, pp. 270-71.

²⁴⁹ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 149; Zeidler, *Pfortenbuch Studien*, vol. 2, pp. 150-51. The spellings in CG 29305 may also support this reading (Heerma van Voss, in *Studies Quaegebeur*, vol. 2, p. 1005 and 1008-1009).

²⁵⁰ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 44.

²⁵¹ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 443 n. 84.

^c The reading *wdt.n=f* was proposed by Zeidler. Although he does not note the derivations, most of the signs can be explained easily by non-acrophonic principles.²⁵²

Although the translation of this passage follows closely that proposed by other scholars, an entirely new interpretation of the text arises from a closer look at the lexicography. This cryptographic text associates two momentous events of the nightly solar journey—the cosmic judgment in Scene 33 of the Book of Gates and the Egg of Sokar in the Fifth Hour of Amduat. Both scenes are obviously situated during the Fifth Hour of the Night, and in each, Anubis appears as a protector of the Osirian corpse.²⁵³ The two scenes exemplify essential events for solar rejuvenation—a successful verdict for Re against his enemies and contact with the chaotic forces of the uncreated world. The Type II sarcophagi provide further prove for this theory, since the Judgment Hall immediately precedes the Fifth Hour of Amduat.

Text K: New Kingdom/Late Period Text beneath the staircase

The *tnt3.t*-platform atop which Osiris sits enthroned contains a depiction of four bound enemies along with several columns of enigmatic text. Two distinct versions of the text appear on extant monuments—a New Kingdom recension and a Late Period recension. The import of the text is the same, but each version utilizes different expressions (*hr rd.wy=fy* vs. *hr=f*) and orthographies, with the Late Period recension employing a number of non-cryptographic writings.

Louvre D9, BM 1504, and CG 29305 (Pls. 65, 65B):

hft.yw=f hr=f
ntr.w z̄h.w m-b3h=f
hft nm.t m hfty.w mw.wt dw3.t^a

²⁵² Bird: *w* as a substitution of kind; *di*-arm/strong arm: *d* from hieratic confusion with *dw*-mountain, or collapse of the dentals and consonantal principle *di* > *d* > *d*; the *p*-socle for *t* is odd.

²⁵³ See *supra*.

wd Wsir hftyw n htmy.t
b3.w=sn^b ir=f šc.t=sn

His enemies are beneath him,
while the gods and blessed spirits are before him,
opposite the slaughtering blocks in the Underworld,
containing the enemies and the damned of the Underworld..
Osiris commands his enemies to the place of annihilation,
as for their bas, he makes their slaughter.
Or: so that he might make their slaughter.

^a Hornung²⁵⁴ transliterates this section of the Louvre sarcophagus as: *hft n mwt n dʒtjw*, noting that this does not produce a readable statement. The reading *nmw.t* “slaughtering blocks” is similar to Heerma van Voss’ translation “the executioner,” citing *Wb.* II 264.10.²⁵⁵ It is also possible that the text on the Late Period sarcophagi represent an incorrect “translation” of the New Kingdom cryptographic text. For example, the multi-coiled serpent of the New Kingdom versions is transposed into the *f*-viper, but the pupil is kept, possibly because the pupil for the eye was no longer considered to be “cryptographic.”²⁵⁶ However, since the signs on the Late Period sarcophagi can be read as a coherent text, the latter scenario is not likely.

^b Following the *tm*-sled, Louvre D9 writes a bad-bird and two *z*-bolts. The New Kingdom versions lack a determinative, so the bad-bird on the sarcophagus might be a transformation of the bird-sign which writes *b3* in most of the earlier texts (Horemheb uses a *b3*-ram). The two *z*-bolts probably derive from the suffix pronoun *=sn* in the earlier texts, as the other late copies indicate.

²⁵⁴ Pforten, vol. 2, p. 150.

²⁵⁵ In *Egyptian Religion*, p. 1009.

²⁵⁶ Compare the frequent use of the pupil for *ir*-eye in Thirtieth Dynasty-early Ptolemaic funerary papyri.

New Kingdom/Berlin 49, BM 1504, CG 29305:

*hft.yw=f hr rd.wy=fy
ntr.w ʒh.w m-bʒh=f
ir=f tñw.t m dwʒ.tyw
wd=f hft.yw r htmy.t
bʒ.w=sn ir=f s̄c.t=sn*

His enemies are beneath his two soles,
while the gods and the blessed spirits are before him.
He makes a reckoning among the Datians.
And he commands the enemies to the place of annihilation.
As for their *bas*, he makes their slaughter.

Comparison of the Enthroned Osiris Scenes

Three other religious tableaus relate, through their iconography and/or cryptographic annotations, to the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates. The first of these, referred to above, is the depiction of Osiris atop the *tntʒ.t*-staircase in Third Intermediate Period papyri. Much in the Third Intermediate Period *tntʒ.t*-staircase scene suggests an association with reckoning and judgment, and it is likewise preceded by an elaborately represented portal. The *tntʒ.t* in both scenes symbolize the primordial mound of creation,²⁵⁷ contributing to the cosmic nature of the judgment in the Book of Gates. Osiris sits upon the original mound and presides over the vindication of Re and the

²⁵⁷ Kuhlmann, *Das Thron im alten Ägypten*, pp. 33-34, 93-95. One might also compare the architectural representation of the primeval mound with steps at the Osireion (Frankfort, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, vol. I, p. 28-29, note especially the parallel in the papyrus of Anhai [EA 58], which combines the concluding scene of Gates with the primeval mound and columned hall; the ground plan of the Osireion is shown side-by-side with the papyrus of Anhai in A.J. Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt* [London, 1982], p. 150, fig. 49). A similar staircase is mentioned in the Seventh Litany of the Litany of Re, which is attributed to both Re and Osiris (Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 203-204): *iw isk r=f s̄r n=tñ sw r ɔr pn ɔr=tñ n=f isw ntr.w r=f imy.w ht R^c Wsir* “May you cause him to ascend this staircase, to which you ascend and to which the gods who are in the following of Re and Osiris are called.”

continuation of the ordered created world. In the second parallel scene, from the lower register of the Eighth Hour of the Book of the Night, an enthroned Osiris and his court appear between two door leaves.²⁵⁸ The throne of Osiris, although not placed atop a staired platform, has a bound enemy figure beneath it, mimicking the four enemies beneath Osiris in Scene 33 from Gates.²⁵⁹

The “Awakening of Osiris”²⁶⁰ is the second scene related to the Judgment Hall in the Book of Gates. It appears at the end of the tomb of Ramesses IX, the same position of prominence given to the Judgment Hall in the tomb of Ramesses III. Furthermore, several of the cryptographic values are similar, particularly the use of the man at the grinding stone for *nd*, which is common to the Judgment Hall, Awakening of Osiris, and the enthroned Osiris in the Book of Gates. The cryptographic text of these three scenes as well as the specific choice of enigmatic values for these signs indicates the underlying unity of the depictions. However, the Awakening of Osiris contains some elements not attested in the other templates, such as the position of Osiris on his stomach, in the process of resurrecting.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 259.

²⁵⁹ These depictions relate to the enemies shown underneath and around thrones actually used by Egyptian pharaohs (Kuhlmann, *Das Thron im alten Ägypten*, pp. 69-71).

²⁶⁰ Occurrences of this scene are collected by H. Willems, “The Embalmer Embalmed: Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins,” in J. van Dijk, ed., *Essays in Honour of Herman Te Velde* (Groningen, 1997), p. 359, n. 57. The only translation is the quite suspect attempt by E. Drioton, “Inscription énigmatique du tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis,” *Kemi* 12 (1952): 24-33.

²⁶¹ Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 85-86, citing numerous texts where Osiris *pn’ sw* “turns over;” he does not cite the accompanying iconographic evidence. For a rare (if not unique) depiction of the awakening Osiris in three dimensions, see Hornung and Bryan, eds., *Quest for Immortality*, pp. 176-77.

The third and strongest parallel exists between the Judgment Hall and the enthronement scene from the Book of the Night (lower register of the Eighth Hour), since the connection was explicitly recognized by the Egyptians themselves—both scenes appear on the Type II sarcophagi, framing the hours of the middle of the night. The cryptographic label above Horus in the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night suggests a deeper relationship with the Judgment Hall (for a translation, see *infra*). The phrase *ip hsiw* stands in contrast with *sip mw.wt* in the Judgment Hall of Osiris. The verb *ip* is used commonly to describe a positive action of Re (or here Horus) on behalf of Osiris, just as *sip* frequently expresses the damnation of the enemies of Re.

A Lunar Interpretation: The Udjat-Eye in the Judgment Hall

The key to understanding the significance of the Judgment Hall of Osiris is the recognition of the object being weighed in the scales, one of the focal points in the tableau. Several different pieces of evidence suggest that the udjat-eye is that key—the purpose of the scales is to measure the requirements of the eye of Horus, so that it might be refilled. The restoration of the udjat-eye is here the template for the justification of Re in the Underworld. Furthermore, the Judgment Hall exploits the lunar imagery of the udjat-eye as the underworldly replacement of the sun disk.

The first hint of the lunar significance of the tableau is the juxtaposition of monkeys and a large swine, which is an allusion to the birth of the eye of Horus and its protection by Thoth.²⁶² As noted above, the Coffin Texts link the measuring of the udjat-

²⁶² Te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion*, pp. 44-45.

eye with Seth as black pig, providing a further pedigree for the constellation of images in the upper right corner of Scene 33.

The mummiform god who forms the “stand” for the scale-pans is unique to the Judgment Hall of Osiris, with the exception of a Twenty-second Dynasty mummy cartonnage.²⁶³ In contrast to Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, the scale-pans in the Book of Gates remain empty, leading Seeber to suggest that the former judgment takes places on an individual scale, while the latter represents a cosmic manifestation of the event.²⁶⁴ The proximity of the Judgment Hall of Osiris to the solar corpse in the Sixth Hour of the Book of Gates on the Type II sarcophagi provides irrefutable evidence for the transcendent nature of the events rendered in Scene 33. If the Judgment Hall of Osiris represents the ultimate triumph of Re over his enemies, which is the pattern for the moral weighing of the heart, one must determine the purpose to which the scales are put in the Book of Gates, a previously unexamined topic. While the scales might weigh the heart of Re, there is no evidence to suggest such a corporeal interpretation. For the solar god, it is not his heart that must be measured, but rather the ultimate expression of his well-being and victory—the *wd3.t*-eye.

The *wd3.t*-eye is a paradigm of measurability,²⁶⁵ and its lunar identity makes the *wd3.t*-eye ideal for a Netherworldly metaphor.²⁶⁶ Book of the Dead Chapter 71 provides

²⁶³ J. Capart, “Ra, juge des morts,” *CdE* 14 (1939): 232-36.

²⁶⁴ *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pp. 187-192.

²⁶⁵ Cf. the use of the parts of the udjat eye for grain measurements S. Vleeming, “Maße und Gewichte,” *LÄ* III (1980): cls. 1201-02; see also the discussion in Te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion*, pp. 48-49. See also the brief note on the missing 1/64 by A. Belluccio, “Le nombre caché dans l’Oeil d’Horus,” *DE* 32 (1995): 7-8. At the temple of Kom Ombo a list of fractions and toponyms describing water offerings relates the eye of Horus (which can also write *b3q.t*) to Egypt, and thus the parts of Egypt to the fractional components of the udjat, discussed both by P.

an unambiguous connection between udjat-eye and scale, as does a priestly declaration from Edfu Temple:²⁶⁷

*i ts.w 7 dʒis.w pwy rmn mh3.t
grḥ pwy n ip wdʒ.t*

O these seven Utterances, who carry the scale,
during this night of reckoning the udjat-eye.

*nī hbi-i m r3.w n.w ir.t
nī [dʒ-i] m iws w
nī nkn-i dbhw nw ntr.t*

I have not diminished the parts of the Hours-eye,
I have not [been false] with the scales,
I have not damaged the requirements of the divine eye.

Numerous texts speak of the “lack” in the udjat-eye that must be “filled”—weighing the eye to determine the exact lack is not only a logical extension of these passages, but an activity specifically suggested by the exact measurements given for the

Derchain, “Miettes,” *RdE* 46 (1995): 89-92; and D. Kurth, “Die Ritualszene mit den medizinischen Instrumenten im Tempel von Kom Ombo (Nr. 950),” in M. Schade-Busch, ed., *Wege öffnen. Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach* [Wiesbaden, 1996], pp. 149-164).

²⁶⁶ For the moon as the Netherworldly sun, compare the straightforward statement in the Great Hymn to Amun at Hibis Temple (Davies, *Hibis*, pl. 33, l. 17): *iʒb(t)=k m idn m grḥ* “your left eye is the replacement (for the sun) in the night” (probably a pun on *idn* “replacement” and *iñ* “sun disk”); for earlier references, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 309 and Herbin, *BIAFO* 82 (1982): 261-62 (Osiris as moon); H. Ernst, “Die Nordkapelle des großen Tempels in Abu Simbel,” *SAK* (2000): 58-59. The speeches by the thirty gods who represent the lunar months on the Propylon of the Temple of Khonsu offer numerous expressions of the moon as solar replacement in the Netherworld (*Urk.* VIII, nos. 53-54). For an extensive treatment of the connection between Osiris, the udjat-eye, and the moon, see P. Koemoth, “Osiris-Lune, l’horizon et l’œil *oudjat*,” *CdE* 71 (1996): 203-220; Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 120-125.

²⁶⁷ Book of the Dead, Chapter 71: Naville, *Todtenbuch*, p. 153, Aa. In the Late Period versions of Chapter 71, the *ts.w* are replaced by the *dʒisw*—R. El Sayed, “Les sept vaches célestes, leur taureau et les quatre gouvernails,” *MDAIK* 36 (1980): 387-90; J. Assmann, “Der Tempel der ägyptischen Spätzeit als Kanonisierung kultureller Identität,” in J. Osing and E.K. Nielsen, eds., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt (Studies Iversen)* (Copenhagen, 1992), pp. 18-19.

²⁶⁸ S. Aufrère, *L’univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* (Cairo, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 199-202.

missing portions.²⁶⁹ The most explicit depictions of refilling the udjat eye appear in temples of Edfu,²⁷⁰ Dendera,²⁷¹ and Philae where a series of gods (fourteen or fifteen in number) ascend a “lunar stairway” in order to merge with, and thus replenish, the udjat-eye.²⁷² Thus, the staircase on which Osiris sits in the Judgment Hall may also be an allusion to the lunar cycle. As in the Book of Gates, the gods ascending the staircase are referred to as a *psd.t.*²⁷³ The hymn accompanying the lunar crescent in these scenes,

²⁶⁹ In Coffin Texts Spell 155 (CT II 297c-298a), an address to the *b3.w psdntyw* “the bas of the new moon,” the deceased claims knowledge of the precise number of *r3*-parts that differentiate the filled eye from the damaged eye (Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages*, p. 572). At the conclusion of the spell (R. El Sayed, “Les sept vaches célestes, leur taureau et les quatre gouvernails,” *MDAIK* 36 [1980]: 387-90), the deities involved are listed as Osiris, Anubis, and Isdes (= Thoth), who all appear in the Judgment Hall of Osiris. Related Book of the Dead Chapters 114 and 116 which involve knowing the “souls of Heliopolis” also gives prominence to knowledge of the requirements of the udjat-eye. For an early treatment of both texts together, see K. Sethe, “Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte,” *ZÄS* 57 (1920): 1-50.

²⁷⁰ The stairs are part of the astronomical scenes on the north wall of the pronaos (*Description I*, pl. 58; reproduced in Labrique, *RdE* 49 [1998]: pl. XV).

²⁷¹ The stair scene occurs in a large lunar tableau on the ceiling of the pronaos (*Description IV*, pl. 18 [reproduced in Labrique, *RdE* 49 (1998): pl. XXI; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 35 [sketch in Herbin, *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 242]]), on the south exterior wall of the pronaos (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. IV, pl. 56, a; reproduced in Herbin, *BIFAO* 82 [1982]: 240), and on the ceiling of an Osiris chapel on the roof (S. Cauville, *Dendara. Les chapelles osiriennes*, *Dendara X/2*, 1997, pl. 260; *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 204-205).

²⁷² All the scenes are described, translated, and discussed at length by Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, vol. 1, pp. 205ff. Another possible textual reference to the lunar staircase occurs in the “Hymn to the Twelve Names of Re-Horakhty,” attested in several versions: *i R^c hry h^c.w=f h^c hr hnd=f nw b3* “O Re, master of his lifetimes, who stands upon his throne of iron.” (Gasse, *BIFAO* 84 [1984]: 204; the transliteration here is based on the Portal of Euergetes and the more accurate copy in P. Clere, *La porte d'Évergète*, pl. 72). Gasse, *BIFAO* 84 (1984): 219 n. 38 sees this stairway as a solar symbol. The filling of the eye atop the staircase is also discussed by Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 389-390.

²⁷³ A detailed examination of the groups of gods associated with these scenes appears in Fr. Labrique, “L'escorte de la lune sur la porte d'Évergète à Karnak,” in R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz, eds., 4. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Feste im Tempel* (Wiesbaden, 1998), pp. 91-121; *idem*, “L'escorte de la lune sur la porte d'Évergète à Karnak,” *RdE* 49 (1998): 107-149.

gives an active role to Osiris, who in a solarized form fills the missing parts of the udjat-eye:²⁷⁴

*ḥnty-mk=s ḥnm.n=f iʒb.t
Wsir wbn(w) m ntr im=s
hprr šps hr mh hb=s*
Khentymekes has joined to the left eye (moon),
Osiris has shined as a god by means of it,
the noble scarab fills its lack.

This same text describes the actions of Thoth thus:²⁷⁵

*Dhwty pr.(w) m mʒc-hrw sip.n=f wdʒ.t n nb=s
wts.n=f sw dbh=s*
Thoth has come forth justified after reckoning the udjat-eye for its lord,
after supplying it with its requirements.

After filling the missing portions of the udjat-eye (“its requirements”), the hymn states that both Re and Osiris are *mʒc-hrw* against their enemies. Victory and justification flow directly from the reconstitution of the eye. A measurement of the eye’s lacking elements is thus a necessary prerequisite to the filling of the eye and triumph over *isf.t*. Once filled, the eye will balance with Maat, providing a possible template for the weighing of the heart in Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead. In depictions of the weighing of the heart, the udjat-eye can play a central role; the *wdʒ.t*-eye can appear above the judgment scene itself, near the depiction of the scale, and in the hand of Thoth.²⁷⁶ In one exceptional case, the *wdʒ.t* eye replaces the *mʒc.t* feather in the pan opposite the heart.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Herbin, *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 237-282; the accompanying lunar hymn also occurs in a 22nd Dynasty papyrus and has its origins in the New Kingdom (*ibid.*, p. 280); quoted passage appears in *ibid.*, p. 249.

²⁷⁵ Parallel texts from several sources in Herbin, *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 253-4

²⁷⁶ Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pp. 65-66, 70-1, 147 n. 672.

²⁷⁷ TT 356: Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, p. 75, citing Ph. Derchain, “L’Oeil, Gardien de la Justice,” *ZÄS* 83 (1958): 75-6.

These tantalizing clues suggest the invisible matter weighed upon the scale in the Judgment Hall of Osiris is none other than the eye of Horus. The ancient authors may have refrained from depicting the udjat-eye, since the scales already allude to its missing portions, and it was deemed undesirable to depict the eye which still lacks its full measure. If the eye is one of the central themes of the scene, its invisibility could be part of the enigmatic nature of the tableau—one would be loathe to depict the answer to the clues placed within the cryptographic scenes and text!

There exist a number of texts, where divine judgment is linked with the lunar cycle. Already in the Coffin Texts, the judgment which takes place in Heliopolis is related to the cycles of the moon,²⁷⁸ a theme made explicit in the hymn to the crescent moon:²⁷⁹ *Dhwty wr pr m ms^c-hrw i^b.(t) šsp.(w) wnm.(t) i^ch iy.w r ss=f* “Thoth the great has come forth in justification, the left eye having united to the right, and the moon having arrived at the proper time.” Furthermore, the dual lunar and solar natures of the udjat-eye fit perfectly with the union of Re and Osiris,²⁸⁰ which is an important aspect of judgment in Egyptian religion.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ P. Wallin, *Celestial Cycles* (Uppsala, 2002), pp. 78-79.

²⁷⁹ Herbin, *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 251.

²⁸⁰ Ph. Derchain, “La pêche de l’oeil et les mystères d’Osiris à Dendara,” *RdE* 15 (1963): 11-25. Furthermore, in the introductory text to the filling of the udjat-eye in the Ptolemaic temple “stairway” scenes described above, the eye is called “the eye of Osiris,” “the eye of Horus,” and epithets related to the eye of Re (Aufrère, *L’univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, vol. 1, pp. 214-215 n. c.).

²⁸¹ Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pp. 120-23; the themes of judgment and the *b3-dmd* “united ba” are directly related to one another at the Porte d’Évergète, where the two bas are Khonsu and Thoth, but the archetype is clearly the union of Re and Osiris (on the passages in question, see F. Labrique, “Khonsou et la néoménie, à Karnak,” in D. Budde, S. Sandri, and U. Verhoeven, eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit* [Leuven, 2003], pp. 209-215).

The cryptographic values used in the Judgment Hall find some parallels in the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, but differ from the predominately uniliteral signs found in the three exemplars of the latter. The writing of the verb *nd* in the title could be an allusion to the scene of the Resurrection of Osiris, which uses the grinding man to write the verb *nd* in the epithet of Horus *nd it=f* “who protects his father.”

The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates represents the ultimate *dies irae*, for the vindication of Re against his enemies, essentially the entire fate of the cosmos is at stake. The title of the scene alludes to the “clothing” of the god who sits in judgment, protecting him from all outside influences. The verb *hbs* was probably also chosen to allude to the cryptographic text which annotates the scene. As Darnell has explained, enigmatic texts are used in Scene 33 because it is “where the momentous decisions concerning the fates of souls are made.”²⁸² The proper judgment at this point in the nightly journey is particularly crucial to the fate of the cosmos, because the weighing of the heart can be equated with the solar standstill, ‘*h*’, when Apep has the potential to permanently stop the bark of Re.²⁸³ As Darnell has noted: “In connection with the scales on which the heart is being weighed, there may be a pun on ‘*h*’, ‘state of equilibrium (of scale,’ and the bark as ‘*h*’ ‘standing,’ even ‘balanced,’ teetering in the sky at a moment of peril.”²⁸⁴ This observation can be applied to the new understanding of the Judgment Hall presented here and is one of the keys to the cosmic significance of the empty scales which properly measure the missing portions of the eye of Horus.

²⁸² *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 710.

²⁸³ For a collection of references, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 287-288 n. 59.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 288 n. 59.

FIFTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

A complete representation of the Fifth Hour of the Book of Amduat fills the upper half of Side Two (pls. 62-63), immediately following the four addresses from the Litany of Re. The bandeau texts on BM 1504, Berlin 49, and Louvre D9 contain excerpts from the Short Amduat as well as the annotations to the upper register of the Fifth Hour; the Introductory Text on CG 29305 occurs in a block of text before the hour, since the bandeau texts are spells from the Book of the Dead (see below).

Introductory Text, Fifth Hour of Amduat

Text: Berlin 49: None

BM 1504: None

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 195-96

Louvre D9: None

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 57

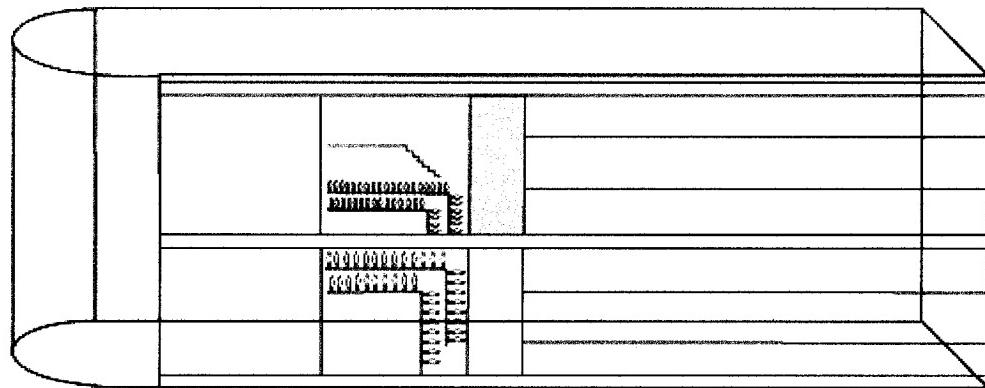


Fig. 23: Introductory Text to the Fifth Hour of Amduat on CG 29305

¹ *st3 ntr pn c3 hr w3.t m3c.t n dw3.t*
m gs hri qrr².t št3.t n.t Skr hri-šc=f
n i ptr ssm³pn št3 n t3 hr iwf ntr pn
iw ntr.w imyw ntr pn⁴sdm-sn hrw R^c
dwi=f r h3w⁵ntr pn

rn n sb3 n niw.t tn ḥ^c ntrw
 rn n ⁶qrr.t ntr pn Imn.t
 rn n wnw.t tn n.t grḥ⁷sšm.t ntr pn ḥ³ sšm.t hry-ib wiʒ
 iw stʒ.n^a Wsir N ntr pn hr wʒ.t stʒ n.t Rʒ-stʒw^b

¹ Hauling this great god upon the true roads of the Duat in the upper half
 of the secret ²cavern of Sokar, who is upon his sand,
 without glimpsing this ³secret image of the earth
 which carries the flesh of this god.

The gods among whom this god is, ⁴they hear the voice of Re,
 when he calls in the vicinity of ⁵this god.

The name of the portal of this locale: “Halting places of the gods”

The name of the ⁶cavern of this god: “Hidden one.”

The name of the hour of the night ⁷who leads this great god:
 “She who leads within the bark”

Osiris N has hauled this great god upon the secret roads of Rosetau.

^a Only rarely is a *sdm.n=f* form used in the added statements throughout the Late Period sarcophagi. The indicative *iw sdm.n=f* is a clear example of successful archaism, mimicking the Middle Egyptian grammar of the Underworld Books themselves.

^b The archaic grammar of the addition stands in marked contrast to the orthography of *Rʒ-stʒw*, which is spelled , with the jackal-hieroglyph. Jackal and jackal-heads are determinatives of *stʒ* already in the New Kingdom (*Wb.* IV 351.7ff.), but the phonetic use of the jackal is not common prior to the Persian Period.

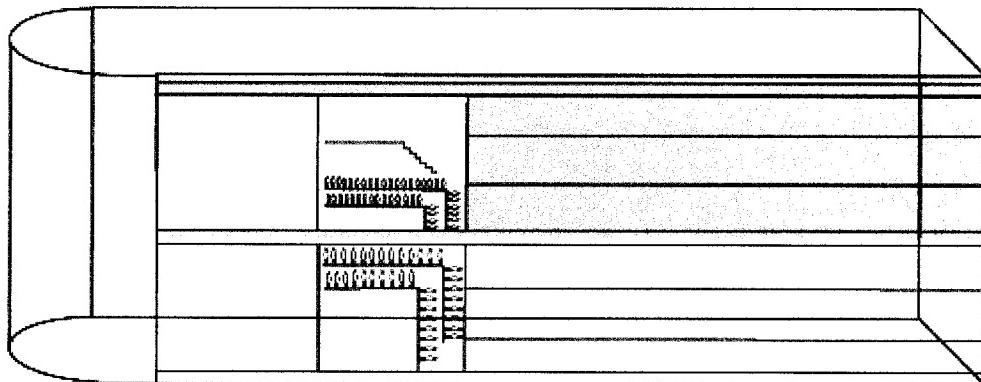


Fig. 24: Fifth Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

Fifth Hour of Amduat, Introductory Text

Text: Berlin 49: pls. 66-67

BM 1504: pls. 66-67

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 5-10

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 42-49

*rn n ntr.w imy.w qrr.t tn b3.w imyw dw3.t
iw Wsir N m htp b3=f m-h̄t R^c
ntr htp=f m htp Skr
ni dn.n Hmy.t h3.t=f
sw3i-f hr=s m htp
rn n wnw.t nt grh ssm.t ntr pn '3 m qrr.t tn
ssm.t hr̄it-ib wi3
iw htp-f m htp Skr*

The name of the gods who are in this caverns is “*Ba*-spirits who are in the Underworld.”

Osiris N is in peace, his *ba* is in the following of Re.

The god rests in the resting place of Sokar.

The Destuctrix cannot slice open his corpse,

but he passes over her safely.

The name of the hour of the night which leads this great god in this cavern:

“She who leads within the bark”

Although the first line of the text on the sarcophagi is not attested as such in the New Kingdom copies of Amduat, it is an amalgamation of known passages, mostly deriving from the Short Amduat, but omitting the “instructions” concerning the placement of the hour. Again, one can assume that the Late Period scribes were aware of these instructions, since the Fifth and Sixth Hours are properly located on the “southern” part of the Hidden Chamber, here represented by Side Two of the sarcophagus.

Upper Register

Text: Berlin 49: pls. 68-71

BM 1504: pls. 68-71

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 196-97

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 5-10

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 393-414

SCENE 1

Depiction: Ennead of *hq3*-scepters

*dd mdw in ntr pn 3
imn.t dī 3.wy=t
nfr mtn wr imi-t3
w3.t is.w
htp.w ntr.w
srq=t_n psd.t tw n.t ntr.w
hpr.w m iwf=i tm
hpr.w n ir.w=t_n
št3=t_n 3w hn.w=t_n
nd-i t_n nd=t_n hr=i
n_ttn wdd.n=i dsr=t_n hr nd hr=i m t3 imnt
nd=t_n hr n Wsir N*

Words spoken by this great god:

“O West, give your arms!

Beautiful is the great road within the earth,

the path of the tombs,

the resting places of the gods.

May you breathe, Ennead of gods,

who came about from my flesh entirely,

May (multiple) manifestations belong to your visible forms!

May you greatly conceal your property!

I protect you, when you greet me.

It is you whose sacredness I command,

when you greet me in the western land.

May you greet Osiris N, likewise!”

Horizontal Lines over the *ntr*-signs:²⁸⁵

*nn ntr.w m dw3.t wn=sn m shr pn n h3 mhw=sn
m irw n.t n mh(.yw?) m dw3.t*

ir.t=sn pw sqd.t wi3

These gods in the Duat, they exist in this fashion around their flood waters,

as protectors of the *nt*-water of the drowned(?) in the Duat.

What they do is navigate the bark.

SCENE 2

Depiction: Six deities of various attributes

²⁸⁵ CG 29035 and BM 1504 include this text, which is the same as the description of the gods to the right of the *ntr* signs whose names involve flood waters (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 402).

*dd mdw in ntr pn ⸂
‘h=tn r mw=tn
s3=tn n idb.w=tn
di=tn mh.t m mhy.w imi.w Nwn
mni=tn sn n idb.w m ȝgb=tn
mw=tn n=tn ni wšr=sn
qȝ.t n idb.w=tn ni fȝk=sn
qȝh n=tn ⸂.wy=tn
r ⸂pt=i hr=tn m htp*

Words spoken by this great god:

“May you stand at your water!
May you guard your banks!
May you place the flood with those who are drowned within Nun.
May you bring them to port at the banks of your flood water.
May your water be to you—it will not dry up.
May elevation be to your banks—they shall not be barren.
May you bend your arms,
until I pass over you in peace.”

The long second line of bandeau text on the sarcophagi Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9, which avoids lengthy repetition of the deceased’s titles and filiation consists of the first two addresses of the sun god to the inhabitants of the Fifth Hour (Scenes 1 and 2), diverging little from the earlier versions. However, the presence of water in the upper register of the Fifth Hour has never been adequately explained, since the Fifth Hour is part of the sandy Sokar-Land where the solar bark is replaced by a giant serpent. The allusion to the drowned, known most prominently from their depictions in the Tenth Hour of Amduat has also remained a puzzle. The only water present in the Fifth Hour is in the lower register surrounding the Egg of Sokar, which suggests that the registers in the Book of Amduat may depict deities next to one another, so that the gods in the upper register are actually adjacent to the water of Nun surrounding the Egg of Sokar rather than far above it. The deities in the upper register highlight the importance of flood water in the

nightly regeneration of the sun god,²⁸⁶ an element incorporated architecturally in the Osireion at Abydos and the building of Taharqa near the sacred lake at Karnak.²⁸⁷

The upper register of the Fifth Hour is also particularly interesting when taken as a whole. The register commences with a Meret-goddess²⁸⁸ and the Ennead followed by divinities related to the primordial flood. The chest of Khepri and guardians (such as Anubis) fill the center of the register, and the deities in second half carry out the punishment of the damned. Neither the watery expanse of the first half nor the punishment of enemies in the second half are depicted, except for the “Destructrix” who executes an enemy. The chest is thus framed by the gods and blessed dead on one side and the destruction of enemies on the other; the two nodes of Netherworldly activity are centered upon solar-Osirian unity, eloquently expressed by a scarab emerging from a burial chest.

SCENE 3

Depiction: Scarab-chest with falcons

The focus of the upper register of the Fifth Hour is the chest, from the bottom of which a scarab emerges into the middle register. While the chest and scarab are clearly

²⁸⁶ The watery element of the sun’s nocturnal journey is particularly evident in the depictions of the “drowned” in the Tenth Hour of Amduat and Ninth Hour of the Book of Gates. A surprising number of depictions and descriptions of the drowned and flood waters appear in the Underworld Books—compare the address of Sia to the drowned in the Ninth Hour of the Book of the Night (see *infra*) and the occurrence of the *nt-* and *zgb-*floodwaters in the Ninth Hour of Amduat (see *infra*).

²⁸⁷ For an interpretation of the use of the so-called “Nilometer” at the Taharqa building, see B. Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel* (Hildesheim, 1983), pp. 167-174 and pp. 425-437 for the ritual use of the Osireion.

²⁸⁸ No. 329, Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 94 does not even attempt to read the name; Wiebach-Koepcke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, vol. 2, p. 68 suggests *tȝ wr*. Another likely reading for the name is *hwit tȝ* “She who protects the earth”

differentiated from one another in the New Kingdom scenes, the Late Period sarcophagi blend the two together and the “chest” becomes the rounded body of the scarab itself rather than a separate receptacle.²⁸⁹ It is likely that this is merely an iconographic evolution, although the increasing association of scarabs with Osiris in the Late Period²⁹⁰ would be conducive to the scarab itself being a receptacle for the solar corpse. The two kites, Isis and Nephthys, perch on the sides of the scarab, just as they do on the chest, which further suggests a purely visual alteration of the scene.

The annotation to the scarab-chest appears in the middle register of the Fifth Hour of Amduat on the sarcophagi:

*dd mdw in hm n ntr pn ⲉ
sʒ n=tn hnw=tn
qʒ n hrw=tn
mʒc n ht.t=tn
imn n pn sšm sʒw=tn
wp dmʒ.ty=tn
ir wʒ.wt=tn
r ⲉp=ī hr=tn m htp*

Words spoken by the majesty of this great god:
“Protection be to you and your chest!
May your voices be exalted!
May your throats be true.
Hiddenness be to this image which you guard.
May you spread your wings,
and make your path,
so that I might pass over you safely.

SCENE 4

Depiction: Double-headed serpent

dd mdw in hm n ntr pn ⲉ

²⁸⁹ On some sarcophagi this transformation is more successful than others; CG 29305 elongates the body of the scarab, whereas BM 1504 the chest shape is more apparent.

²⁹⁰ See *supra*.

i *d*_s*r d*_s*r n=*i ‘.wy=k^a
 wn *n=*i q3b.w=k hr.wy=k m t3
 n s3w=k (wi)
 di=k *n=*i(?) *nwr(?)=k r nt*iw m-ht=i
 *r ‘p=*i hr=k m htp
 iw Wsir N m-ht R‘ m htp

Words spoken by the majesty of this great god:
 “O sanctified serpent, sanctify for me your two limbs!
 Open for me your coils and your two faces in the earth
 because you guard me.
 May you give to me your terror(?) for those who are in my following,
 so that I may pass over you safely.
 Osiris N is in the following of Re, being safe.

^a The dual ‘.wy is an interpretation of the bent-shouldered arm (—§) in the New Kingdom copies of this text; the Late Period copies write the normal ayin-arm (—). The double-headed snake being described lacks legs, so *d*_s*r* “to sanctify” probably functions as a synonym to *imn* “to hide.”

^b This section is only preserved on the sarcophagus of Djedher (Louvre D9), but it represents an attempt to reinterpret the difficult passages in the New Kingdom texts, which write negations with the *n*-water (rather than negative arms) and contain misleading determinatives.²⁹¹

SCENE 5

Depiction: Eight punishing deities and the goddess Khemit

dd mdw in ntr pn ‘3
 nm.tyw iry.w nm.t
 ‘h‘y.w hr qn mw.wt
 hrp n md.w=t
 Šsp n hk3.w=t
 spd n b3.w=t

²⁹¹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 407.

w3š n shm=tn
 nd hfty.w
 shtm=tn mw.wt
 šd=tn šw.wt b3.w niky.w m wh3.wt=tn
 nttn nd hr Wsir <sd>m mdw hr Wn-nfr
 spd n ds=tn qn n nm.t=tn
 tz n swš.wt=tn
 ḡ.wy=tn hr ssm imy.w=tn r ḡp=i hr=tn m htp
 nd=tn hr n Wsir N
 mdw=tn hr=f mi nd=tn hr Wsir
 mi mdw=tn hr Wn-nfr
 iw=f rh s(y) m sw3 hr=s m htp
 iw st3 n Wsir N R^c m htp

Words spoken by this great god:

“O slaughterers, who guard the slaughtering places,
who stand over the punishment of the dead.

Authority be to your speech!

Luminosity be to your magical spells!

Sharpness be to your bas!

Adoration be to your scepters!

O those who watch over the enemies,
may you destroy the damned!

May you slice up the shades and the bas of those to be punished in your cauldrons.
It is you who protect Osiris and hear commands before Wennefer.

Sharpness be to your knives,
punishment to your slaughtering places,
and binding be to your fetters!

Your arms guide those who are among you,
 until I pass over you safely.

May you greet Osiris N.

May you speak over him like you greet over Osiris,
 like you speak over Wennefer.

He knows her (scil. *Hmī.t* “the destructrix”) as one who passes over her safely.
Osiris N hauls Re safely.

MIDDLE REGISTER

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 63

BM 1504: pl. 62B

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 197-198

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 9-10

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 421-24, 432

As in the Fourth Hour of Amduat, the solar bark is no longer a ship, but an enormous serpent whose two heads curve upwards in imitation of a prow and stern. A set of gods and goddesses aided by Khepri haul the bark over the pyramid guarding the egg of Sokar.

Male Haulers:

ntr.w dw3tiw ir-sn pw st3 ntr pn hr qrr.t Skr

Underworldly gods: what they do is haul this god over the cavern of Sokar.

Female Haulers:

ntr.wt st3.w R^c m dw3.t hr qrr.t tn

ir.t-sn pi st3 ntr pn '3 r htp²⁹²=f wi3=f imi Nwn dw3.t

Goddesses who haul Re in the Underworld over this cavern.

What they do is haul this great god,

so that he might occupy his bark within the Nun waters of the Duat.

wnn-sn m shr pn

d3d3.t pi snm.t 3w.t r imy.w qrr.t tn

They exist in this fashion.

They are the council who distribute the offerings to those within this cavern.

Label to Khepri (text over the head of Isis):

'h^c ntr pn hri-tp ntr.t tn
wd-mdw=f m t3 skr r^c nb
in hpr i mi <hn=f> m3^c nfrt
n st3.wt hry-tp qrr.t tn
htp=f w3.wt n.t dw3.t

This god stands above this goddess,

when he commands in the Land of Sokar each day.

It is Khepri within <his chest> who makes straight the tow-rope

during the hauling over this cavern,

so that he (Re) might occupy the roads of the Duat.

Khepri emerges from his chest in order to help the gods and goddesses haul Re over the pyramid-structure crowned by the head of Isis. The action performed by

²⁹² The *htp* sign is mistakenly written as an *n*-water on the sarcophagus of Gemhab, BM 1504.

Khepri—*m3* “to make straight”—is the same as that performed in the 48th Address of the Litany of Re, which occurs directly before the 50th Address, a scarab beetle called “Illuminer.” Although not mentioned in the Fifth Hour of Amduat, the combination with the Litany addresses on the Type II sarcophagi suggest that Khepri emerging from his chest also helps to illumine the road for Re. The presence of Khepri in the Fifth Hour as well as the middle register of the Sixth Hour (the “corpse” of Khepri, see *infra*) is also interesting from a compositional perspective, since Khepri is otherwise prominent only in the First Hour (second half of the middle register) and again in the Eleventh and Twelfth Hours.²⁹³ The manifestation of the sun in the eastern horizon thus appears at each of the nodes of the Underwordly journey, beginning, middle, and end.

LOWER REGISTER

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 63

BM 1504: pl. 62B

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 198

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 9-10

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 433-39

The lowest register of the Fifth Hour is framed by two sloping passageways barred by doors. The left-most door at the beginning of the register may be contiguous with the door-leaf at the conclusion of the Fourth Hour of Amduat, marking an area of especially restricted access. The roads in this register receive their own annotations, which are also present on the sarcophagi. In the New Kingdom copies of Amduat, the labels to the roads exist in cryptography and *Normalschrift*; although some variants

²⁹³ The scarab pushing the *nwt*-oval in the Tenth Hour is really a foreshadowing of Khepri propelling Re into the eastern horizon at the oval terminus of the Underworld (see *infra*). The Twelfth Hour of Amduat does not appear on the Type II sarcophagi, but the concluding scene from the Book of the Night which replaces it also contains a scarab beetle as central element.

appear in the late versions, the sarcophagi are clearly based on the normal hieroglyphic texts and not their cryptographic counterparts.

Road next to the first portal:

*w3.t št3t n.t imht s̄t3 n̄tr pn hr=s
wnn=s hr bw.t^a Nhs
rwty imnt*

Secret way of Imhet upon which this god is hauled.
It is the abomination of Nehes that it contains.
The portal of the West.

^a The term *bw.t* is spelled consistently as *bs* on the sarcophagi, probably as a result of the confusion between the *bs*-fish and *bwt*-fish. However, a reinterpretation “induction of Nehes,” is not impossible, since Seth appears as the destroyer of Apep in Mythological Papyri and the temple of Hibis.²⁹⁴ Although Seth is increasingly demonized in the Late Period, the sarcophagi label Nehes as an occupant in the solar bark, and it seems that he maintained his beneficial qualities in a limited Underworld context well into the Thirtieth Dynasty. Seth may actually be appropriate to the lowest register of the Fifth Hour, since during the recreation of the sun, “The sound of something is heard in this oval after this god passes over them, like the roar of heaven when it storms.”²⁹⁵ Rather than being banned from the egg of Sokar, the Late Period scribes may have thought his presence a representation of the stormy sounds which accompany (re)creation.

Road beneath the head of Isis:

*w3.t št3.t nt t3-skr
‘qt.n Ist hr=s r wnn m-h̄t sn=s
wnn=s mh.ti n nsr n sd.t tp.t-r3 n Ist.
ni ‘p.n n̄tr.w 3h.w mwt.w hr=s*

²⁹⁴ Te Velde, *Seth*, pp. 99-108; *idem*, “Seth,” *LÄ* V (1984): cl. 909.

²⁹⁵ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 444-445; for the great sound which accompanies creation, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 443 n. 84.

The secret path of the land of Sokar,
upon which Isis enters in order to be behind her brother.
It (the path) exists, being full of the flames which are upon the mouth of Isis.
The gods, spirits, and dead cannot pass over it.

Isis appears throughout the Underworld Books, typically accompanied by Nephthys, such as their joint appearance as birds alongside the chest of Khepri in the upper register of the Fifth Hour. The disembodied head of Isis is unique to the Book of Amduat, otherwise appearing only in an entirely different context in the “Contendings of Horus and Seth.”²⁹⁶ Isis has a dual role here—protection of Osiris and the illumination of the depths of the Netherworld. An interesting parallel appears in the speech of Isis to Lucius in *The Golden Ass*: “and when you have completed the span of your lifetime, you will pass down to the nether world, but there also, in the very midst of the subterranean hemisphere, you shall often worship me, whom you now see, as one who favours you, shining the darkness of Acheron and ruling the Stygian depths ...”²⁹⁷

Road next to the second portal:

w3.t št3.t n.t t3 skr
imn.tyw st3w ntr pn iwtt 'pp ntr.w 3h.w mw.wt hr=s
wnn=s mh.ti n nsr sd.t tp-r3 n (W3)mm(ti)

The secret path of the land of Sokar.
It is the westerners who haul this god,

²⁹⁶ M. Broze, *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth* (Leuven, 1996), pp. 234-236, noting the allusion to the decapitation of Hathor already in the Coffin Texts, Spell 80 (*CT* II 37c and 41h), and oblique references in other New Kingdom texts. The episode where Horus cuts off the head of Isis also appears in P. Sallier IV in the “Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days,” but Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, pp. 56-57 does not provide any further commentary on the passage.

²⁹⁷ Translation of J.G. Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros, The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)* (Leiden, 1975), p. 77; on p. 165 of his commentary Griffiths notes the Egyptian origins behind the description of the Netherworld, and the presence of Isis in the depths of the Amduat provide an even stronger link than the evidence he presents.

without gods, spirits, or the dead passing over it (the path). It exists, being full of the flames which are upon the mouth of Wamemti.

Wamemti, usually an epithet of Apep or closely associated with him, is here a guardian of the egg of Sokar. Similarly, the same serpent *w3mmti* is sent out by the sun god in the introductory tableau of the Litany of Re; the beneficial nature of Wamemti is only made explicit on the lid of Late Period sarcophagus, where he is labeled *w3mmw s3wty sb3 ‘nh m dw3.t* “the serpent of roasting flame who protects the portal of the West in the Netherworld.”²⁹⁸ Late Period theologians clearly continued a nuanced interpretation of traditionally “evil” entities.²⁹⁹

COMMENTARY TO THE FIFTH HOUR

Although each hour of the night contains events critical to the sun’s journey through the Netherworld, the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Hours are particularly overt in their depictions of key events. The Fifth Hour is characterized by a pyramidal structure surmounted by the head of Isis which guards the egg of Sokar, an oval serpent egg in which Re comes into contact with the chaotic Nun waters. The Fifth Hour is also notable for its combination of the different manifestations of the solar god—Re, Khepri, and Osiris, as well as its emphasis on the triad of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. In the middle register, Khepri, the morning form of the sun *par excellence*, appears in the depths of the Underworld to help haul the solar bark. Khepri emerges from a chest protected by Isis and Nephthys, creating a strong connection between the scarab and Osiris. The god

²⁹⁸ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 274.

²⁹⁹ Another possible example is the “induction of Nehes” discussed above.

Sokar in the lower register is often referred to as Horus, so with the disembodied head of Isis and the other references to Osiris, this hour contains the Osirian family, who only rarely occur together in the Underworld Books. Again, the pairs of Horus-Osiris and Re-Osiris appear as complementary models for netherworldly regeneration.

SIDE TWO, SECOND REGISTER

LITANY OF RE BEFORE SIXTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

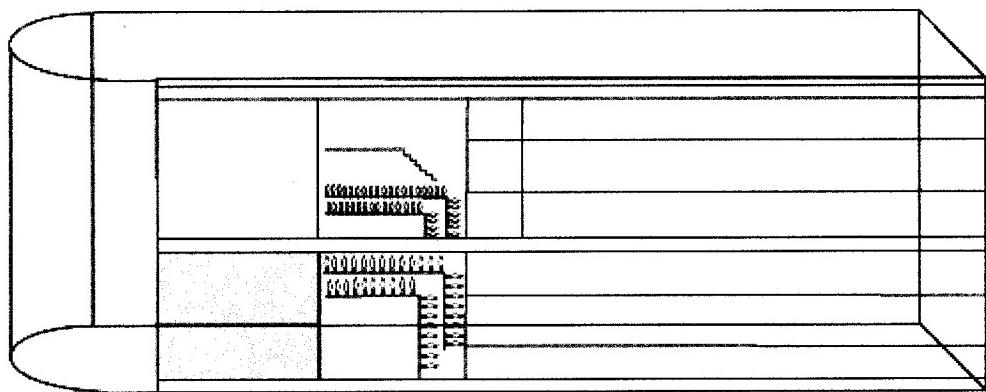


Fig. 25: Placement of Addresses 40, 42, 44, and 46 on Type II sarcophagi

Address 40

Form: Human-headed mummy with flame

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 73

BM 1504: pl. 73

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 202

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 10

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 46-47

hkn n=k R^c q₃ shm
<shm> ib r imy.w-h_{t=f}
wd rk_h m htmy.t
twt is h₃.t Rkhwy
di=f shm Wsir N
twt is h₃.t Wsir N h₃.t Rkhw

Praise to you, high and mighty!
 More <powerful> than those in his entourage!
 Who orders fire in the place of destruction.

You are indeed the corpse of the Burning One!
May he cause Osiris N to be powerful!
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Burning One!

In the tomb of Ramesses VII, a god named *Rkh* is one of four deities who protect the solar *ȝh.t*-eye within a sarcophagus,³⁰⁰ an image reminiscent of the “corpse of Khepri” in the middle register of the Sixth Hour of Amduat. The epithets of the Burning One in the 40th Address demonstrate the punishing aspects of fire, a ubiquitous element in the Underworld Books.

Address 42

Form: Human-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 73

BM 1504: pl. 73

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 202

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 10

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 49

*hḳn n=k Ṛ qȝ sḥm
bwȝ tp hnty nw.t
šsp m štȝyt
twt is hȝ.t šspȝ
Wsir N šsp(w) m štȝyt
iȝ Wsir N hnk-f n Ṛ
twt is hȝ.t Wsir N hȝ.t šspȝ*

Praise to you, of Re, high and mighty!
Distinguished of head, foremost of the oval.
Who lights up in Shetayt.³⁰¹
You are indeed the corpse of the Illuminer.
Osiris N lights up in Shetayt.
Osiris N praises Re.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Illuminer.

³⁰⁰ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 68 and pl. 11b.

³⁰¹ Written only with , but clear from the phonetic writings in the New Kingdom versions.

Although the mummiform figure called the Illuminer has no attributes, a close examination of his epithets reveals a complex theological meaning. Distinguished (*bwʒ*) of head refers to the ram-head of the sun god,³⁰² while “foremost of the oval,” suggests a position atop³⁰³ or within an oval-shaped receptacle.³⁰⁴ In scene of the birth of the sun from the crocodile, a ram-head emerges from a sun-disk within the belly of the fierce creature. One of the accompanying goddesses is Nut, and the disk itself is described as an oval in a previously misunderstood passage:³⁰⁵

Nw.t nd=s imyw.t nw.t
Nut, as she protects the one within the oval.

The *nw.t*-oval, which appears several times in the Book of Amduat,³⁰⁶ can also represent the entire Underworld.³⁰⁷ As such, a further association exists between the oval-shaped

³⁰² Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 11 n. 113 suggests a connection between *bwʒ tp* and the ram-headed sun god, but does not connect this epithet with the oval or the various representations thereof.

³⁰³ Cf. a ram head emerging from an *iʒ.t* mound and thereby illuminating his cavern in the Sixth Division of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 129, ll. 8-9). Ovals are also closely associated with scarab beetles, so the two epithets might also allude to a ram-headed scarab, such as that depicted in the concluding scene of the Book of Caverns, which is called *hpri tz tp* “Khepri, attached of head” (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945]: pl. 144, l. 6).

³⁰⁴ For *hnty* as “within,” see *Wb.* III 303.17-20; numerous deities in the Book of Caverns depicted within their sarcophagi are called *hnty dbʒ.t*.

³⁰⁵ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 68.

³⁰⁶ The chamber of Sokar in the Fifth Hour of Amduat is called *nw.t*. In the Tenth Hour, upper register, a scarab lifts up a small *nw.t*-oval, which is directly compared to the events at the end of the Underworld in the eastern horizon (see *infra*, commentary in Tjaihorpata). The presence of the scarab at the end of the Underworld further enhances the connection with the scarab and oval in the upper register of the Tenth Hour of Amduat.

³⁰⁷ The rounded end of the Underworld in the Twelfth Hour suggests an oval shape, like the oval between the two Aker-lions in the Fifth Hour (for Underworld as oval, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 105, especially the application of this interpretation to the shape of some Eighteenth Dynasty royal burial chambers).

underworld and the womb of the goddess Nut, which can also be represented as an oval.³⁰⁸ Address 42 in the Litany of Re eloquently alludes to the birth of the sun, represented as the re-emergence of his nightly ram-head from the oval, which is simultaneously the Underworld and the womb, be it of Nut or Penwenty.

As in many of the additional passage to the addresses of the Litany of Re on the Type II sarcophagi, the added text to Address 42 on Louvre D9 emphasizes the identity of the deceased with the form of Re being praised. Not only is Re the corpse of Osiris N and the Illuminer, but just like ššpy, Osiris N lights up in Shetayt. Each of the forms of the sun god addressed by the deceased before he reaches the next portal of the Underworld is simultaneously a form of the deceased himself.

Address 44

Form: Human-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 73

BM 1504: pl. 73

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 202-203

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 10

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 51

*ḥknw n=k R^c q3 shm
qm3 sšt3 ḫz.t
twt is ḫz.t sšt3
iわ Wsir N ḥknw=f n R^c
twt is ḫz.t Wsir N ḫz.t sšt3*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Who creates the mystery, who engenders the corpse!
You are indeed the corpse of the Mystery.
Osiris N always praises Re.
You are the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Mystery.

³⁰⁸ W. Waitkus, “Die Geburt des Harsomtus aus der Blüte,” *SAK* 30 (2002): 378-380; to his references should be added the appearance of the oval egg of Sokar *within* the womb of Nut on BM 6678, the Ptolemaic coffin of Horendotis (for this image in the context of birth within the disk, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 384 and n. 52).

On the sarcophagus Berlin 49, the form of the sun god accompanying Address 44 is called ‘*ȝ*’ “Engenderer:” *twt ‘ȝ’ sȝtȝ ... twt is hȝ.t Wsir N hȝ.t* ‘*ȝ*’ “You are the secret Engendere ... you are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Engenderer.”

The *sȝtȝ*-mystery has long been recognized as the corpse of the sun god,³⁰⁹ but no explanation has been given for the sexual import of this address. A close parallel to this part of the litany is found in the text accompanying the scenes on the sides of the Type I sarcophagi:³¹⁰

What Re says to the putrefying ones in the company of the Great One,
to the rotting ones who are in the company of the Great One.
O rotting ones who are surrounded with their mysteries,
whose corpses have been engendered (‘*ȝ*’) by means of yourselves!

The accompanying depiction on the Type I sarcophagi suggest that the corpses are engendering their own ba-spirits, while in Address 44, Re ejaculates his own corpse.³¹¹

Address 46

Form: Human-headed mummy with *kȝ*-arms

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 73

BM 1504: pl. 73

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 203

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 10

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 53

*ȝknw n=k Rȝ qȝ shm
hȝ iwf mȝ=f hȝ.t=f
wȝ bȝ ‘p=f sny
twt is hȝ.t hȝy
iȝ Wsir N m bȝ wȝ. (w) hȝ. (w)*

³⁰⁹ *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 112 n. 119 and references therein. For more references to the mysterious corpse of the unified Re-Osiris, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, Chapter 6.

³¹⁰ For commentary to this passage, see *supra*.

³¹¹ For further comparison and references to the verb ‘*ȝ*’, see *supra*.

*m3=f h3.t=f
iw Wsir N hkn=f n R^c
twt is h3.t Wsir N h3.t h^cy*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Whose flesh rejoices, when he sees his corpse.
Whose ba is strong, when he passes over the body.
You are indeed the corpse of the Rejoicer!
Osiris N is a strong and rejoicing ba,
 when he sees his corpse.
Osiris N always praises Re.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Rejoicer!

Although several Litany passages reinforce and explicate images present in the Sixth Hour of Amduat,³¹² Address 46 is particularly relevant. In the Sixth Hour, Re sees his own corpse twice—in its constituent elements in the top register and reunited in the middle register. In the annotation to the burial chests on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, Re addresses his own corpse with the following words:³¹³ *h^ci n iw^f* “Rejoicing be to the flesh!”³¹⁴

TEXT TO THE PORTAL BEFORE THE SIXTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

The sarcophagus of Djedher, CG 29305, contains five columns of text within the *sbh.t*-portal before the Sixth Hour of Amduat, inspired by the texts which accompany

³¹² For example, Address 73, which relates to the Heliopolitan burial of Re in the top register of the Sixth Hour (see *supra*).

³¹³ The entire annotation is translated *infra*. Note that the parallel is not as striking in the New Kingdom version (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 482): *h^cnim iw^f* “The flesh rejoices and takes pleasure” (this reading assumes that *nim* followed by the flesh sign is not a confusion for *n iw^f*).

³¹⁴ On the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, the 46th Address appears in the register underneath the Sixth Hour of Amduat at the end of the hour.

each of the portals in the Book of Gates.³¹⁵ Interestingly, the texts on CG 29305, which precede the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Hours of Amduat³¹⁶ seem to be “generic”—they do not name the serpent or provide any details specific to a particular hour; although the text begins with the “speech” made by Sia, the text on CG 29305 describes the snake in the third person.

Annotation to the serpent:

*mdw dd Siʒ hʒw pn
wnn=f hr ʒ pn
wn=f n R
wn=f dwʒ.t sn=f ʒh.t
iʒ=f shd kkw smʒ.w
di=f ſzp m ɔ.t Imn.t
htm.in ʒ pn m-ht ɔq ntr pn
hwt.hr imy.w sbh.t tn
sdm-sn hʒ ɔ pn*

Words spoken by Sia (to) this snake.
He exists at his door-leaf;
he opens for Re;
he opens the Underworld and opens up the horizon.
He illuminates the uniform darkness,
and lights up the Hidden Chamber.
Then this door-leaf is sealed after this god enters.
Then those who are in this portal mourn,
when they hear the door fall to.

Annotation to the mummies:

*mi r=k r=n hnty dwʒ.t ntr ʒ
wn=sn n=f ɔ.t Imn.t
imy={t}n sn n=k sʒtʒ=sn*

Come to us, Foremost of the Underworld, great god.
(They open for him the Hidden Chamber).
We open them for you, namely their mysteries.

³¹⁵ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, pp. 43-44, *passim*.

³¹⁶ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 203, 175, 184.

SIXTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

As in the Fifth Hour of Amduat, the sarcophagus CG 29305 contains an introductory text before the hour, while Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9 contain bandeau texts above and below the representation of the Sixth Hour of Amduat.

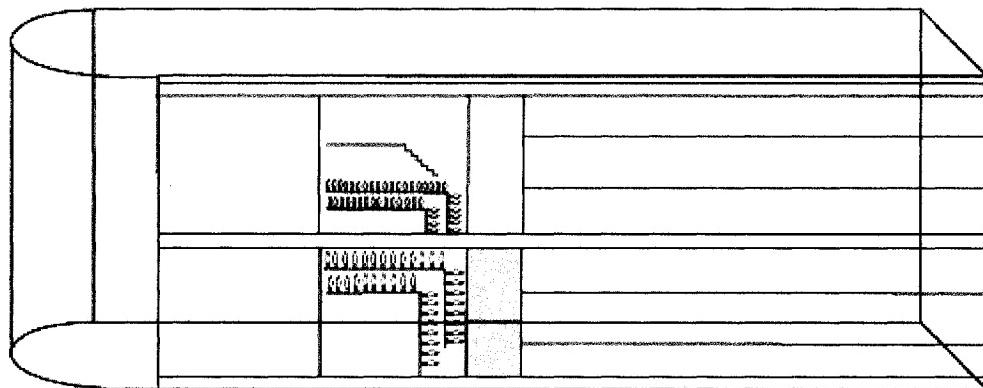


Fig. 26: Placement of Sixth Hour of Amduat, Introductory Text on CG 29305

Sixth Hour, Short Amduat

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 203

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 49-53

The Introductory Text on the sarcophagus CG 29305 closely follows the first portion of the New Kingdom copies of the text to the Sixth Hour in the Short Amduat, which itself is similar to the introductory text to the same hour in the Long Amduat. For a translation and commentary to the Introductory Text in the context of the rest of the Sixth Hour, see *infra*.

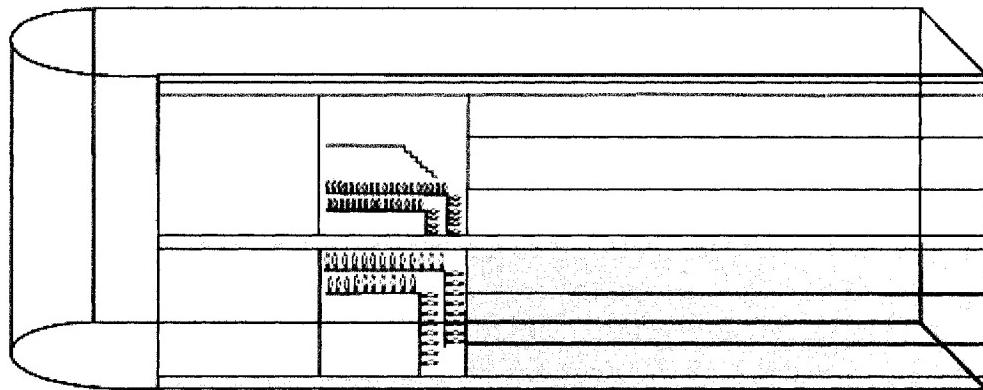


Fig. 27: Placement of the Sixth Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

Sixth Hour of Amduat

Text: Berlin 49: pls. 74-79

BM 1504: pls. 74-79

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 5-10

Parallel: Similar Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 53-58 (select passages); *idem*, vol. 2, pp. 465-481 (select passages)

The bandeau texts accompanying the Sixth Hour of Amduat preserve excerpts from the Introductory Text to the hour as well as large portions of the speeches made to the deities in the upper register of the Sixth Hour (for translations and commentary, see Chapter 4, *infra*). The selections of the Book of Amduat in the bandeau texts on the three Type II sarcophagi appear to simply copy out as much of the text to the hour as possible, before filling up the available space.

SIDE THREE

The Type II sarcophagi contain the Seventh and Eighth Hours of the Book of Amduat as well as scenes from the Seventh and Eighth Hours of the Book of the Night.

Although Louvre D9 closely parallels the sarcophagi Berlin 49 and BM 1504, on Side Three it diverges slightly from the template of these two sarcophagi and contains extra Addresses from the Litany of Re instead of the scene from the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night.

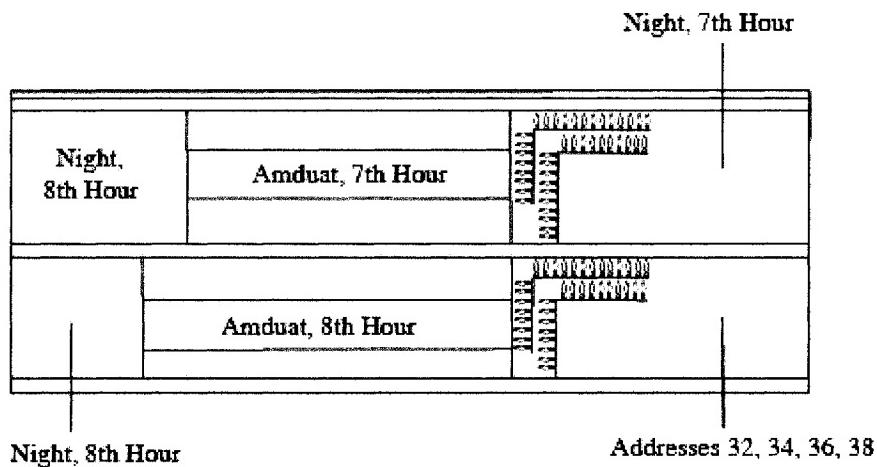


Fig. 28: Summary of Decoration on Side Three of the Berlin 49, BM 1504,
CG 29305³¹⁷

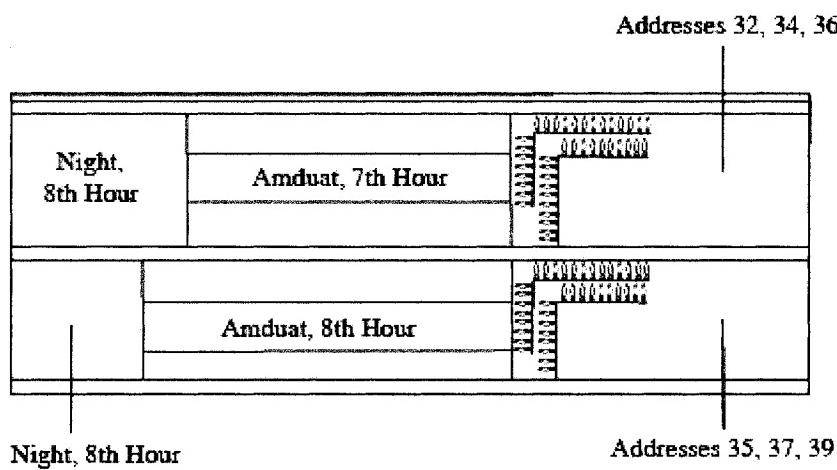


Fig. 29: Summary of Decoration on Side Three of Louvre D9

³¹⁷ CG 29305 also contains blocks of vertical lines before the Seventh and Eighth Hours of Amduat; the Introductory Text to the Seventh Hour is carved, but only bits of text are carved before the Eighth Hour.

FIRST REGISTER

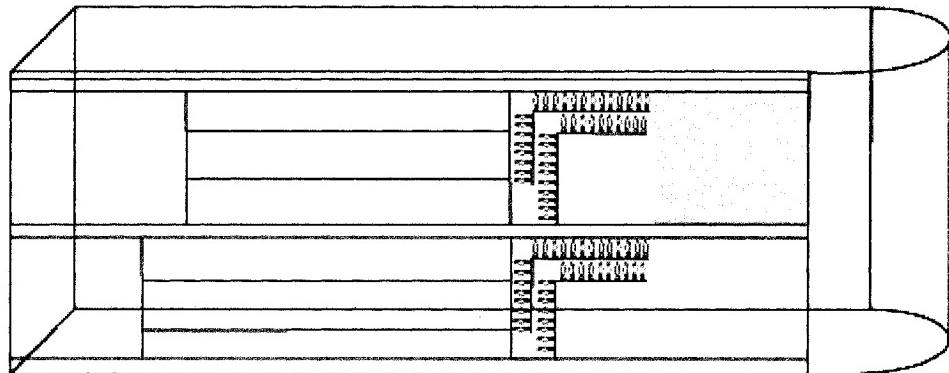
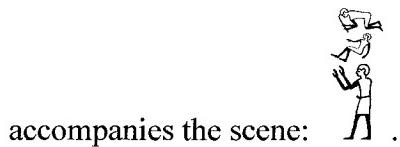


Fig. 30: Placement of the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night on Type II sarcophagi (except Louvre D9)

The Sixth Hour of the Book of Amduat concludes at the foot end of Side Two of the sarcophagus, representing the south-east corner of the “Hidden Chamber,” and the next hour of the solar journey commences at the head end of the foot side, the north-west corner of the “Hidden Chamber.” Instead of proceeding directly to the Seventh Hour as depicted in the Book of Amduat, most of the Type II sarcophagi insert a scene and text from the bottom register of the seventh hour of the Book of the Night.³¹⁸ Horus, brandishing a spear, slays an enemy,³¹⁹ and an enigmatic group of three figures



accompanies the scene:

³¹⁸ Piankoff, *Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, pp. 52-54; Roulin, *Livre de la Nuit*, vol. II, pp. 83-96. CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 175-176; Louvre D9 omits the scene from the Book of the Night and precedes the Seventh and Eighth Hours of Amduat with passages from the Litany of Re (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions* II, pl. 14); for translations of these texts see *infra*.

³¹⁹ New Kingdom versions of the Book of the Night depict Horus leaning on a staff—the oldest depiction of Horus harpooning an enemy in this part of the composition is the version in the tomb of Padiamenope (TT33). For descriptions of the two versions of this scene in TT33 and the occurrences on the sarcophagi, see Roulin, *Le livre de la Nuit*, vol. 2, pp. 219-221. Roulin does

In the New Kingdom versions, the child-figure sits above the praising deity, as if the latter is supporting the child, while the deceased figure floats above. This oddly positioned group of figures is typically labeled with the term *qm3*, but on the sarcophagus versions, the deceased person³²⁰ and the child () are decreased in size and become a determinative of the word *qm3*.³²¹ Although the label indicates that this is a scene of (re)creation, the exact implications of the figures has remained mysterious.³²² A close examination of parallel texts within the Underworld Books suggests that the images in the Book of the Night represent a specific type of creation—the emergence of living matter (the child) from inanimate flesh (the corpse). A previously unrecognized parallel for this scene occurs in the Creation of the Solar Disk,³²³ where Horus rises from the

not include BM 1504 in his edition of the Book of the Night; Gemhap's sarcophagus contains another well-preserved example of the scene from the lower register of the Seventh Hour, which includes the enemy-figures, like the sarcophagus of his father Tjahepimu.

³²⁰ Although the sign of the man with blood spurting from the head or holding an axe to his head is normally the determinative for enemies or other negative concepts, this sign can also be used to determine words for the blessed dead (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 440-441 and n. 74).

³²¹ This occurs in JE 48447, Vienna 5 and one of the versions in the tomb of Padiamenope (TT33), Roulin, *Le livre de la Nuit*, vol. 2, p. 221. The other Type II sarcophagi (BM 1504, JE 48446 and Berlin 49) omit the figures and *qm3*. Although parts of the scene and text on CG 29305 are damaged, enough text is preserved to show that this sarcophagus also left out *qm3* and its interesting determinatives.

³²² Roulin, *Le livre de la Nuit*, vol. 2, pp. 221-2 simply states that it symbolizes regeneration, but does offer several parallels for the child atop the shoulders of another deity (*ibid.*, p. 129; he also notes the occurrence of gods holding children on their shoulders in CG 29301 without recognizing that this sarcophagus contains another example of BD 168/Book of Quererets).

³²³ Section D, second register, first and third scenes; as Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, pp. 161-2, notes, this scene is paralleled by the Book of Caverns, Fourth Division, first register, first and second scenes, but unfortunately the annotation does not add further information about Horus' mysterious birth. Another image of Horus arising from the corpse of his father occurs in the tomb of Ramesses VII, without annotations (Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pl. 119, description on p. 71). These scenes may also help explain obscure passages in the Pyramid Texts, where Osiris is invoked to *wdi n=k sw m hn-k* “place him [Horus] inside of you.” (Utt. 63, PT

body of his father Osiris in the presence of Atum.³²⁴ The text to the third scene in the second register in Section D³²⁵ explicitly describes the emergence of the child from the corpse of the father:

*ntr pn m shr pn m nnw.t=f imy.w dw3.t
Hr pr=f m h3.t it=f
hk nw=f n pn wtt sw
sn.ty=fy hm n=sn h3.t=f
iw ntr pn c3 mdw=f n=f
tf m33=f hdwy itn=f*

This god is in this fashion in his oval which is in the Underworld:
Horus emerges from the corpse of his father,
as he praises the one who engendered him.
His two sisters join with his corpse.
This great god speaks to him,
while he sees the light of his disk.

The emergence from the body of Osiris is not a normal birth—in Book of the Dead Chapter 78, the corpse of Osiris is said to already be rotting when Horus is born:³²⁶

ii.n Hr hr mw nw it=f n=f imy hw3.y

Horus came forth from the semen of his father, who was already putrid.

All of these texts and scenes demonstrate another archetype for resurrection—the birth of Horus after the death of Osiris. The father-son constellation can also be

§44a-b = CT VII 60q-r; for a brief discussion of these passages, see also Barta, *ZÄS* 117 [1990]: 91)

³²⁴ For a detailed depiction of this scene, see Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 466.

³²⁵ Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pl. 26, ll. 4-6.

³²⁶ Naville, *Todtenbuch*, p. 171, Pb; the spell focuses on the transformation into a divine falcon and rising from the putrefying body of his father recalls the phoenix who is reborn from the corpse of his predecessor (Van den Broek, *Myth of the Phoenix*, pp. 186-197). The relationship between the Creation of the Solar Disk scene and Book of the Dead 78 is also noted by Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings*, p. 116.

expressed in the union of Re, the son, and Osiris, the father.³²⁷ The generational archetype complements the overall thrust of the Underworld Books—rebirth through the solar cycle, “dying” in the western horizon and being “born” again in the eastern horizon.³²⁸

The remainder of the scene from the Book of the Night is dominated by Horus leaning on his staff and kneeling foreigners. These elements are reminiscent of the 30th scene of Gates, but rather than being free, the foreigners in the Book of the Night are bound.³²⁹ Not all Type II sarcophagi represent the bound enemies, but they and their annotations are present in Vienna 5, Berlin 49, and BM 1504. Like some of the New Kingdom versions, the enemies on the sarcophagi do not have individual ethnic features, but look like Egyptians.³³⁰ The groups are labeled as follows:

‘3mw “Asiatics”
tmhw “Libyans”
md3w “Medjoy”
Nhsî “Nubians”
rmt n dšr.t “Desert Egyptians”
rmt n Km.t “Nilotic Egyptians”

³²⁷ In fact, Assmann gives the father-son duality precedence over the *ba*-corpse union: “in the embrace of Re and Osiris ... it is not the *ba* and corpse that unite, but son and father” (*Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 62). Considering the birth of Horus from the corpse of his father, in addition to the constant emphasis on *ba* and corpse in the Underworld Books, it is best to recognize both archetypes.

³²⁸ The Horus-Osiris and solar archetypes of resurrection also appear together in a spell from P. Ebers (1,12-2,1)—see the excellent commentary by J. van Dijk, “The Birth of Horus according to the Ebers Papyrus,” *JEOL* 26 (1979-1980): 10-25, and pp. 20-21 for a discussion of the birth of Horus from the body of Osiris in Creation of the Solar Disk.

³²⁹ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 232-34.

³³⁰ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 230-31.

The names chosen for the foreigners form neat pairs. The Asiatics, representing the north-east, are balanced by the Tjemehu-Libyans, inhabitants of the south-west, and both ethnonyms may have a linguistic basis.³³¹ The Nubians and Egyptians, on the other hand, are separated into desert and Nile-dwelling groups.³³²

The columns of text above the hieracocephalic figure and the praising divinity contain the same text which accompanies these figures in the New Kingdom versions of the Book of the Night. The edition of the Book of the Night by G. Roulin includes copies of the Late Period copies, including the two occurrences in the tomb of Padiamenemope (TT33) and the text on all the Type II sarcophagi, with the exception of British Museum EA 1504, the sarcophagus of Gemhap (pl. 82B); however, Gemhap's version is nearly identical to that of his son, Tjaihepimu, the owner of Berlin 49. Three of the sarcophagi (CG 29305, JE 48447, and Vienna 5) copy the retrograde text correctly and correspond closely with the New Kingdom versions. However, the text on Berlin 49 and BM EA 1504 show extreme perturbation, probably the result of an originally retrograde text being miscopied at some point in the transmission process.³³³ Interestingly, of the two versions in the tomb of Padiamenemope, one is perturbed, while the other is not—the perturbated text is the one that precedes the Seventh Hour of Amduat, as on the sarcophagi.³³⁴

³³¹ C. Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah: Grand Strategy in the 13th Century B.C.* (New Haven, 2003), pp. 83-84; see also K. Jansen-Winkel, "Zur Charakterisierung der Nachbarvölker der Ägypter im 'Pfortenbuch,'" *AOF* 25 (1998): 374-79.

³³² As recognized by Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 233.

³³³ See the Introduction, *supra*.

³³⁴ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 219.

Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night, Lower Register

Depiction: Horus with spear

Text: Berlin 49: Pl. 82

BM 1504: Pl. 81

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 175 (partly damaged)

Louvre D9: None

Parallel (and Late Period texts): Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 2, pp. 83-92

*ir.n Hr^a n it=f Wsir
irt ‘qt^b
s3h(t) ntr
db3 s3d^c
nt(t)n sbi.w iri w wi^e sp sn r it=i Wsir
dit.n it=i Wsir
hwi.n=i hftiw=tn pw m Hnty-irty
swt pw Wsir N hwif tm^g
iw Wsir N m Hnty-irty hwif hftiw=tn*

What Horus does for his father,

making a penetration,
transfiguring god,
providing the fillet.

You are the rebels, who make fetters
against my father Osiris!

What my father has caused,
is that I have struck down this your (scil. Egyptians') enemy as Khentyirty.
It is he (var: he is N), he shall smite you (scil. you bound enemies).
N is as Khentyirty, while he strikes your enemy.

^a There is a change in the relative form from the New Kingdom  to the later  found on all sarcophagi and Padiamenemope.³³⁵ Roulin³³⁶ reads this as *ir.n-(i) n Hr n it=f Wsir* "I have done for Horus and his father Osiris ..." This is grammatically plausible

³³⁵ These first few phrases are paralleled in the 21st Scene of the Book of Gates, which also occurs on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata—his version like all the New Kingdom versions from the Book of Gates reads:  *Hr n it=f Wsir* "what Horus has done for his father Osiris" (for commentary on this scene, see *infra*).

³³⁶ *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 225-26.

and supported by the frequent incorporation of the deceased into the texts of the Underworld Books, not seen in earlier copies (see *infra*). However, taking into account the late period of these copies, the loss of the suffix-*n* in the *sdm.n=f* relative could lead to a doubling of the *n* in purposely archaizing texts.³³⁷

^b As Roulin has noted, the word ‘*qt*’ with the enemy determinative means “to penetrate.”³³⁸ In the parallel scene from the Book of Gates, the deities also describe Horus punishing his father’s enemies:³³⁹

*s3=k Hr db3=f sšd=k
s3h=f tw
nik=f hftiw=k*

Your son Horus is attaching your fillet,
as he transfigures you,
and as he punishes your enemies.

In both texts, three actions—attaching the fillet, transfiguration, and punishment of enemies—form aspects of a single performance. In the scene from the Book of the Night, the transfiguration is represented by the regenerative figures following *qm3*, while Horus spearing before bound foreigners is an obvious depiction of triumph. The Book of Gates, Scene 21, on the other hand, focuses on Osiris surrounded by his entourage.

³³⁷ Jansen-Winkel, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik*, p. 67, §102.

³³⁸ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 226, to his references should be added Edfu II 45, 6 and Edfu VI 73, 4 where ‘*q*’ is used of a spear entering the hide of an inimical being (citations from Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, p. 180).

³³⁹ Hornung, *Pfortenbuch*, vol. I, pp. 129-130. This text also appears on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata—see *infra* for a complete translation; note also the other texts in the Book of Gates where glorification is combined with punishing enemies (listed by Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 227, note c).

Neither scene includes a *sšd* band, but its importance cannot be doubted (see next text note).

^c Numerous other occurrences of the *sšd*-fillet deepen its association with triumph and transfiguration.³⁴⁰ Its regenerative significance is especially highlighted during the New Year festival, where the *sšd* is worn by the king and offered to the gods.³⁴¹ The fillet may also aid in warding off the numerous dangers present at the critical time of the New Year. In funerary contexts, as in the parallel passages from the Book of the Night and the Book of Gates, the *sšd* is associated with luminosity and transfiguration³⁴² as well as the transfer of royal power from Osiris to Horus.³⁴³ The *sšd* band is closely associated with the eye of Horus,³⁴⁴ but Osiris is also *sšdy* “he of the fillet.”³⁴⁵ The *sšd* band, as a royal and solar object, can be in the possession of Horus, but he in turn uses the cloth to

³⁴⁰ A collection of its occurrences in the Underworld Books in addition to references (some of which are repeated below) can be found in Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 64-65. Compare also the significance of the *mdḥ*-fillet, Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, pp. 171-172.

³⁴¹ Z. El-Kordy, “Le bandeau du nouvel an,” in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier, 1984), pp. 125-133; Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 64-5.

³⁴² J.F. Pecoil and M. Maher-Taha, “Quelques aspects du bandeau-*seched*,” *BSEG* 8 (1983): 71-79.

³⁴³ For this theme throughout the Book of Gates, see P. Barguet, “Le livre des portes et la transmission du pouvoir royal,” *RdE* 27 (1975): 30-36.

³⁴⁴ See the commentary to the First Hour of Gates, *infra*.

³⁴⁵ Book of Caverns, Second Hour, Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pl. 19, l. 1 (see *infra* for a translation of the entire passage on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata). For the funerary significance of the bandeau, see J.F. Pecoil and M. Maher-Taha, “Quelques aspects du bandeau-*seched*,” *BSEG* 8 (1983): 70-79.

reaffirm his father's role in the Underworld, expressed in the introduction to the funerary papyrus of Imouthes:³⁴⁶

*wd.t ḡ.t ir.t r sp̄t iqrtt
nhbw m grḥ sšd.(w) r rdit hqȝ Wsir m sp̄t iqrtt*
Great decree which is made regarding the bank of Igeret
which is apportioned during the night of the fillets in order to cause
that Osiris rule (as a god) on the bank of Igeret.

The “night of the fillets” and possible ritual use of this “decree” clearly have their mythical prototype in the Underworld Books and the dual association—triumph and transfiguration—of the *sšd*-fillet.³⁴⁷

^e The versions in TT33a and the sarcophagi Berlin 49, Vienna 5, and BM 1504, all write the term *mw.wt* in place of *w.t*.³⁴⁸ This suggests that the term *ir.w* in these versions is being used without an object,³⁴⁹ so that all three descriptions of the enemies occur in parallel: “rebels, doers, and damned who are against Osiris.”

^f As Roulin has noted, the remaining lines are an address by Horus to the blessed dead.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁶ See the translation *infra*.

³⁴⁷ See further Chapter 6, *infra*.

³⁴⁸ For the term *wt* here, see Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, pp. 227-8; and the discussion to the parallel in the Seventh Hour of Amduat, *iry.w wtwt r Wsir* “those who bind Osiris” on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, *infra*.

³⁴⁹ For the aggressive use of *iri* “to do,” compare the statement in the Hu bowl (Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, pl. IV): *i nw ḡ nw n m w n-k hr nn n irw s3.t-i nfy sp sn* “Great attention, o blessed spirit, great attention to the one who cares for you concerning these violators (lit. “doers”) of my daughter!” (reference courtesy of John Darnell).

³⁵⁰ *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 228, note e.

Khentyirty appears as defender of the solar cycle already in the Pyramid Texts,³⁵¹ and in a wide range of religious texts, Khentyirty is the son of Re or Osiris.³⁵² Although originally (Me)khentyirty is a cosmic deity whose two eyes are the sun and the moon, in the excerpt from the Book of the Night Khentyirty appears as a hypostasis of Horus. However, the close association between Khentyirty and the udjat eye, in its solar and lunar form,³⁵³ ties together the annotation from the Book of the Night as well as relating this scene to the Judgment Hall on the opposite side of the sarcophagus. Horus-Khentyirty defends the eye from the enemies, the same udjat-eye that is weighed in Judgment Hall and expresses the triumph of Re-Osiris.

Horus-Khentyirty in the scene from the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night spears the enemies of Osiris, which fits perfectly with the events of the seventh hour of the night in the Book of Amduat and Gates. The Seventh Hour of Amduat emphasizes the destruction of Apep, who attempts to halt the progress of the solar bark through the Netherworld, while the Seventh Hour of the Book of Gates represents the punishment of the enemies who have sinned against Re. The upper register of the Seventh Hour of Amduat also portrays the punishment of the enemies of Osiris before an enthroned image of Osiris. The Seventh Hour of Amduat on the Type II sarcophagi is flanked by elaborations of these two themes—prior to the hour, Horus-Khentyirty slays Osiris' enemies, while following the hour Osiris sits enthroned (lower register of the Eighth Hour of the Book of the Night).

³⁵¹ Junker, *Der sehende und blinde Gott, passim.*

³⁵² Junker, *Der sehende und blinde Gott*, pp. 27-29, 33-34.

³⁵³ E. Brunner-Traut, “Chenti-irti,” *LÄ I* (1975): pls. 926-930.

SEVENTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

As with most of the depictions on the Late Period sarcophagi, the middle register of the Seventh Hour of Amduat faithfully reproduces the New Kingdom versions. However, the sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305) contains one significant variant—the god depicted standing over Apep does not fetter him, but rather pours water atop the serpent. This difference is unlikely to result from a confusion, since several texts attest to the effectiveness of spitting on Apep.³⁵⁴ Rather than depict the god physically spitting upon Apep, he pours liquid from a vessel—this interchange is attested hieroglyphically in the substitution of ⲥ for ⲫ.³⁵⁵ Punishing Apep with water is a fitting recompense for one of his worse crimes—swallowing the water upon which the solar bark sails.³⁵⁶ The pouring of water also mimics the intended result of the punishment of Apep, forcing him to regurgitate the liquid he has swallowed.³⁵⁷

Introductory Text

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 176

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 523-527

³⁵⁴ Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 85-88.

³⁵⁵ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 76-78 (with additional conflation of pouring pot and spewing pustule).

³⁵⁶ Cf. the depiction in the Book of the Day, the punishment of Apep takes place within the celestial canal, and the chaos serpent is drowned in addition to being hacked into pieces (Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 10).

³⁵⁷ E. Hornung and A. Brodbeck, “Apophis,” *LÄ I* (1975): cls. 350-52.

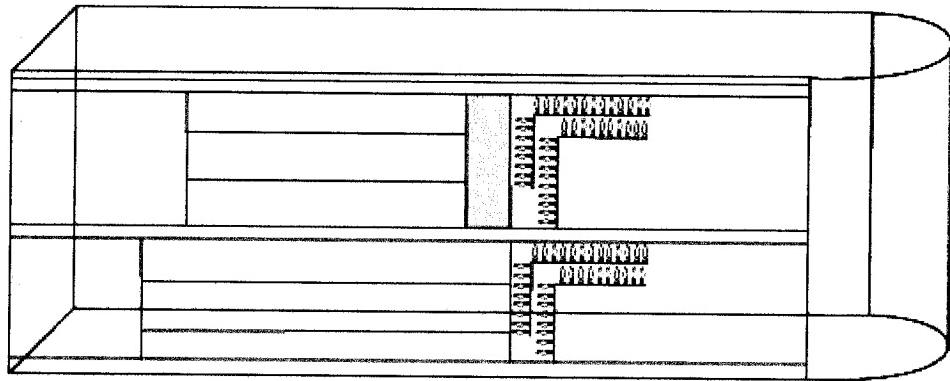


Fig. 31: Placement of the Introductory Text to Seventh Hour of Amduat, CG 29305

*htp in hm n ntr pn ‘z m tph.t tn Wsir
 wd mdt in hm n ntr pn ‘z m tph.t tn n ntr.w imy=st
 iw ntr pn ir=f ky irw r tph.t tn
 stnm=f w3.t r ‘pp
 dī=tw n-f sw m Htmy.t m hk3.w Is.t Hk3.w-smsw
 n‘.(i)n R‘ r bw hr Wsir^a
 rn n niw.t tn tph.t št3.t
 rn n wnw.t n.t grh hsf hy hsq nh3-hr
 iw wdt.n R‘
 stnm n=f w3.t r ‘pp
 shr n=f hft n Wsir^b*

Resting by the Majesty of the great god in this cavern of Osiris.
 Commanding by the Majesty of this great god in this cavern to the gods who are in it.
 This god takes on another manifestation at this cavern,
 so that he might deflect the path from Apet,
 and so that he (Apet) might be placed for him (Re) in the place of Destruction
 by means of the magic of Isis and the Eldest Magician.
 Then Re sails to the place where Osiris is.
 The name of this locale is “Mysterious cavern.”
 The name of the hour of the night is “Repeller of the confederates, who smites Nehaher.”
 What Re commands—
 the deflecting of the path against Apet for him,
 the felling of the enemies of Osiris for him.

^aThis statement does not appear in any New Kingdom copy of the introduction, which all give the name of the portal of the hour instead. After the name of the locale, the sarcophagus of Djedher omits several passages present in the New Kingdom versions.

^b The commands of Re on the sarcophagus of Djedher are similar to the New Kingdom text, but these lines do not fit any text in the earlier versions.

The bandeau texts above the Seventh Hour of Amduat, like those accompanying the other hours, consist of parts of the Short Amduat (*Kurzfassung*), with additional text unique to the Late Period sarcophagi, followed by the speeches made by Re to the various denizens of this region of the Underworld.

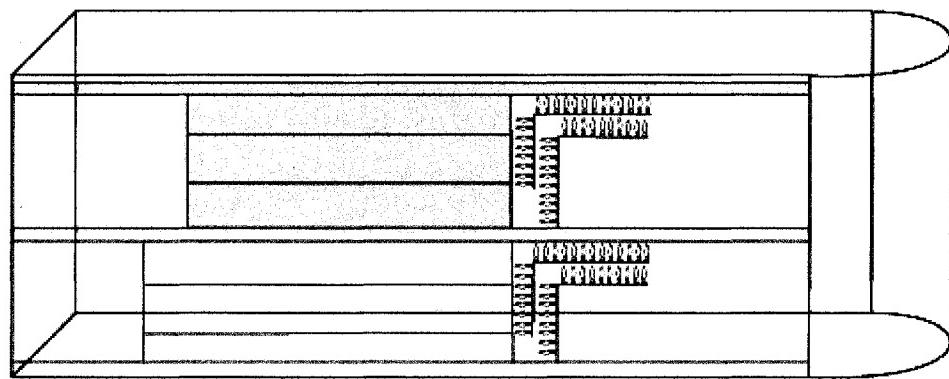


Fig. 32: Seventh Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

The second line of the top bandeau and the first line of the middle bandeau contain the annotations to Scenes 1-4 in the top register of the Seventh Hour of Amduat; for translation and commentary to those scenes, see *infra*. As the following translation of the first line of the top bandeau demonstrates, the introductory text on the sarcophagi Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9 are quite different from the introductory text on CG 29305.

Seventh Hour of Amduat

Text: Berlin 49: pls. 83-88
BM 1504: pls. 83-88

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 14-19

Parallel: Similar to Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 63-73; vol. 2, pp. 531-542

htp in hm n ntr pn m tph.t Wsir^a
 rn n sb3 n niw.t tn ‘p ntr ‘3 hr=f rwty Wsir rn=f
 rn n niw.t tn tph.t št3.t
 w3.t št3.t n.t ‘Imn.t ‘p ntr ‘3 hr=s m wi3=f
 iw Wsir N rh ssm pn
 zh n=f m p.t t3
 rh.n=f sw m b3 hr R^c
 rh.n=f sw m wi3 n R^c m p.t m t3
 iw Wsir N rh nn mdw št3.w m ‘Imn.t n.t dw3.t
 ll.n Wsir N mi R^c zh m hk3.w=f
 ‘pr m zh.w=f
 iw hwi.n=f sbi.w shr=f Nh3-hr
 rn n wnw.t n.t grh ssm ntr pn ‘3 m qrr.t tn hsf hiw hsq Nh3-hr
 iw ssm.n Wsir N ntr pn ‘3 m qrr.t tn
 iw sqd=f R^c m niw.t tn r wnw.t hsf hiw hsq Nh3-hr

Resting by the majesty of this god in the Cavern of Osiris.

The name of the door of this locale, over which the great god passes is: “Portal of Osiris,” is its name.

The name of this locale is “Secret Cavern.”

The secret road of the west over which the great god passes in his bark.

Osiris N knows this image, and it is effective for him in heaven and on earth.

He knows it as ba before Re.

He knows it in the bark of Re in heaven and earth.

Osiris N knows these secret words in the hidden part of the Underworld.

Like Re has Osiris N come, effective with his magic and equipped with his spells.

He has struck the rebels and felled Nehaher.

The name of this hour of the night who leads this great god in this cavern is:

“She who repels the serpent, who cuts up Nehaher.”

Osiris N leads this great god in this cavern.

He navigates for Re in this locale at the hour

“She who repels the serpent, who cuts up Nehaher.”

^a The appearance of the name “Osiris” caused the decorators of the sarcophagus of Gemhap to add in the name of the deceased. As with so many of the other insertions on Gemhap’s sarcophagus, his name and titles reads in the opposite direction as the rest of the text from the Book of Amduat.

While most of this passage consists of excerpts from the Short Amduat text of the Seventh Hour, two sentences are not attested in any earlier copy: “Osiris N knows these secret words in the hidden part of the Underworld. Like Re has Osiris N come, effective with his magic and equipped with his spells.” These sentences are similar to the descriptions of Isis and Heka-semsu in the earlier versions, but apply directly the deceased and his magical powers. The Late Period scribes who composed this additional text further reveal the importance of the spoken word in the defeat of Apep. In fact, when viewed within a Late Period context, several new features of the Seventh Hour of Amduat become apparent (see *infra*).

EIGHTH HOUR OF THE BOOK OF THE NIGHT

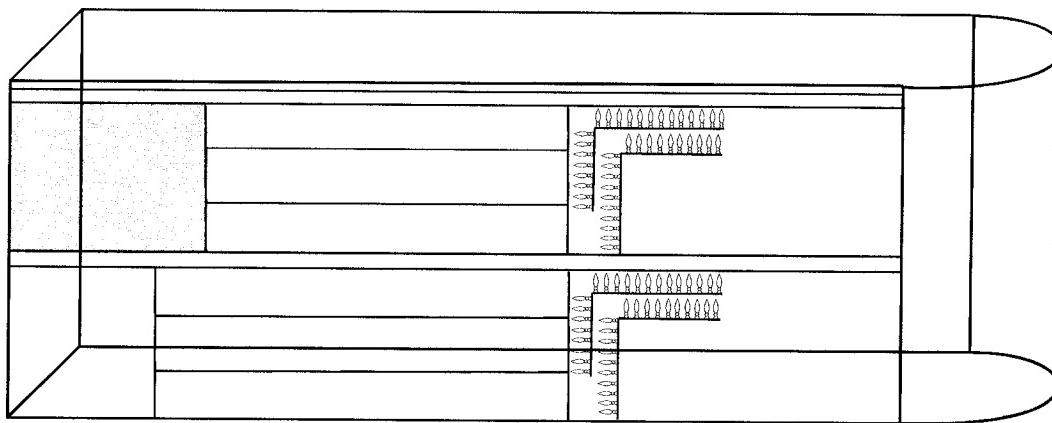


Fig. 33: Eighth Hour of the Book of the Night on Type II sarcophagi

Depiction: Enthroned Osiris before Horus and praising deities

Text: Berlin 49: pl. 89

BM 1504: pl. 80E

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 178-79

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, pls. 18-19

Parallel: Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 2, pp. 105-111 (including all sarcophagi texts, except BM 1504)

Following the Seventh Hour of Amduat, the remainder of the first register of the right side of the sarcophagi is filled with images from the Eighth Hour of the Book of the Night, dominated by a large image of Horus before the enthroned Osiris. The enthroned Osiris balances the image of the Judgment Hall on Side Two, thus framing the Fifth through Eighth Hours of Amduat in the middle hours of the night.³⁵⁸ In each scene, the ruler of the Underworld triumphantly sits upon his throne, his enemies bound beneath him. Furthermore, in each case, the throne room is demarcated by portals—the Judgment Hall is part of the gate of the Fifth Hour, while a serpent guards a door in the Book of the Night.³⁵⁹ Individual elements in Judgment Hall and scene from the Book of the Night offer further parallels between the two depictions, as has been discussed above.

The ten animal heads arranged in two columns behind the throne of Osiris have a protective function similar to the bубали heads in the Judgment Hall. Although Roulin has commented on the names of the animal heads, he sees the protection of the doorway as their sole function.³⁶⁰ While the aggressive nature of some of the names makes this undoubtedly one of their tasks, the unusual arrangement and variety of animal heads suggest a deeper purpose. The positioning of the animal heads, each pair looking in opposite directions, is highly reminiscent of the animal heads that tower above pantheistic Bes figures of the Late Period; in such depictions, each animal represents one

³⁵⁸ The fifth through eighth hours of the night, known as the *wšw* the “middle of the night,” also appear as a distinct block of time in the Osireion star clock, where the division of the hours is 1-3-4-3-1 (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 35).

³⁵⁹ The snake is named *s <ti> hr* in CG 29305, like the New Kingdom versions (Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 248).

³⁶⁰ *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 259-60.

of the *ba*-souls of the cosmic deity.³⁶¹ The names of the animal heads fit well with this interpretation: *hk̄r-hr* “Ornamented of face” (no. 1), *nb wȝs.t* “Lord of the *was*-scepter” (no. 2), and *wȝb tp ‘ȝ hȝt* “Pure of head, great of front” (no. 7) describe Osiris’ regalia as lord of the Netherworld; *nhi-hr* “Terrifying of face” (no. 3),³⁶² *ifdw nhb* “The one with four torches” (no. 4),³⁶³ *bnn hr pd.t psd.t* “Who floods the Nine Bows” (no. 8), and *shm ir=f* “Powerful of visible form” (no. 6) demonstrate Osiris’ power over his enemies; *nh m hr=f* “Who lives by means of his face” (no. 5), *hr tp nhb.t* “Whose head is upon the neck” (no. 9), and *tzl hr* “Attached of face” (no. 10) are all epithets relating to a successful afterlife. The animal heads not only protect the throne room, but represent ten hypostases of Osiris himself;³⁶⁴ this representation may even be a predecessor of the Late Period pantheistic deities possessed of multiple heads.

To the left of the animal heads, Osiris sits upon an elaborate throne, the base of which contains a bound enemy. Horus holds an *ankh*-sign before the face of Osiris, a pose Horus assumes in the “awakening scene” of Osiris.³⁶⁵ In the New Kingdom

³⁶¹ Kaper, *The Egyptian God Tutu*, pp. 99-104.

³⁶² Pace Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, p. 250 “Celui au visage quémandeur.”

³⁶³ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, p. 250 does not translate *nhb*, although in n. 1263 he suggests the meaning “torch.” The reading “torch” is undoubtedly correct, since the introduction of the Litany of Re shows a similar bubalis head with a flame between its horns (Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 55). The number four alludes to the four corners of the cosmos, which are guarded by four horned animal heads, shown as bulls in the Tomb of Ramesses VI (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 164-65).

³⁶⁴ Although Osiris is not specifically represented with ten bas elsewhere, two examples of the “ten bas of Amun” appear in crypts—the Edifice of Taharqa and the Temple of Opet—with strong Osirian connections (see Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson, *La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak*, pp. 138-40).

³⁶⁵ A collection of these scenes appears in H. Willems, “The Embalmer Embalmed: Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins,” in J. van Dijk, ed., *Essays in Honour of Herman Te Velde* (Groningen, 1997), p. 359, n. 57. As Willems notes on pp. 359-361

versions, the label to Horus appears in *Normalschrift* as *Hr nd it=f*, “Horus who protects his father,” while the Late Period versions consistently use a cryptographic annotation which reads *Hr nd it=f Wsir*.³⁶⁶ The text above Horus has never been successfully translated, but the following attempt is supported by parallels in other Underworld Books:

Hr ms stʒw^a
ip hsiw^b šnw.t^c im
 Horus who brings the haulers,
 who accounts the blessed ones of the entourage there.

^a The obvious task of the “haulers” is to propel the solar bark through the Underworld, a task depicted often in the Underworld Books. In the Book of Caverns, the haulers have a function more fitting to the awakening of Osiris:³⁶⁷

iw=k niwiw=k zhty
stʒ.yw dmd=sn h̄w=sn
 You greet He-of-the-horizon,
 while those who are ushered in³⁶⁸ unite their corporeal remains.

the position of Horus and Osiris may be a later expression of the events in Coffin Texts Spell 75 between Atum and Shu. A reading of the cryptographic text accompanying the scene was proposed by E. Drioton, “Inscription énigmatique du tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis,” *Kemi* 12 (1952): 24-33, but his total reliance on acrophony leads to a highly unlikely result; no further attempts have appeared in print.

³⁶⁶ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 255 translates this text correctly, but assigns some of the wrong values to individual signs, following Drioton’s principles of acrophony. The baboon plus scarab (together write *it*, while the scarab for *t* derives from the scarab for *tʒ* using the consonantal principle. The next flesh sign (is for *f*, while the aleph plus flesh sign is *Wsir* (a variant on the common writing , with the bird functioning as *r* > *rʒ*). This reading also benefits from orthographic parallels with the text accompanying Horus in the “awakening” Osiris scene.

³⁶⁷ Fifth Division, Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1943): pl. 57, l. 2.

³⁶⁸ The *stʒ* sign does not appear in the orthography, but the spelling and pustule(?) determinative fit other spellings of the word (*Wb.* IV 351.7ff.).

On the sarcophagus lid of Merneptah, Neith claims³⁶⁹ *stʒ=ḥ n=k ntr.w m hfʒw* “I usher in for you the gods who grant deference.”

^b The *hh*-god is repeated a total of six times, in ancient Egyptian, they would be *hh sisw*, which is easily transformed into a playful writing for the blessed dead,³⁷⁰ who travel with Re in the *wiʒ hh.w* “bark of millions.”³⁷¹

^c A *šnw.t*-entourage appears several times in the Book of Gates,³⁷² and a substitution of *p*-mat for *š*-lake is an acceptable substitution of shape in the cryptographic derivations of the Underworld Books.

³⁶⁹ Assmann, *MDAIK* 28:1 (1972): Abb. 1, ll. 12-13.

³⁷⁰ A similar exploitation of the name of a number appears in one of the annotations on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun—Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 91-92, and n. 256 for other uses of phoentially reading the number of times a sign occurs.

³⁷¹ For the *hh* in the “Bark of millions” referring to people, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. III, p. 60.

³⁷² Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, vol. 1, p. 68.

SIDE THREE

SECOND REGISTER

LITANY OF RE BEFORE EIGHTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

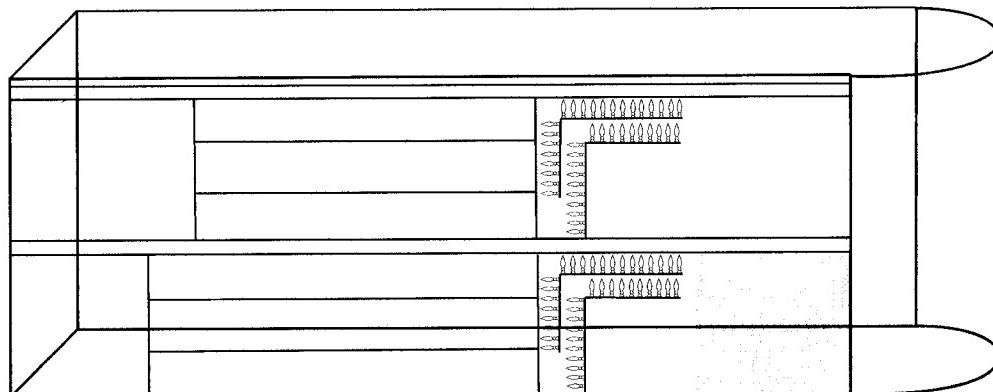


Fig. 34: Placement of the Litany of Re before the Eighth Hour of Amduat

The four addresses to the Litany of Re preceding the Eighth Hour of Amduat use the names of the forms of Re given in the New Kingdom versions, but the content of each address on the Late Period sarcophagi differ considerably. The differences are not due to confusions of signs or subtle changes during the course of textual transmission, but represent an entirely different version of the text. These four addresses also appear on the sarcophagi of Usermaatre and Nectanebo II—in Addresses 34, 36, and 38, these two sarcophagi follow the New Kingdom versions, but the text to Address 32 follows the text on the Type II sarcophagi (see below). There is no evidence of these variants during the New Kingdom, so it is possible that sometime between 1100 and 350 BC Egyptian scribes composed further epithets for the forms within the Litany of Re.

Address to Khepri

Depiction: Scarab-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: Pl. 91

BM 1504: Pl. 91

CG 29305: None

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 14

Parallel: similar to New Kingdom Address 32, Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 37

*hk̄nw n=k R^c q³ shm
n^tr^c št³ hpr m Imn.t
twt is h³.t Hpr^a
i^w Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R^c
twt is h³.t Wsir N h³.t Hpr*

Praise to you o Re, high and mighty!

Great god, secret of manifestation in the West.

You are indeed the corpse of the Manifesting One.

Osiris N always praises Re.

You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N (who is) the corpse of the Manifesting One.

^a The Late Period versions provide only a single phonetic complement for *hpr*, whereas the New Kingdom versions consistently write two *r*-mouths following the *hpr*-beetle. Thus, the earlier versions clearly distinguish between the form of the sun in the 34th address and the address to the god Khepri in the second address.³⁷³ Due to the ambiguous writing, it is uncertain whether the late scribes re-interpreted this as “Khepri” or not.³⁷⁴

This address to Khepri/Kheprer differs markedly from the known New Kingdom versions, which after the standard introduction read:³⁷⁵

³⁷³ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 109, n. 91.

³⁷⁴ The more frequent appearance of “Osirian” forms of Khepri in the later periods of Egyptian religion may suggest a reinterpretation (M.A. Stadler, “Der Skarabäus als osirianisches Symbol vornehmlich nach spätzeitlichen Quellen,” *ZÄS* 128 [2001]: 71-83).

³⁷⁵ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 37.

‘ss3 hprw.w m ‘.t dsr.t

Manifold of manifestations in the sacred chamber.

While the epithet “secret of manifestation in the West” is not itself unique or exciting in the corpus of Underworld Books, a clear divergence with the New Kingdom versions that does not relate to sign confusions provides further evidence for a textual tradition removed from direct copies from tomb walls in the Valley of the Kings.

Address to Embracing-Ba

Depiction: Human-headed mummy

Text: Berlin 49: Pl. 91

BM 1504: Pl. 91

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 183

Louvre D9: None

Parallel: similar to New Kingdom Address 38, Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 44

hk̄nw n=k R^c q3 shm

in.tw m d.t=k

shn.t(i) m k3=k

twt is h3.t shn b3

iw Wsir N hk̄n=f R^c

twt is h3.t Wsir N h3.t shn b3

Praise to you o Re, high and mighty!

May you be brought into your body,

embraced by your ka.

You are indeed the corpse of Embracing-ba.

Osiris N always praises Re.

You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, (who is) the corpse of Embracing-ba.

The New Kingdom version contains an entirely different description of the form *shn b3*, extending even to another meaning of the verb *shn*:³⁷⁶

nb stnw shny () m dw3.t

³⁷⁶ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 44.

Lord of distinction, who alights in the Underworld.

The earlier versions³⁷⁷ use the intransitive meaning of *shni* “to alight, land, go to rest” with the place of rest introduced by the preposition *m* (*Wb.* IV 253.15), but use the simple book-roll determinative in the text and the name of the form. The sarcophagi, on the other hand, consistently write the verb *shn* “to embrace” (*Wb.* III 468.14ff.) with the expected  determinative or using the embracing arms ideographically. The alteration of these two verbs in the variants of the 38th Address may be related to extended meanings of  involving movement, such as “to visit (a person)” (*Wb.* III. 469.7-8) or “install in a temple” (*Wb.* III 469.13-15), used more frequently in the Late Period.³⁷⁸ The verb *shn* can also mean “to occupy (a place),”³⁷⁹ enabling it to function synonymously with *shni* ( ). The verb *shni* is often used of birds landing, thus appropriate to the avian characteristics of the ba-soul.³⁸⁰ Ba-souls are also often provided with human arms, so they are also capable of embracing.

Address to Breather

Figure: Mummiform figure with horned-animal head

Text: Berlin 49: Pl. 91

BM 1504: Pl. 91

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 183-84

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions* II, pl. 14 (after Address to ⲥⲧ)

³⁷⁷ The same meaning of *shni* “to land” is used in the additional text accompanying the figures of the litany in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos: *shn=k* (  *b3 nsut R hn' b3 R'* “May you cause the ba of King Ramesses to alight together with the ba of Re.”

³⁷⁸ The sense of motion conveyed by the verb *shni* in these meanings is preserved in Coptic **ϣѧѡnī** (Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 328).

³⁷⁹ *Wb.* III 469.10; see also the discussion of Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, pp. 905-7.

³⁸⁰ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 110 n. 106.

Parallel: related to New Kingdom Address 36, Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 41-42

*ḥknw n=k R^c q₃shm
srq ḥtyt m qm₃.n=f nb.t
twt is ḥ₃.t Srqy
i^w Wsir N ḥkn=f n R^c
twt is ḥ₃.t Wsir N ḥ₃.t Srqy*

Praise to you o Re, high and mighty!
Who causes throats to breathe through all which he has created.
You are indeed the corpse of the Breather.
Osiris N always praises Re.
You are the corpse of Osiris N, (who is) the corpse of the Breather.

The Late Period version of this address, also present on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, is quite different from the New Kingdom version:³⁸¹

*dwi ḥ₃.wt i^my.w w₃.t
srq=sn
htm rdw=sn*
Who calls the corpses who are in the Underworld,
so they might breathe,
so their efflux might be destroyed.

Address to Engenderer

Depiction: Standing female

Text: Berlin 49: Pl. 91

BM 1504: Pl. 91

CG 29305: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 184

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 14

Parallel: similar to New Kingdom Address 34, Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 39

*ḥknw n=k R^c q₃shm
nb ḏ_a t_zi i^w^b
twt is ḥ₃t ḏ₃cy^c
i^w Wsir N ḥkn=f n R^c
twt is ḥ₃.t Wsir N ḥ₃.t ḏ₃cy*

Praise to you o Re, high and mighty!
Lord of life who creates the heir.
You are indeed the corpse of the Engenderer.

³⁸¹ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 41-2.

Osiris N always praises Re.
You are the corpse of Osiris N, (who is) the corpse of the Engenderer.

^a Although *nb ‘nh* “lord of life” a ubiquitous epithet, it can possess a specifically sexual nuance,³⁸² which accords well with the other epithets in this litany.

^b The term *iw* consistently refers to heirs or inheritance,³⁸³ but it is possible that the production of an heir led to a further sexual meaning. Evidence in other texts suggests that the expression *tzi iw* in the 34th Address in the Litany of Re is a variant of the more common *tzi mw* “to bind semen.”³⁸⁴ An exploitation of this extended use of *iw* occurs in a scene where Amenhotep III offers to an ithyphallic Amun figure; the label to Amun reads:³⁸⁵

di.n=(i) n=k ‘nh nb [...] ir.t hḥ rnp.wt m iw=i ()
I am giving to you all life [...] and a duration of millions of years
as my heir.

The water determinative is suggestive of the semen used to produce the heir, an apt connection with Amun in his ithyphallic form.

³⁸² For example, in the Morning Hymn to Khnum at Esna (Sauneron, *Esna* III, no. 261, l. 16): *rs nb ‘nh hnm biȝ.wt* “Awake, lord of life who unites with women!”

³⁸³ An expression similar to *tz iw* is *smn iw*, which refers to confirming an inheritance—one of the major events of the royal ritual at the new year (Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal*, pp. 46-52).

³⁸⁴ Wb. V 398.3-5. Some of the most notable examples of the phrase appear in the expression *tzi mw m qs.w* “binding the semen in the bones”—for this and variants, such as *qmȝ mw*, see S. Sauneron, “Le germe dans les os,” *BIFAO* 60 (1960): 19-27. Compare also Sauneron, *Esna* III 216, l. 6, part of a hymn to the goddess Neith: *ȝh.t wr.t ms R’ tz pr.t n ntr.w rmȝ* “The great Ahet cow, who bore Re, who bound the semen for gods and men.”

³⁸⁵ H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pl. 70, l. 6 (cited in Meeks, *ALEX*, vol. 1, p. 19).

^c For the verb ‘ȝ’, see *supra* (Type I sarcophagi).

The figure which accompanies this address displays an interesting iconography. In the New Kingdom depictions, the figure with a phallus is bearded, but is the only figure in the Litany of Re who wears a female tripartite wig.³⁸⁶ On the sarcophagi of Djedher (CG 29305) and Shebmin, the address to ‘ȝy’ is accompanied by a female figure, lacking both a phallus and beard. An ejaculating figure with feminine traits calls to mind the androgynous, bending creatures on the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX.

Louvre D9 contains a total of three addresses in the top register of Side Three of the sarcophagus, before the Seventh Hour of Amduat,³⁸⁷ which correspond to the litanies in the second register of Side Three (before the Eighth Hour of Amduat) on the other Type II sarcophagi. In the first and last litanies (to *Hpri* and *Srqt* respectively), Louvre D9 follows the variant texts on the other Type II sarcophagi. However, the address to ‘ȝy’ follows the New Kingdom version:³⁸⁸

*hknw n=k Rȝ qȝ shm
mȝwty m štȝy.t
twt is hȝ.t ‘ȝy*
Praise to you o Re, high and mighty,
Who shines in the Secret Place.
You are indeed the corpse of the Engenderer.

³⁸⁶ The wig is indistinct in the tomb of Thutmosis III, but clearly shown in the tomb of Seti I (Hornung, *Anbetung des Re*, vol. 2, pp. 56 and 59).

³⁸⁷ Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions* II, pl. 14; the addresses on Louvre D9 take the place of the scene of Horus from the lower register of the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night.

³⁸⁸ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 39.

The second register of Louvre D9, preceding the Eighth Hour of Amduat contains Addresses 35, 37, and 39 from the Litany of Re, which do not occur on any other Type II sarcophagus. These three addresses are not accompanied by the small figures from the Litany.

Address 35

Depiction: Mummy within oval sarcophagus

Text: Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 14

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 40

*ḥknw n=k R^c q₃ shm
dmd ḥ₃.t srq hty.t
twt is ḥ₃.t db₃ty
Wsir Dd-hr m₃^c-ḥrw dmd=f ḥ₃.t=f
 srq=f hty.t=f m ‘nh
ḥknw=f n R^c m imn.t
twt is ḥ₃.t Wsir Dd-hr m₃^c-ḥrw ḥ₃.t db₃.ty*

Praise to you o Re, high and mighty!

United of corpse, breathing of throat.

You are indeed the corpse of He-of-the-Sarcophagus.

As for the Osiris Djedher, justified, may he (Re) unite his corpse,
 may he make his throat breathe with life!

He praises Re in the West.

You are indeed the corpse of Osiris Djedher, justified,
 (who is) the corpse of He-of-the-Sarcophagus.

Address 37

Form: None³⁸⁹

Text: Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 14

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 42-43

*ḥknw n=k R^c q₃ shm
št₃ hr sšm nt₃ry
twt is ḥ₃.t š₃y
Wsir Dd-hr m₃^c-ḥrw*

³⁸⁹ The New Kingdom versions typically have a pig-headed mummiform deity (Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 110, n. 104; J. Quaegebeur, “L’animal Shaï associé au trône d’Osiris,” in U. Luft, ed., *Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* [Budapest, 1992], p. 485, fig. 4).

št3 hr sšm ntry
twt is h3.t=f h3.t š3y

Praise to you o Re, high and mighty!
Mysterious of face, who leads the divine eye!
You are indeed the corpse of Shay.
Osiris Djedher, justified, is secret of face, one who leads the divine eye.
You are indeed his corpse and the corpse of Shay.

This address to a possibly inimical deity, Shai,³⁹⁰ appears superficially similar to the Eighth Address to *niky* “the punished one,” the only other address portraying an enemy of the sun god. If Address 37 is intended to portray another solar enemy then the epithet *sšm ntry.t* could be read “one with inflamed divine eye.”³⁹¹ As Hornung, suggests, a pig-headed deity with an inflamed eye calls to mind CT Spell 157/Book of the Dead Chapter 112, where the eye of Horus is injured by Seth as a black pig.³⁹² However, the spellings of *sšm/šsm* in the New Kingdom versions uniformly have a book roll determinative, while *sšm* on Louvre D9 is simply spelled .³⁹³ Unlike many of the other litanies, Louvre D9 repeats the epithets of the solar manifestation in the additional

³⁹⁰ Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai*, pp. 100-1 discusses the Litany passage on Louvre D9. In a later article, Quaegebeur argues the *š3y* animal here and in the scenes of Osiris on the *tnt3.t* relates to the name for the Seth-animal and other similar canide creatures, but is not directly related to the word *š3y* for “fate” (Quaegebeur, in Luft, ed., *Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, pp. 481-93).

³⁹¹ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 110, n. 103. For Seth possessing a “divine eye,” one could compare Apophis’ ownership of an udjat-eye—Borghouts, “The Evil Eye of Apophis,” *JEA* 59 (1973): 143-44.

³⁹² Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 110, n. 104. A possible allusion to these texts occurs in the Judgment Hall of Gates, where the pig-deity is undeniably inimical (see *infra*).

³⁹³ Metathesis between *š* and *s* at the beginning of a word is a well-attested phenomenon—G. Fecht, “Die Königs-Insignien mit *s*-Suffix,” *SAK* 1 (1974): 187-190.

text: “Osiris Djedher, justified, is secret of face, one who leads the divine eye.”³⁹⁴ The orthographies combined with the additional statements, strongly suggest that *sšm* has a positive connotation.³⁹⁵ Shai in this address is most likely a form of Seth; if his epithets allude to him as a beneficial deity, then Shai probably represents Seth’s role at the prow of the solar bark spearing Apep. By spearing the chaos serpent, Shai-Seth “leads” the solar eye along the treacherous routes of the Underworld. The phrase *sšm ntr.y* could also have an added meaning, because the “eye” of the sun god *is* the bark in which he travels.³⁹⁶ Since Seth animals are one of the animals that haul the solar bark,³⁹⁷ this previously obscure epithet could be an allusion to the ššy-animal substituting for the jackal as the haulers of the solar bark.

Address 39

Form: Human-headed mummy

Text: Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 14

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 45

*ḥknw n=k R^c q³ shm
imn ḥ^{3.t} r imy.w=f*

³⁹⁴ The “wish formula” in the Litany version at Abydos also understands the verb as *sšm* “to lead” (*ibid.*, p. 40): *sš=k hr n nswt-bity W sšm=k ntr.t(y)=f* “May you open the visage of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, W, may you lead his divine eyes!” An additional possibility is to interpret *sšm* as “image,” with ššy representing the image of the divine eye (Quaebebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai*, p. 101), but there are no obvious examples of a ššy animal being directly compared with a divine eye.

³⁹⁵ Another piece of evidence supporting a positive interpretation of Shai is the presence of a sun-disk beneath his figure in the Abydos version of the Litany—*nky* of the Eighth Address is the only form of the sun lacking the disk (Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 34).

³⁹⁶ I. Hegenbarth, “‘O seht, ich gehe hinter meinem ȝh.t-Auge’ – Einige Überlegungen zu den Barken des mittleren Registers der zweiten Stunde des Amduat,” *SAK* 30 (2002): 169-185.

³⁹⁷ C. Leitz, “Spruch 11 des magischen Papyrus Leiden I 348 (rto IV, 9-10),” *GM* 98 (1987): 55-60; on p. 58 and n. 11 Leitz mentions the ššy animal in the Litany of Re, but accepts Hornung’s interpretation of the inflamed eye.

*twt is h3.t Imn-h3.t
Wsir Dd-hr m3c-hrw hkn=f n Rc sw3s=f ntr c3*

Praise to you o Re, high and mighty!
Who hides the corpse from those around him.
You are indeed the corpse of Hidden of corpse.
Osiris Djedher, justified, always praises Re and exalts the great god.

EIGHTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

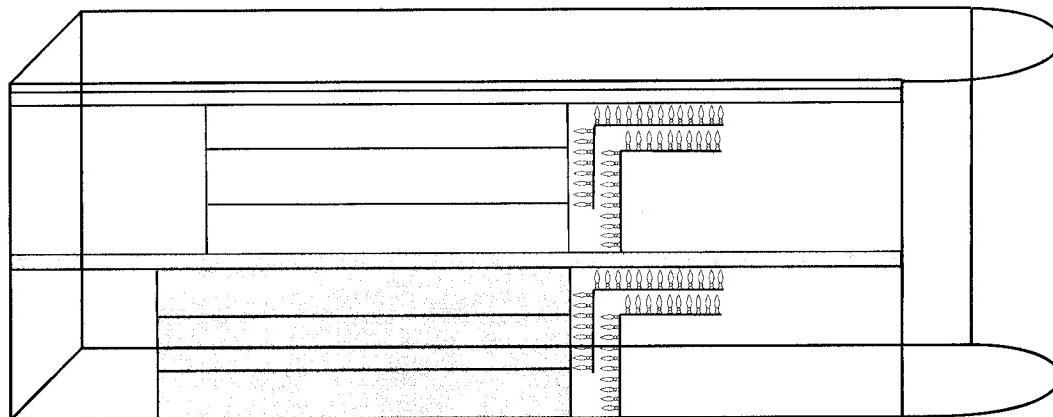


Fig. 35: Eighth Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

The bandeau texts accompanying the Eighth Hour follow a pattern quite similar to that observed in the earlier hours—excerpts from the Introductory Texts with additional remarks concerning the deceased, followed by annotations belonging to the complete text to the hour. However, the end of the second line below the Eighth Hour of Amduat on the sarcophagi Berlin 49 and Louvre D9 contains a surprise. Following the description of the four ram-gods in the middle register is a fascinating exposition of the theology of

Tatenen, which does not appear in any New Kingdom version of the Book of Amduat, although it is also paralleled on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II.³⁹⁸

*iw šsp.n Wsir N h̄n R̄
wbn=f m Hr-ȝḥ.ty
iw Tȝ-tnn pw kȝ kȝ.w
ȝȝ ndmndm^a
ir ḥmnw m tp dr.ty^b
wḥm.n=f ms.wt m Tm
R̄ pw ḥpr m Ptḥ^c
Louvre D9: ȝ.wy Itm^d (hr) pḥr=k (hr) šsp=f m sšm^e štȝ.t n dwȝ.t
Nectanebo II: ȝ.wy Itm^d (hr) šsp=f m sšm^e štȝ dwȝ.t(y) Tȝ-tnn*

The Osiris N has received the solar crown,
so that he might rise as Horakhty.
He is Tatenen, the bull of bulls,
great of sexual pleasure,
who created the Ogdoad at the top of his two hands.
He has repeated births as Atum.
He is Re who has become Ptah.
Louvre D9: The arms of Atum surround you(?) and receive him
as the secret image of the Underworld.
Nectanebo II: The arms of Atum receive him as the secret,
underworldly image of Tatenen.

^a The epithets “bull of bulls” and “great of sexual pleasure” relate intimately to the description of the fourth cavern in the upper register of the Eighth Hour of Amduat:³⁹⁹

*iw sdm-tw hrw ht m qrr.t tn mȝ hrw nîm n kȝ kȝ.w
A sound is heard in this cavern like the sound of the bull of bulls being pleased.*

The striking correspondence of the epithets and the occurrence of the added hymn on two different types of sarcophagi, suggest that the text was composed specifically for the

³⁹⁸ For text and its identification as an “addition” to the Amduat, see Jenni, *Das Dekorationsprogramm des Sarkophages Nektanebos’ II*, p. 24 (her translation of the passage is incomplete).

³⁹⁹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 599; see also the complete text on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, *infra*.

Eighth Hour of Amduat. The lexicography also shares much with Amun hymns,⁴⁰⁰ and the epithet “bull of bulls” may further allude to the creation of the Ogdoad, since the four male-female pairs can also manifest as a single primordial bull and cow.⁴⁰¹ The reduplicating word *ndmndm* also possesses many allusions, including Osirian theology⁴⁰² and the “bark of *ndmndm*” in the eastern horizon: “The two sisters stand in the east, receiving you and lifting you up to that your beautiful bark of sexual pleasure (*wi3=k pwy nfr n ndmndm*).”⁴⁰³

^b Creation “upon the two arms/hands” of the primeval deity normally refers to the building of the created world, as a potter might form clay.⁴⁰⁴ The epithets preceding “the one who created the Ogdoad at the top of his two hands,” suggest a sexual allusion, and the use of *dr.ty* rather than *.wy* may indicate an autoerotic origin to the Ogdoad. The writing of *dr.ty* may be a graphic pun on the word *dydy/d3d3*, which can be written  (Wb. V 419.4-6). However, the primarily negative connotations to *dydy/d3d3*⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁰ Zandee, *Amunhymnus, Verso*, vol. 1, pp. 88-90, 333-337. See also D. Kurth, “‘Same des Stieres’ und ‘Same’, Zwei Bezeichnungen der Maat,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 1: *Sprache* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 273-81.

⁴⁰¹ Smith, *On the Primeval Ocean*, pp. 50-53; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 156-157; Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift*, pp. 312-3 (commenting on Col. 2, ll. 4-7).

⁴⁰² Osiris is called *nb ndmndm* in P. Bremner-Rhind 12, 8; 5, 24; the ba of Osiris is the *b3 ndmndm* at Edfu (vol. I, p. 164, l. 7, cited by Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 568).

⁴⁰³ P. Berlin 3050, col. 5, l. 8 – col. 6, l. 1; translation of Darnell, *SAK* 22 (1995): 60 n. 72.

⁴⁰⁴ Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 94 n. g —citing Cairo CG 904: *hpr ds=f qd sw m ‘wy=fy* “the self-created, who formed himself by means of his two hands” and Hibis 31 B 3-5: *twt nbi d.t=f m ‘wy=fy ds=f* “You are the one who formed his body with his own two hands.”

⁴⁰⁵ Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1182.

suggest that *dr.ty* may instead allude to the craftsmanship of Tatenen. Tatenen, the father of the Ogdoad,⁴⁰⁶ can create the eight gods within his workshop:⁴⁰⁷

nbw m Ipt in it-sn t3-tnn m is=f n k3.t nt sp tp(t)
(the Ogdoad) fashioned in Ope by their father Tatenen
in his workshop of the primordial occasion.

^c The occurrence of Atum,⁴⁰⁸ Re, and Ptah in rapid succession are reminiscent of the triune nature of Amun-Re as cosmic deity.⁴⁰⁹ For the roles of these gods, as well as Khepri in the rebirth of the deceased, compare also an interesting statement in the Sixth Litany from the Litany of Re:⁴¹⁰

iwr wi R^c
ms wi Tm
ink nwn hpr
Re becomes pregnant with me;
Atum gives birth to me;
I am a child of Khepri.

^d Numerous pairs of arms in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk “receive” the solar disk.⁴¹¹ Elsewhere in the Underworld books, the arms of Tatenen also receive and lift up the deceased king.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁶ Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, §99; Aufrère, *Le propylône d’Amon-Rê-Montou*, pp. 363-364. For the creation of the Ogdoad within the Underworld, see also *infra*.

⁴⁰⁷ Clère, *Porte d’Évergète*, pls. 49 and 67.

⁴⁰⁸ For Atum and Re, see also Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 42-44.

⁴⁰⁹ Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 174-177 and references therein.

⁴¹⁰ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 171-172.

⁴¹¹ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 61 n. 97.

^e The relationship between Atum and Tatenen in the Underworld Books is also expressed succinctly in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns:⁴¹³ *i Itm imy Tȝ-tnn* “O Atum who is within Tatenen.”

The text at the conclusion to the Eighth Hour preserved on the sarcophagi of Djedher, Tjaihepimu, and Nectanebo II (Type III) constitutes an unparalleled hymn to the sun in the Underworld itself, quite distinct from the more common hymns to the rising or setting sun. In the text, Re-Osiris is identified with Horakhty, Tatenen, Atum, and Ptah; of these four gods, the theology of Tatenen is particularly important, since it is his manifestations as the four rams that links the Book of Amduat with the hymn. Tatenen appears frequently in all the major compositions of the Underworld Books in various roles, including a creator deity, the personification of the earth, and the Underwordly realm itself.⁴¹⁴ The hymn is fully integrated into the text of the Amduat, proceeding from a concept—the satisfaction of the “bull of bulls”—present in the upper register of the Eighth Hour. Its occurrence on three sarcophagi with two different decorative schemes further suggests that it was considered part of the Book of Amduat by the time of the Thirtieth Dynasty.

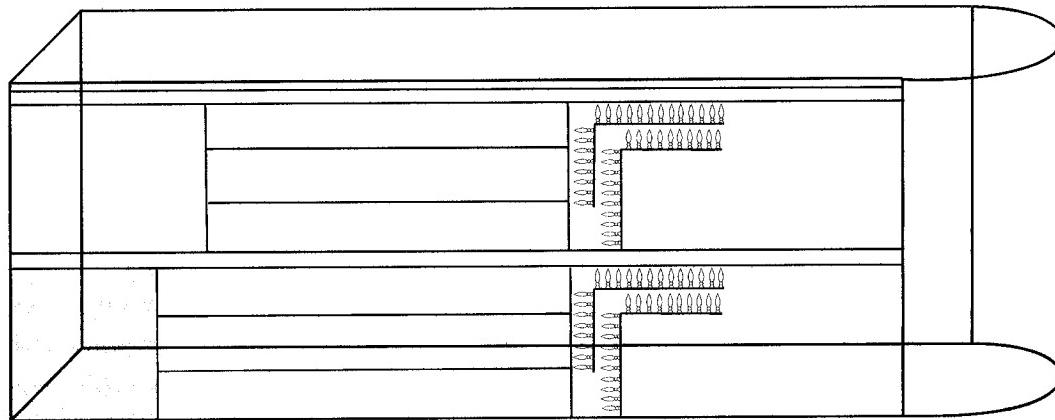
⁴¹² Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 229 (Seventh Litany; paralleled by Chapter 180 of the Book of the Dead [Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 1, pl. CCIV Pa, ll. 13-15]): ‘.wy Tȝ-tnn šsp-sn sw wts-sn sw “The arms of Tatenen receive him and lift him up.” For similar passages in Underworld Books and other religious texts, see also Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 60-63 and *infra* for Shu and Nun in this role at the eastern horizon (Chapter 5, Twelfth Hour of Amduat).

⁴¹³ Piankoff, *BIAFO* 43 (1945): pl. 86, ll. 3-4.

⁴¹⁴ Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, pp. 21ff., *passim*; since Schlögl deals primarily with New Kingdom texts, he does not address this hymn attested only the Late Period sarcophagi.

NINTH HOUR OF THE BOOK OF THE NIGHT

Following the Eighth Hour of Amduat, the final scene in the first register of Side Three is taken from the lower register of the Ninth Hour of the Book of the Night—an address of the god Sia to groups of the deceased.



Address of Sia and Discourse of the Dead

Depiction: Sia before numerous deities

Text: Berlin 49: None

BM 1504: None

Louvre D9: None

Parallel: Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 2, pp. 123-134 (including the versions on JE 48556 and 48447, the only Late Period sarcophagi to contain the text)

*dd mdw
nd tn b3=tn
Inpw ip=f ib=tn^a
ntr.w r pt z3h.w r t3
isf.tiw im=tn nw m bw pf nty tn im=f
nn m3=tn ntr=n
nniw mh.w mhwt=tn hn^c h^cpi
mni=tn hn^c dfy.t^b
srwy=tn wdb.w
s3h.w m3^c hb.w sw(?)=tn
ddt n=tn
ssp=tn k3m.w=tn
ir=tn irw rs hr Wn-nfr
ddt=f irt=tn
nn nhi=f im=tn r bw hr=f d.t*

m³^c.tyw im=tn m-h^t Wsir m-b³h=f m tpiw-^c.w=f^c
 iw di=f 3w=tn itn m ir.ty=tn t³w m fnd=tn
 dd mdw iy.n=n m t³=n h³l=n m sp³.t=n
 ni ir=n isf.t n im=n^d r t³ i^{gr}
 ity=n mr=n n^{tr}-hnty n^{tr}.w=n
 nn ihiw hr m³^c.t=f
 dⁱ.n=n Hr n Wsir im=f w^c
 dⁱ.n=n Wsir N hnty 'nh.w

Recitation:

“May your *bas* protect you,
when Anubis reckons your hearts.

The gods are destined to the sky, akh-spirits are destined to the earth.
The evil ones are among you and those in this place in which you are,
you shall not see our god!

Weary ones and drowned ones,
you are drowned together with the Hapi-waters;
you shall moor together with its low-lying areas,
while you avoid the banks.

True magical spells are the catch of your (allotted) time,
which is given to you.

You have received your *kam*-rations.

May you perform the tasks of the vigil of Osiris.
What he says is what you do,

without any loss for you at any place before him eternally.

The justified among you are in the following of Osiris,
being before him and at his side.

He gives your gifts,
the sun disk being in your sight and breath in your noses.”

Recitation: “We have come from our land, we have descended from our nome.

We have not performed evil for those among whom we are,
so to be against the land of silence.

O our sovereign, we love the god foremost of our gods,
without weakness because of his *maat*.

We have placed Horus with Osiris, lest he be alone.
We have placed the Osiris N foremost of the living.”

^a Anubis as “reckoner of hearts” refers to his role during the weighing of the heart.⁴¹⁵ The relationship between *ib ip* and the weighing scene is further supported by the appearance

⁴¹⁵ Pace Roulin, *Le livre de la nuit*, pp. 187 and 287 who denies the juridical meaning of *ib ip*, and interprets it as another aspect of mummification. For *ip ib* and Anubis as judge of the dead, see Willems, in Clarysse, Schoors, and Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand*

of the Judgment Hall from the Book of Gates on the opposite corner of the sarcophagus, where Anubis presides over the scales before Osiris. Again, the relationship of text and scene on the Type II sarcophagi aids in the interpretation of this specific epithet.

^b The noun *dfy.t*, judging by the determinatives to be a designation for land, is attested only here, but is related to the verb *dfy* “to sink, descend.”⁴¹⁶ The parallel statement before this refers to the drowned being immersed in the inundation. The overflowing river would flood most of the established harbors, so the *dfy.t*-land is probably a reference to areas of land where one could moor when the Nile was high.

^c The compound *tp-*^c is here taken as a preposition (*Wb.* V 282.1ff.), since the reading “his ancestors” lacks both the proper determinatives and a logical referent.⁴¹⁷

^d The writing of the first person plural suffix pronoun with three seated men is repeated in the phrase *di.n=n Hr* ..., where the reading is more obvious.

The speech of Sia to the different categories of the deceased and their reply are both unusual texts, marked by numerous lexicographic difficulties. Despite these problems, the context of the scene on the Type II sarcophagi provides a clue to its meaning, since the scene from the Ninth Hour of the Book of the Night can be

Years, vol. 1, pp. 728-743 on pp. 734-35 he addresses the passage from the Book of the Night specifically.

⁴¹⁶ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 281 made a similar observation, but relied entirely on a use of this verb at Kom Ombo (*Wb.* V 569.8) to reach the meaning “roads,” although at Kom Ombo, the reference is probably to “descending (*dfy.t*) roads.”

⁴¹⁷ Pace Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 282; he does not offer an explanation of who the ancestors of Osiris might be.

thematically related to the enthroned Osiris scene in the first register of Side Three and the Judgment Hall of Osiris. Sia begins his speech with a reference to Anubis *ip ib*, a clear allusion to the weighing of the heart and the Judgment Hall. This event has separated the blessed dead, those whose *akhs* can enter the Netherworld, and the damned, who are denied the privilege of seeing Re. The blessed dead, particularly the drowned, are assigned to the entourage of Osiris to assist in his nightly vigil. In their response, the deceased proclaim their fulfillment of the task, having united Horus and Osiris.

SIDE FOUR

The final side of the Type II sarcophagi contains images from the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Hours of the Book of Amduat as well as the concluding representation of the Book of the Night. The Type II sarcophagi can be divided into two groups in their treatment of the decoration on the foot end. In one group, consisting of Shebmin, Ankhhor, and Djedher (CG 29305), the figures from Amduat on Side Four are not labeled, and the only hieroglyph text on the foot end is the *wbȝ nhp* label to the concluding tableau from the Book of the Night.⁴¹⁸ The second group, the sarcophagi of Gemhap, Tjaihepimu, and Djedher (Louvre D9) follow a different pattern, continuing with bandeau texts from the Book of Amduat and excerpts from the Litany of Re as well as labeling the figures from Amduat. Unlike the other three sides of the Type II sarcophagi, Side Four reads from bottom to top: the Ninth and Tenth Hours of Amduat fill the bottom half, while the Eleventh Hour of Amduat and concluding scene from the

⁴¹⁸ The sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305) contains bandeau texts from the Book of the Dead, which continues on the foot end (see translations *supra*).

Book of the Night appear in the top half. Addresses from the Litany of Re appear before the Ninth and Eleventh Hours as well as underneath the scene from the Book of the Night; since the foot ends of the sarcophagi are narrower than the head end, the inclusion of addresses between each hour was impossible. Furthermore, the elaborate *sbh.t*-portals present elsewhere on the sarcophagi are simplified.⁴¹⁹

LITANY OF RE BEFORE THE NINTH AND TENTH HOURS OF AMDUAT

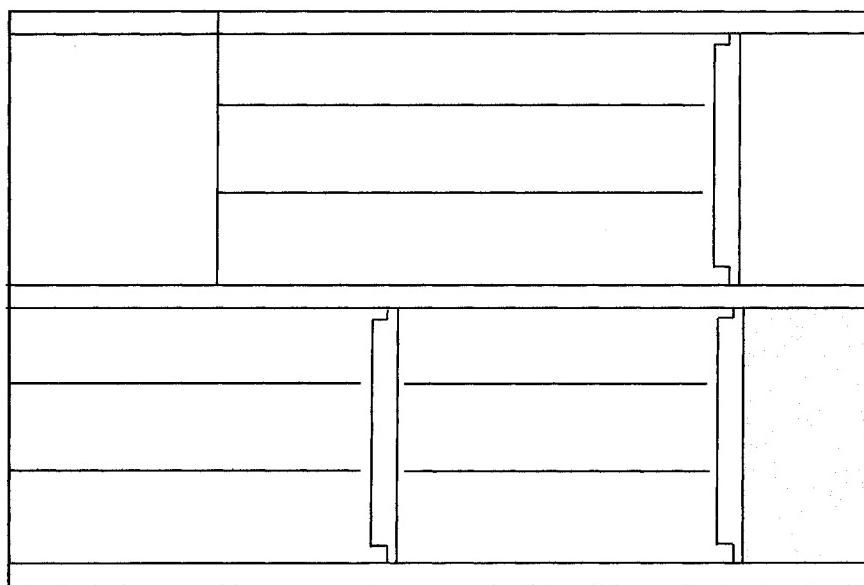


Fig. 37: Address to the Divine Eye, 26, Foremost of the West, and Hidden of Flesh on Louvre D9

The forms of the sun god on the foot end of the Type II sarcophagi are predominantly ram-related. The addresses before the Ninth Hour are recited for two ram-headed gods and a complete ram; they appear on the sarcophagus Louvre D9.

Address to the Divine Eye

Form: Udjat-eye within oval

⁴¹⁹ BM 1504 maintains the *hkr*-frieze around the door, while Louvre D9 and Berlin 49 use only a single door leaf to represent the portal.

Text: Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 20⁴²⁰
Parallel: Variant of Address 24, Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 29

*hk̄nw n=k R̄ qȝ sh̄m
bȝ imy wdȝ.t^a
wd mȝw.t=f
twt is hȝ.t Nȝtr.t
Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R̄
twt is hȝ.t Wsir N hȝ.t Nȝtr.t*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Ba who is in the udjat-eye.
Who commands his light rays.
You are indeed the corpse of the Divine Eye.
Osiris N praises Re.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Divine Eye.

^a The word on Louvre D9 is restored by Sharpe as *sh̄m*, but Nectanebo II writes the udjat-eye; since the *nȝtr.t* eye is also determined with the udjat-eye, that is another possible reading of the sign.

The Late Period version of the address to the Divine Eye differs sharply from the New Kingdom address, which gives only a single epithet: *bȝ mȝc.n=f hqswt.t=f* “Ba who has made right his damaged eye.”

Address 26

Form: Ram

Text: Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 20
Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 31

*hk̄nw n=k R̄ qȝ sh̄m
tz tp cȝ^a wp.t
twt is hȝ.t sr cȝ hprw.w
Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R̄ swȝs nȝtr pn cȝ
twt is hȝ.t Wsir N hȝ.t sr cȝ hprw.w*

⁴²⁰ The same variant address appears on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II—the difficult areas of the Louvre sarcophagus are restored with reference to Nectanebo II (see pl. 102B).

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Attached of head, great of horns.
You are indeed the corpse of the Ram, great of manifestations.
Osiris N praises Re and adores this great god.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Ram, great of manifestations.

^a The assumption that the odd New Kingdom writings “ ϵ ” are to be read simply as ‘ ϵ ’ “great”⁴²¹ is confirmed by the Late Period versions of this address on the sarcophagi of Djedher and Nectanebo II, both of which use normal orthographies of ‘ ϵ ’.

Address to Foremost of the West (not present in New Kingdom Litany)
Text: Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 20⁴²²
Form: Ram-headed mummy

*ḥknw n=k R^c q ϵ shm
b ϵ ‘ ϵ md.t r ntr.w
twt is h ϵ .t ḥnty-imn.t
i w Wsir N ḥknw=f n R^c
twt is h ϵ .t Wsir N h ϵ .t ḥnty-imn.t*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
The great ba, who speaks to the gods.
You are indeed the corpse of Foremost of the West.
Osiris N praises Re.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of Foremost of the West.

Neither this form of Re nor the epithets appear in any New Kingdom copy of the Litany of Re, although similar names and attributes are present elsewhere in the text. For example, a god *Imn.t* is the object of Address 27 and *Ḥnty-imnyw* is invoked in Addresses 28 and 31.

Address to Hidden of Flesh
Form: Ram-headed mummy within oval
Text: Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 20

⁴²¹ Hornung, *Anbetung des Re*, vol. 2, p. 107 n. 75.

⁴²² In the sequence of Addresses on Side Three, Nectanebo II, although damaged in sections, appears to use the New Kingdom version of Address 28.

Parallel: Variant of Address 30, Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 35

hk̄nw n=k R̄ q3 shm
[...] *hpr=k n dw3.tyw*
twt is h3.t Imn-iwf
iw Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R̄
w3š-f imy Imn.t
twt is h3.t Wsir N h3.t Imn-iwf(?)

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
[...] you manifest for the Underworldly gods.
You are indeed the corpse of Hidden of flesh!
Osiris N praises Re,
and adores the one within the West.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of Hidden of flesh.

Compressed versions of the Ninth and Tenth Hours of Amduat follow these four addresses from the Litany of Re. The depictions of the hours are accompanied by the appropriate texts from the Short Amduat. The texts begin in the second line of the middle bandeau and conclude in the two lines beneath the hour; each line is divided in half, so that the passages from the Short Amduat accompany the proper hour.

NINTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

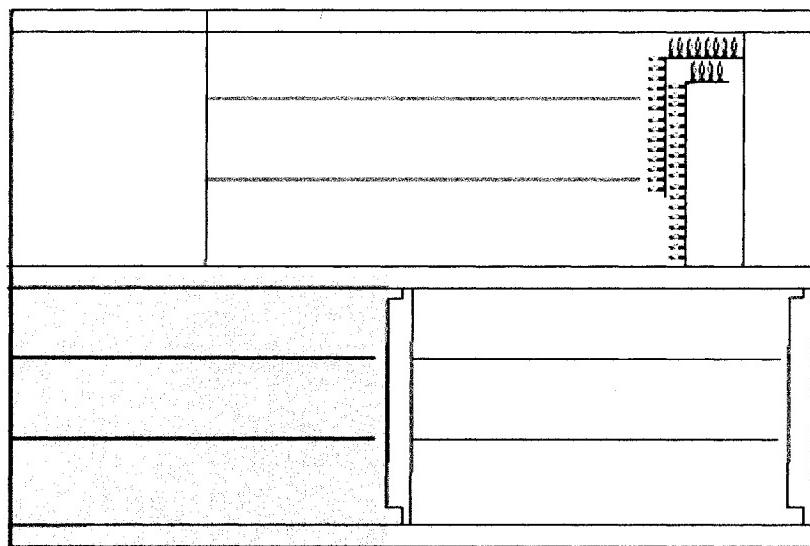


Fig. 38: Ninth Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

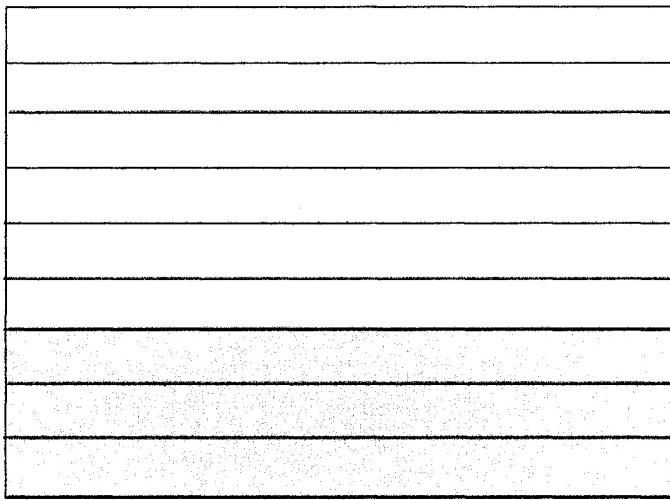


Fig. 39: Ninth Hour of Amduat on CG 29305

Introductory Text, Ninth Hour of Amduat

Text: Berlin 49: Pl. 98

BM 1504: None

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 20

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 645-653

$\text{htp} \ (i)n \ \text{hm} \ n \ \text{ntr} \ \text{pn} \ \text{c}_3 \ m \ \text{qrr.t} \ \text{tn}$
 $w\text{d=f} \ \text{mdw} \ m \ \text{wi}_3 \ \text{c}_3 \ n \ \text{ntr.w} \ \text{i}my.w=s$
 $\text{htp} \ \text{is.t} \ \text{wi}_3 \ n \ \text{ntr} \ \text{pn} \ \text{c}_3 \ r \ \text{niw.t} \ \text{tn}$
 $\text{rn} \ n \ \text{sb}_3 \ n \ \text{niw.t} \ \text{tn} \ \text{c}p \ \text{ntr} \ \text{pn} \ \text{c}_3 \ \text{hr=f}$
 $\text{htp=f} \ n.t \ \text{i}my.w \ \text{niw.t} \ s33 \ 3gb$
 $\text{rn} \ n \ \text{niw.t} \ \text{tn} \ \text{bs.t} \ \text{irw.w}$
 $\text{qrr.t} \ \text{st}_3.t \ n.t \ \text{imn.t}$
 $\text{Wsir} \ N \ \text{rh} \ \text{s}sm \ \text{pn} \ \text{rh} \ \text{d.t-sn} \ m \ \text{imn.t}$
 $m \ \text{htp} \ \text{d.t} \ m \ \text{dw}_3.t$
 $m \ \text{h}^c \ m \ \text{nb} \ \text{hr.t}$
 $m \ \text{m}^c\text{-hrw} \ m \ \text{d}3\text{d}3.t \ \text{hrw} \ \text{hsb}$
 $\text{nn} \ \text{zh} \ n=f \ \text{tp} \ t_3$
 $\text{rn} \ n \ \text{wnw.t} \ \text{tn} \ n.t \ \text{grh} \ \text{s}sm \ \text{ntr} \ \text{pn} \ \text{c}_3 \ m \ \text{qrr.t} \ \text{tn}$
 $\text{mk.t} \ \text{nb=s}$
 $\text{iw} \ \text{wd.n} \ \text{Wsir} \ N \ m \ \text{wi}_3 \ \text{c}_3$
 $\text{iw=f} \ m \ \text{m}^c\text{-hrw} \ m \ \text{d}3\text{d}3.t \ n \ \text{ntr} \ \text{pn} \ \text{c}_3$
 $\text{ntr.w} \ \text{nd-hr} \ \text{Wsir} \ \text{shr} \ \text{hftyw=f} \ \text{r}^c \ \text{nb}$
 $\text{nd-sn} \ \text{hr} \ \text{Wsir} \ N \ \text{shr-sn} \ \text{hfty=f} \ \text{r}^c \ \text{nb}$

Resting by the Majesty of this great god in this cavern.

as he commands in the great bark to the gods who are within it (the cavern).
The crew of the bark of this great god also rests at this locale.
The name of the portal of this locale over which this god passes,

when he sinks into the flood waters which are in the locale:
 “Guardian of the flood”
 The name of this locale is “Inducting of visible forms”
 The secret cavern of the West.
 Osiris N knows this image and knows their bodies within the West
 as one who occupies the body in the Underworld,
 as one who stands before the possessor of necessities,
 as one who is justified in the council on the day of reckoning.
 This is effective for him on earth.
 The name of the hour of the night which leads this great god in this cavern is:
 “She who protects her lord.”
 Osiris N has commanded within the great bark.
 He is justified in the council of this great god,
 (namely) the gods who greet Osiris and fell his enemies every day.
 May they greet Osiris N, may they fell his enemies every day.

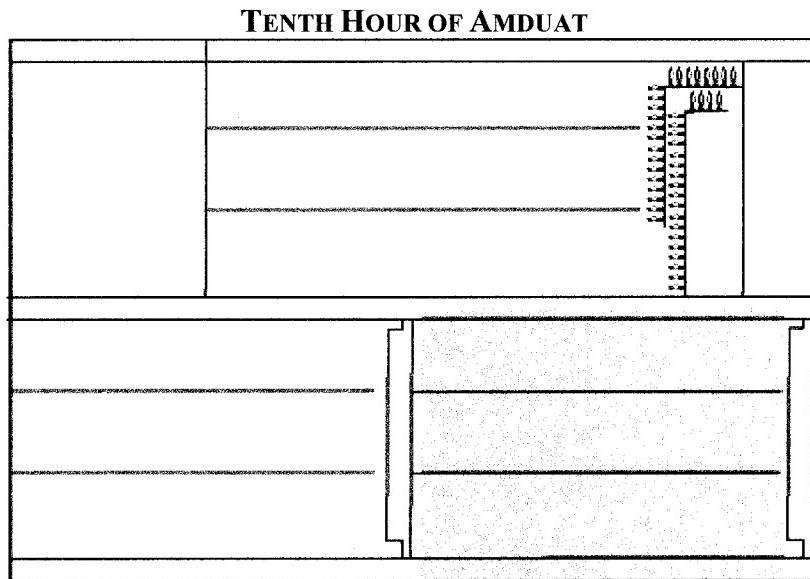


Fig. 40: Tenth Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

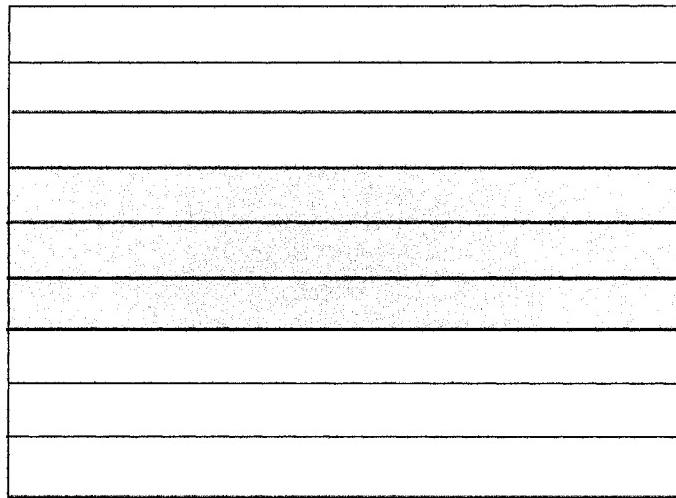


Fig. 41: Tenth Hour of Amduat on CG 29305

Introductory Text, Tenth Hour of Amduat

Text: Berlin 49: Pl. 98

BM 1504: None

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 21

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 697-703

htp in hm n ntr pn ̣3 m qrr.t tn
 wd=f mdw n ntr.w imy.w=s
 rn n sb3 n niw.t tn ̣p ntr pn ̣3 hr=f
 ̣3 hprw.w^a ms irw.w
 rn n niw.t tn
 md.t-mw q3 wdb.wt
 qrr.t št3.t n.t imn.t htp Hpri r=s h(r) R^c
 hknw^b ntr.w 3h.w mw.wt r=s
 hr ssm št3 n Igr.t
 iw Wsir N rh s(y) m rn-sn^c
 hns=f dw3.t r sd3i=s
 iwy hsf r=s r p.t hr R^c
 rn n wnw.t tn n.t grh ssm ntr pn ̣3 r w3.t št3.t n.t dw3.t
 dn wsh h3kw-ib
 wd.n Wsir N mdw.t n imy.w qrr.t tn^d
 i(w)=f ̣q=f hr ssm št3 n ntr pn ̣3 m wi3=f
 iw Wsir N ssm=f wi3 n R^c r ̣rr.t i3bt.t

Resting by the Majesty of this great god in this cavern,
 while he commands to the gods who are within it.

The name of the portal of this locale over which this great god passes:
 “Great of manifestations, engendered of visible forms.”

The name of this locale is “Deep of waters, high of banks.”

The secret cavern of the west, in which Khepri rests near Re.
 The gods, spirits, and dead give praise at it (the cavern),
 because of the secret image of Igeret.
 Osiris N knows it in its names,
 so that he might traverse the Underworld, in order to reach its end.
 without being repulsed from it or from the sky near Re.
 The name of this hour of the night, which leads this great god
 along the secret roads of the Underworld:
 “Who smashes and kills the rebels.”
 Osiris N has commanded to those who are in this cavern.
 He enters before the secret image of this great god in his bark.
 Osiris N leads the bark of Re to the eastern approach.

^a The epithet ‘*ȝ hprw.w* is not uncommon, but it is important to note that it appears both here in the Tenth Hour of Amduat and in Address 26 from the Litany of Re (see *infra*).

^b The Type II sarcophagi alter the New Kingdom verb *kni'*, of uncertain interpretation,⁴²³ to the easily understandable *hkñw*. Praise is an expected reaction to the sight of the “secret image,” the corpse of Osiris.⁴²⁴

^c Since the sarcophagi omit the statement *iw ir-tw nn mī sšm pn nty m sš hr iʒbt.t ȝ.t imn.t n.t dwȝ.t* “One executes this according to this template in writing upon the eastern wall of the hidden chamber of the Underworld,”⁴²⁵ the reference for *rn.w=sn* “their names” on the sarcophagi is the “secret image in Igeret” rather than all the divinities in the Tenth Hour. The reinterpretation of the text fits well with the presence of the forms of the sun god from the Litany of Re before each hour of Amduat.

⁴²³ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 701; *idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 162.

⁴²⁴ See *infra*.

⁴²⁵ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 701-702.

^d These final three statements concerning the deceased do not appear in any New Kingdom version of the Amduat.

LITANY OF RE BEFORE ELEVENTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

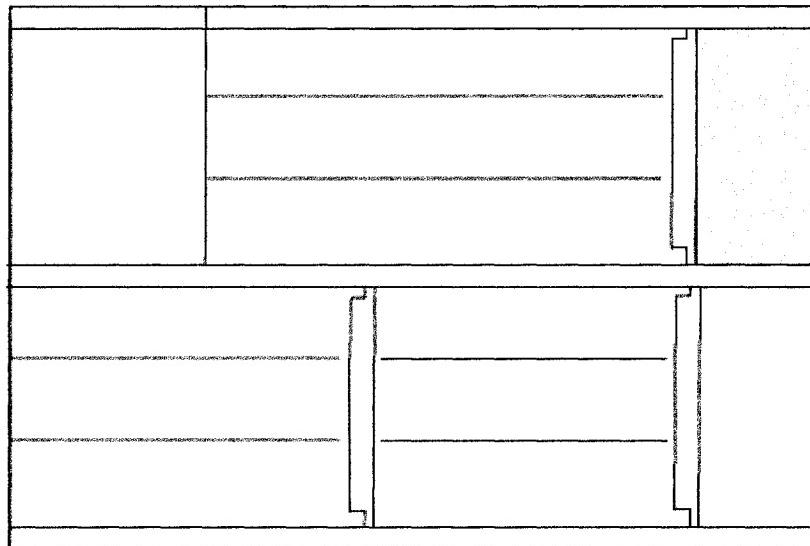


Fig. 42: Addresses 8 and 14 on BM 1504 and Louvre D9

Address 8

Form: Bound enemy

Text: BM 1504: mostly damaged

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 20

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 13

*hḳnw n=k Ṛ q3 shm
spr b3 htm hfty.w=f
pn nty wd nik m mw.wt
iわ Wsir N hḳn=f n Ṛ
wd=f dw r nik
shtm=f hfty.w=f*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Whose ba arrives, who destroys his enemies.
This one who commands punishment among the damned.
Osiris N always praises Re.
He assigns punishment to the evil one.
He destroys his enemies.

The bound enemy, one of the more unusual forms included in the Litany of Re, causes distinct changes to the address. As in the New Kingdom versions, there is no identification between the bound enemy and the corpse of Re, and the additional text on the Late Period sarcophagi does not identify the deceased with this form either. Rather, the extra text on Louvre D9 places the deceased in the role of Re—assigning the evildoers in the Place of destruction and punishing his enemies. Again, the Late Period copies indicate that the textual tradition was still alive during the Thirtieth Dynasty.

Address 14

Form: Female mummy

Text: BM 1504: mostly damaged

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pl. 20

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 19

*hk̄nw n=k R^c q³ shm
sbȝy.t r sny.t
twt hȝ.t Tfn.t
iȝ Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R^c
swȝ=f ntr pn ȝ m qrr.t tn
twt is hȝ.t Wsir N hȝ.t Tfn.t*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Star-like one for the corpses.
You are the corpse of Tefnut.
Osiris N always praises Re.
He adores this great god in this cavern.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of Tefnut.

ELEVENTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

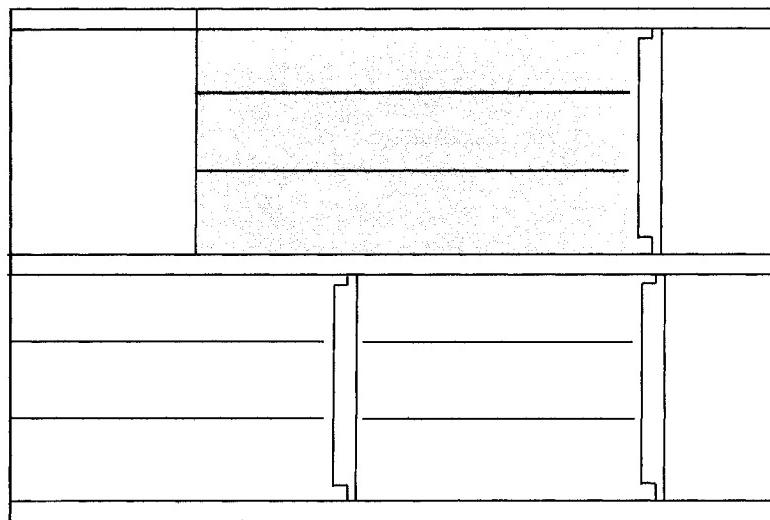


Fig. 43: Eleventh Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

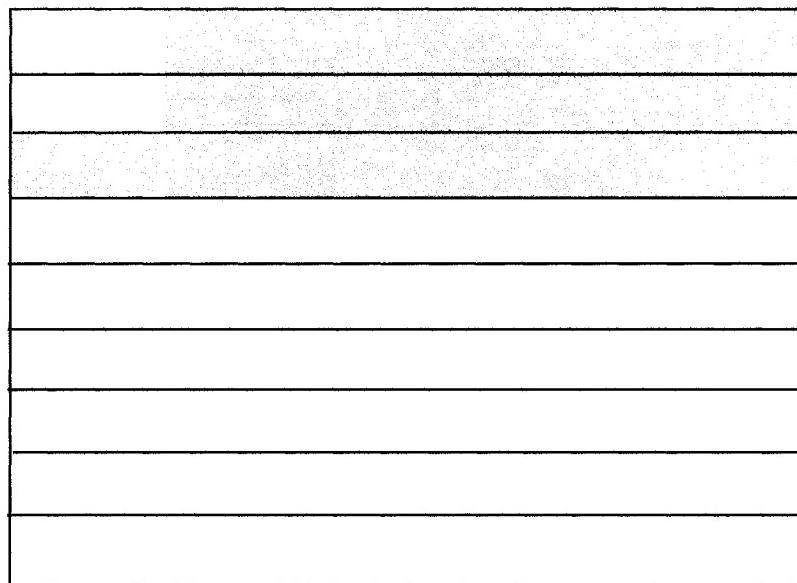


Fig. 44: Eleventh Hour of Amduat on CG 29305

Introductory Text, Eleventh Hour of Amduat

Text: Berlin 49: Pl. 98

BM 1504: mostly damaged

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 20-21

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 743-750

*htp (i)n hm n ntr pn Ᵽ r qrr.t tn
wd=f mdw n ntr.w imy.w=s
rn n sb3 n niw.t tn Ᵽq ntr pn Ᵽ hr=f*

shn dwȝ.tyw
rn n niw.t tn
ip hȝ.t
qrr.t štȝ ḡp ntr pn ḡs hr-s
r pr m zȝ.t iȝbt.t n.t p.t
‘m d.t sȝm m bȝh ptr-ȝrw imy niw.t tn
dī-s sn m-ȝt r ms.w Hpri m tȝ
Wsȝr N rȝ.(w) sȝm pn m psȝ.t
ȝtp=f m zȝw ‘pr m p.t m tȝ sȝ mȝc
rn n wnw.t tn n.t grȝ sȝm ntr pn ḡs m qrr.t tn
sbȝy nb wiȝ hsf sbȝ m pr=f

Resting by the Majesty of this great god at this cavern,
while he commands to the gods who are within it.

The name of the portal of this locale into which this great god enters is
“Alighting place of the Underworldly gods.”

The name of this locale is
“The one who reckons corpses.”

The secret cavern over which this great god passes
in order to come forth from the eastern horizon of heaven.

Cyclical eternity swallows the images before (the serpent)
He-who-sees-the-visible-forms, who is in this locale,
and it (eternity) gives them back afterwards, at the birth of Khepri in the earth.
Osiris N knows this image in (its) constituent parts,
so that he might rest as an equipped spirit in heaven and earth, truly attested!

The name of this hour of the night who leads this great god in this cavern is
“Starry one, mistress of the bark, who repels the rebels when he goes forth.”

The text on the sarcophagi differs little from the New Kingdom versions, except for the omission of the directions for the placement of this hour, on the eastern side of the hidden chamber. The omission of this sentence caused a further alteration, from *iw rȝ st m psȝ ȝtp=f ...*⁴²⁶ to *Wsȝr N rȝ sȝm pn ...* Thus, Hornung’s translation “Wer es kennt, der teilt seine Opfer ein als wohlversorger Verklärter ...”⁴²⁷ should be amended, because the

⁴²⁶ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 89.

⁴²⁷ *Kurzfassung*, p. 34, followed by Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, vol. 2, p. 207.

pss refers not to the offerings, but the individual elements within the Eleventh Hour,⁴²⁸ and *htp* is a verb rather than a noun, as is clear in both the earlier and later orthographies.

TWELFTH HOUR OF THE NIGHT

The stunning decorative program of the Type II sarcophagi has led the soul of the deceased through winding passageways to find caverns containing numerous manifestations of the solar god, the Judgment Hall of Osiris, and the countless other mysteries of the Netherworld. One would imagine a spectacular conclusion, where the reborn disk explodes in all its scintillating glory in the eastern horizon, and the sarcophagi do not disappoint. The climax of the sun's chthonic travels is portrayed in a single tableau from the conclusion of the Book of the Night—a cryptogram of the events in the eastern horizon and the interchange of the night and day barks, encompassing the totality of the solar journey. The diminutive size of the scene on the sarcophagi belies its theological importance. Although the scene is drawn from the Book of the Night and accompanied by text from that composition, two short lines of text above the scene are excerpts from the Twelfth Hour of the Short Amduat. Although the Book of the Night appears exclusively on the ceiling in New Kingdom royal tombs, as with the other extracts of that composition on Type II sarcophagi, the concluding scene is treated as if it were part of the Book of Amduat.

⁴²⁸ This also fits better with the version in the introduction to the Eleventh Hour in the long Amduat (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 749): *iw rh st m pss=f m zh ...* Compare also the statement in the Tenth Hour of the Short Amduat (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 85): *iw rh st m rn.w=sn m hns dw3.t ...* “Whoever knows it (the images) in their names is one who traverses the Underworld ...”

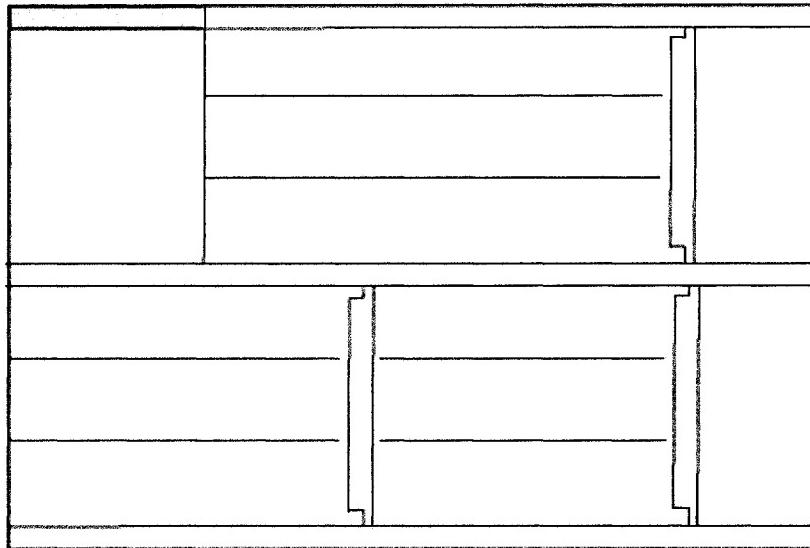


Fig. 45: Excerpt from the Twelfth Hour of Amduat on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

Introductory Text, Twelfth Hour of Amduat

Text: Berlin 49: Pl. 98

BM 1504: mostly damaged

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 20-21

Parallel: Excerpts from Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 793-798

*htp in ntr pn '3 m qrr.t tn ph.wy kkw-sm3.w
 msi ntr pn '3 m hprw=f n hpri m qrr.t tn
 rn n sb3 n niw.t tn tnn ntr.w
 rn n niw.t tn hpr kkw h^c ms.wt
 ntr pn '3 pr=f m Nwn htp=f m Nw.t*

Resting by this great god in this cavern, the end of the unbroken darkness.

This great god is born as a manifestation of Khepri in this cavern.

The name of the portal of this locale is “The one which distinguishes the gods.”

The name of this locale is “One who becomes dark, glorious of births.”

This great god goes forth from Nun and goes to rest in Nut.

The text from the Twelfth Hour of Amduat is quite similar to the text accompanying the concluding scene from the Book of the Night, also present on the sarcophagi.

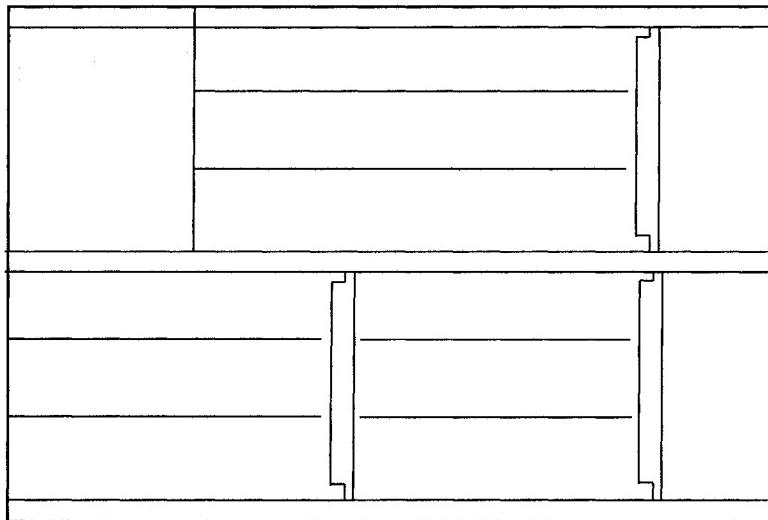


Fig. 46: Twelfth Hour of the Night on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

Book of the Night, Twelfth Hour

Text: Berlin 49: Pl. 98

BM 1504: mostly damaged

Louvre D9: Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, pls. 20-21

Parallel: Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 2, pp. 159-164

*pr m dw3.t
 sqd m m^cnd.t
 htp m Nwn r wnw.t tn R^c ptr nfr.w nb=s
 hpr m Hpri
 hfd=f r zh.t
 q m r₃ pr m k₃.t
 wbn m r₃-c.wy zh.t r wnw.t sh^c nfr.w R^c
 r ir c nh rm_t c.wt hf₃w.w qm₃.n=f*

Emerging from the Underworld.

Sailing in the day-bark.

Resting in Nun at this hour of Re “Beholding the beauty of her lord.”

Transforming into Khepri,

so that he might rise up from the horizon.

Entering into the mouth is going forth from the vulva.

Shining at the doorleaves of the horizon at the hour

“Causing the appearance of the beauty of Re,”

in order to create the life of all people, hoofed-animals, and serpents

that he has fashioned.

The annotation not only describes the specific events at the conclusion of the nightly journey of the sun god, but it also encapsulates the entirety of Re’s travels

through the heavens and Netherworld—"Entering into the mouth is going forth from the vulva." Re rises from the Underworld only to perpetuate a cyclical process of death and rebirth, where each sunrise is only the presage to another sunset. The eternal solar cycle provides the life-force for all creatures on earth, and the created world is entirely dependent on the continuation of the sun's journey through heaven and Underworld. The *creative* aspect of the end of the Underworld is further emphasized in the figures who accompany the solar barks, two members of the Ogdoad.

Before discussing the tableau from the Book of the Night, with its interesting juxtaposition of objects and divinities, it is important first to translate the texts below the image. The sarcophagi of Tjaihepimu, Gemhap, and Djedher contain several lines of text beneath the tableau, representing the Sixth Address from the Litany of Re⁴²⁹ and part of the concluding text from the Short Amduat.

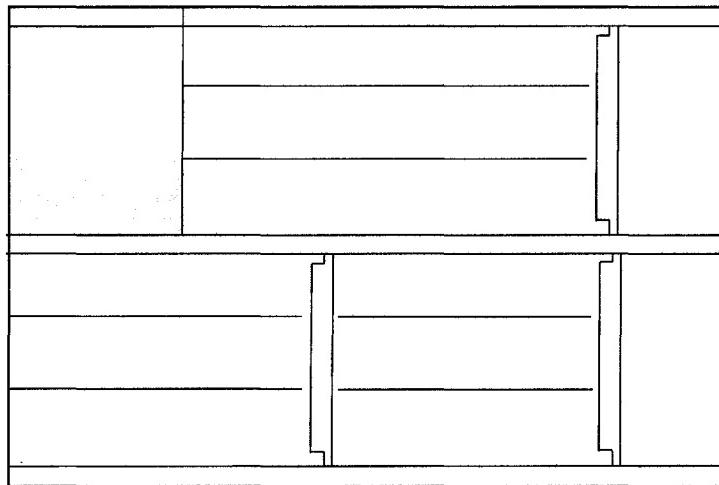


Fig. 47: Placement of Address 6 on Berlin 49, BM 1504, and Louvre D9

⁴²⁹ Hornung, *Anbetung des Re*, vol. 1, p. 11.

Address 6

Form: Ram-headed god

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 11

*ḥknw n=k R^c q₃ shm
hn̄m h_{3.t=f}
pn nty dw_{3=f} n_{tr.w=f}
i_{w=f} p.(w) r qrr.t=f št₃*
Praise to you o Re, high and mighty!
Who unites with his corpse!
The one who calls to his gods,
when he passes over his mysterious cavern.

The sarcophagus of Djedher (Louvre D9) adds the formula that follows most of the addresses from the Litany of Re on the Type II sarcophagi:

*iw Wsir N ḥknw=f n R^c
twt is h_{3.t} Wsir N h_{3.t} shm-hr
Osiris N praises Re.
You are the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of Powerful-of-face.*

Following the Sixth Address, rather than the traditional formula, the sarcophagi of Gemhap and Tjaihorpata continue with the concluding strophes of the Short Amduat.⁴³⁰

*iw Wsir N rh.(w) sšm pn tp t₃ m p.t m t₃
h_{3.t} ḥdd.wt p_ḥ kkw-sm₃w m šm R^c m imn.t
shr ir n_{tr} pn im=s m fd.t št_{3.t}*

Osiris N knows this image upon earth in heaven and in earth,
the beginning of the illumination and the end of the unbroken darkness,
when Re goes into the West,
and the plans which he makes within it which are in the secret chest.

⁴³⁰ Corresponding to Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. I, pp. 94-5.

BOOK OF THE NIGHT, CONCLUDING TABLEAU

The tableau from the Book of the Night represents Heh and Hehet underneath the two solar barks and kneeling before two enigmatic images: a sky-sign over a scarab and child and a scarab atop a potter's wheel, which rests on a *tm*-sledge.⁴³¹ The presence of two or more members of the Ogdoad at the conclusion of the nightly journey of the sun is also a feature of the Book of Amduat⁴³² as well as other solar hymns. Furthermore, several texts relate the actions of Heh and Hehet to the lifting of the sun disk by Isis and Nephthys in the solar bark, as depicted in the Book of the Night.⁴³³ The Ogdoad only rarely appear in the Underworld Books, with a few exceptions, and their aid at sunrise emphasizes the re-creation of the world that takes place each morning. Furthermore, the creation of all animate beings in the last line of the annotation may be repeated in the arrangement of the potter's wheel, *tm*-sled, and *hpr*-beetle: *hpr nhp tm.w* “all which came about on the potter's wheel.” Although this specific phrase is otherwise unattested, due

⁴³¹ Although the concluding text of the Book fo the Night and these images are closely related to the text known as the Cult-Theological treatise, there is little evidence to support Assmann's reading of these signs as a passage from that text: *hfd=f r p.t m h̄pri* “He ascends to the sky as Khepri.” While the sky sign and scarab fit with *p.t* and *h̄pri*, the reading of the child as *hfd* is otherwise unparalleled (it does not appear as one of the numerous values of the child signs in Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 1, pp. 14-16). An allusion to the passage from the Cult-Theological treatise, however, is not to be doubted.

⁴³² An excerpt from the Short Amduat, Twelfth Hour not present on the sarcophagi, is a perfect description of the scene from the Book of the Night (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 91-92):

*hpr Nwn Nn.t Hhw H̄h.t r qrr.t tn r msw.t n̄tr pn '3
pr=f m dw3.t
htp=f m m̄nd.t
h̄=f m īh.ty Nw.t]*

Nun, Nunet, Heh, and Hehet exist at this cavern at the birth of this great god,
when he goes forth from the Underworld,
when he rests in the day bark,
when he appears in glory from the two thighs of Nut.

⁴³³ For Ptolemaic examples, see Labrique, *RdE* 49 (1998): 115 and n. 51.

to the constraints of the cryptographic arrangement, it is closely paralleled by *pr nb.w hr nhp=f* “all which comes forth upon his potter’s wheel” (*Wb.* II 294.11). In addition to this reading of the scene, the potter’s wheel is accompanied by a hieroglyphic annotation, the deceptively simple phrase *wb3 nhp*, known from a wide variety of religious compositions.

Nhp (*Wb.* II 294.9-12) is the sole term for “potter’s wheel” in ancient Egyptian, applying to simple wheels as well as the later kick wheel.⁴³⁴ However, Assmann, based on the *Wb.*, interpreted *nhp* as the dung ball of the scarab,⁴³⁵ an interpretation which has been followed by most subsequent scholars.⁴³⁶ Since the term *wb3 nhp* accompanies a potter’s wheel and no dung ball is depicted, the scene on the sarcophagi argues strongly in favor of the usual meaning of *nhp*.⁴³⁷ On the basis of ceramic terminology, one can also propose an explanation of the term *wb3* “to open.”⁴³⁸ Old Kingdom reliefs use the

⁴³⁴ Do. Arnold, in Do. Arnold and J. Bourraiu, eds., *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery* (Mainz am Rhein, 1993), p. 43.

⁴³⁵ *König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 23.

⁴³⁶ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 349-350.

⁴³⁷ The interpretation of *nhp* as potter’s wheel also explains an odd passage in the tomb of Mutirdis (Assmann, *Mutirdis*, p. 100, ll. 41-42):

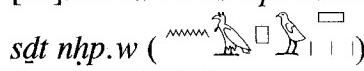
sqdd is Itm hr nhp=f
dbn=f š.wt n ib=f h3.t [...]
Atum sails upon his potter’s wheel.
He circles around the shade of his heart, while the corpse [...]

⁴³⁸ For a discussion of the verb *wb3* in its various uses, see Ward, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-3* (Rome, 1978), pp. 57-66. The phrase *wb3 nhp* is similar to *inr wb3* “bored stone,” since the fingers of the potter bore through the top of the clay lump like the drill bores the stone. The verb *wb3* is common in the Underworld Books with a range of objects, including roads, corpses, and the Underworld (Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, vol. 1, p. 72)

term *sphʒ ʒh.t* “opening the clay,” identical to the current English term for this process;⁴³⁹

wbʒ in the Book of the Night is synonymous to earlier *sphʒ* and should apply to the initial forming of the clay lump. *Wbʒ nhp* in its most basic meaning—“opening the potter’s wheel”—is thus a reasonably good expression for commencing work on a clay vessel.⁴⁴⁰

In the New Kingdom examples, *nhp* refers to the potter’s wheel itself, but this seemingly odd construction may have arisen from an original idiom involving the clay. Such an interpretation is suggested by a passage in Spell 882 of the Coffin Texts:⁴⁴¹

[...].*n=i rd=i r ns wpš m iʒb.t*
sdt nhp.w ()
itn wbʒ r [...] =f

I have [stretched out] my leg to the flame which burns in the east.
Just as the clay pieces are broken,
so is the sun disk open to its [...].

Again, it is equally clear from later texts, that *nhp* is not the clay upon the wheel, but rather the wheel itself. A particularly illuminating passage from the tomb of Ankhefenmut⁴⁴² demonstrates that *nhp* cannot mean “ball of clay:”

⁴³⁹ Arnold in Arnold and Bourriau, eds., *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, p. 49.

⁴⁴⁰ P. Dorman, “Creation on the Potter’s Wheel at the Eastern Horizon of Heaven,” in E. Teeter and J.A. Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise, Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 84-90, has interpreted the verb *wbʒ* as “to spin,” based on the spinning motion of the *wbʒ*-sign used as a tool. However, Dorman ignores the formation of the verb, which is an *w*-prefix of the *bʒ* “to break up.” As Ward has shown (based on the earlier work of Otto), the *w*-prefix creates “a final-durative sense by which the action itself is described but which also points to the lasting state which this action achieves” (*Homographic Roots B-3*, p. 19). The meaning “to spin” for the verb *wbʒ* is completely contrary to the known sense of the *w*-prefixed verbs in Egyptian. Furthermore, Dorman does not address one of the few passages in an Egyptian text, where a potter’s wheel “spins” (Admonitions of Ipuwer 2, 8; W. Helck, *Die „Admonitions“ Pap. Leiden I 344 recto* [Wiesbaden, 1995], p. 8): *iwms tʒ hr msnh mi ir.t nhp* “Truly the land spins around like the action of a potter’s wheel.”

⁴⁴¹ CT VII 93, h-j.

⁴⁴² P. Montet, *La nécropole royale de Tanis*, vol. II, pl. 38, l. 5.

$di.t\ ir.wy\ n\ rhy.t-sn$
 $h^c=k\ hr\ nhp$
 $hr\ ^c.wy\ t3-tnn$
 $mswt\ hnty\ wn.wt\ sq3\ itn\ m\ zh.t\ ...$

Who give sight to their people,
 when you appear in glory upon the potters wheel
 upon the arms of Tatenen.
 Who is born foremost of the hours, high of sun disk in the horizon ...

The numerous examples of *wb3 nhp* in Ptolemaic texts have long been known,⁴⁴³ but one late source remains untapped—the demotic commentary to the Book of Nut in P. Carlsberg I. The label to the sun disk perched on the feet of Nut in the New Kingdom depictions of the goddess read:⁴⁴⁴

$wb3=f\ nhp.t=f^{445}$ $nbi=f\ hr\ tr=f$
 He opens the potter's wheel,
 so that he might swim in his redness.

This is explained in P. Carlsberg, I, section C. I, ll. 39-42 as:⁴⁴⁶

$[wb3=f\ t3]\ p.t$
 $iw=f\ glp\ r\ t3\ p.t$
 $dd\ p3\ ^c.wy\ nt\ iw\ p3-R^c\ h^c\ n-im=f\ r\ hry\ m-hnw\ t3\ dw3.t$
 $t3\ nt\ iw=f\ h^c\ n-im=f\ [mn]$
 $[hms=f]\ hr\ d3\ hms=f\ hr\ t3y=f\ d3$
 $dd\ hr\ t3y=f\ tby\ n\ ms\ dd\ hr\ ir=f$
 $[...]\ n\ p3\ hbs\ n\ Hpri$
 $nt\ iw=f\ ir\ p3\ hbs\ n\ itn\ ...$
 $iw=f\ hpr\ r\ ir\ hr\ hms=w\ s\ hn\ p3\ mw$

He opens the sky,⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴³ See the examples collected by Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 24-25 and Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 217-218.

⁴⁴⁴ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. I, pl. 44, text E.

⁴⁴⁵ Amending the *m*-owl to the *nh*-bird as *ibid.*, pl. 44 n. d.

⁴⁴⁶ H.O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1, ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmographischer Text* (Copenhagen, 1940), p. 4*; translation altered from Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. I, p. 48.

as he is proclaimed/revealed⁴⁴⁸ to the sky,
 meaning the place in which Re appears in glory ascending
 from the Underworld,
 (the place) in which he appears in glory [daily].

[He sits] upon his *tit*,⁴⁴⁹ he sits upon his *tit*,
 meaning his birth brick—that is to say, he is accustomed to do it.
 [...] in the form of Khepri,
 who takes on the form of the sun-disk ...
 if it is in the water that it is normally sat upon.

The commentators in the second century of this era, who were quite perspicacious as their glosses indicate, associated *wbȝ nhp.t* with a red-*tit* amulet, a birth brick, a scarab who becomes a solar-disk,⁴⁵⁰ and the red water of birth. Water also plays a role in the ceramic connotations of *wbȝ nhp*, since when clay is formed on a fast wheel, it is necessary to continually pour water over the clay to maintain the moisture necessary for shaping. These dual meanings for the liquid associations of *wbȝ nhp.t* may explain the variant of the Book of the Night scene in the tomb of Ramesses VI, where a scarab spits

⁴⁴⁷ Lange and Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1*, p. 4*, l. 39 restore the preposition *r* before *wbȝ* and *p.t*, but since the solar god “opens” many places (for a sampling of the objects of *wbȝ* in the Underworld Books, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, p. 72), *p.t* is taken here as a direct object.

⁴⁴⁸ The verb *glp* can have several possible allusions (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 589; no entry in The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute)—as parallel to ‘š, it may refer to the announcement of Re by the baboons at dawn (see *supra*), or it may be used as a synonym for *ḥr*, which would be an obvious reference to sun rise.

⁴⁴⁹ Neugebauer and Parker, *EAT I*, p. 48 note two possibilities for this word: *tit* “image” and *dʒiw* “loincloth,” of which they prefer the latter, but do not explain why the word is feminine in P. Carlsberg I. A third possibility, however, is a literal reference to the red “knot” of Isis, known to have associations with the blood of Isis (Book of the Dead Chapter 156). For an interesting use of the *tit*-amulet, compare the personified *tit* on the lids of Third Intermediate Period coffins (A.-M. Amann, “Zur anthropomorphen Vorstellung des Djed-Pfeilers als Form des Osiris,” *WdO* 14 [1983]: 46 and 57, abb. 9).

⁴⁵⁰ The sun disk is particularly appropriate to the term *wbȝ*, which can be determined with the shining sun-disk sign (N8) and mean to “open” the Underworld with light and thus make the Underworld passable (Zandee, *Amunhymnus*, vol. I, p. 257).

liquid onto the head of the solar child.⁴⁵¹ Ptolemaic examples of *wb3 nhp* further explicate the watery milieu of the end of the night:

*ntr pn špss shpr m š c3
bsi m Nwn hnty nhb.t
‘h p.t n b3=f wbn=f im=s
dw3.t št3 r h3p d.t=f
wb3.n=f nhp m hnt s.t-wr.t
mi b3=f dbn m zh.t*

This august god, who developed in the great lake,
who emerged from Nun atop the lotus,
who lifted the heavens for his ba,
so that he might shine therein;
the mysterious Underworld is intended to hide his body,
after he has opened the potter's wheel at the front of the great place,
like his ba who travels around the horizon.⁴⁵²

*twt (i)r=k wb3 nhpw m d.t=f gs m ‘q gs m pr(t)
You are indeed the one who opens the potters wheel in his Underworld,
half in entering half in emerging.*⁴⁵³

Two descriptions in the above passages—the sun god emerging from the “great lake” and the interesting phrase *gs m ‘q gs m pr(t)*—are reminiscent of the depiction of

⁴⁵¹ This last detail calls to mind Pyramid Text Utt. 222, which appears to presage this entire depiction (Jéquier, *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit*, pl. 21, II., 570-71):

*‘h=k hr=f
t3 pn pr m tm
nšš pr m hpr
hpr=k hr=f
May you stand upon it,
namely this earth which came forth from Atum,
this spittle which came forth from Khepri.
May you transform upon it!*

Pyramid Text Utt. 222 revolves around the emergence of the king from the eastern horizon and begins with the same constellation of images as the concluding scene of the Book of the Night, missing only an overt reference to the potter's wheel. Although the dots issuing from the mouth of the scarab in the Tomb of Ramesses VI could represent flame, as suggested by Dorman, in Teeter and Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise*, p. 90 n. 24, he presents only iconographic evidence for this identification (i.e. stream of dots rather than zigzag-line).

⁴⁵² Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, vol. III, p. 186, ll. 4-5.

⁴⁵³ *Edfu*, vol. VIII, p. 92, ll. 5-6.

Re in the Book of the Fayum, where his legs remain concealed in the water of the primeval lake.⁴⁵⁴ The Underworld Books contain further depictions of gods still half-concealed in the depths of the earth⁴⁵⁵ or only half emerged from a disk or chest.⁴⁵⁶ P. Salt 825 preserves the title of a composition that might have detailed the events of the eastern horizon, *pʒ gs mw.t pʒ gs ‘nh* “the half of death, the half of life.”⁴⁵⁷ Although not precisely paralleled elsewhere,⁴⁵⁸ the Edfu text cited above and the depiction of Re in the Book of the Fayum indicate that the composition whose title is preserved in P. Salt 825 probably also involved the cusps of the horizon and the significant cosmic events that occurred therein.

The available lexicographic and iconographic evidence of the enigmatic phrase *wbʒ nhp* suggests a literal meaning “opening the potter’s wheel” and a tremendous range of religious significance. The potter’s wheel is the place of birth, the watery cusp of the eastern horizon, where the scarab transforms into the solar disk. The creation of a pot from moist formless clay suggested to the Egyptians the emergence of the solar god from

⁴⁵⁴ Beinlich, *Buch von Fayum*, vol. 1, pp. 86-88.

⁴⁵⁵ E.g. Tateten in the middle register of the Sixth Division of Caverns (Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 404).

⁴⁵⁶ D. Kurth, “Stilistik und Syntax,” in D. Kurth, ed., *Edfu: Studien zu Vokabular, Ikonographie und Grammatik* (Wiesbaden, 1994), p. 78 relates “half in entering and half in emerging” to the winged scarab emerging from the disk in Section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. Similarly, Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, p. 263, has related this image to the scarab half-emerged from the sacred chest in the Fifth Hour of Amduat.

⁴⁵⁷ Col. X, ll. 5-6. This title appears directly after the book entitled “The one without a head,” referring to *Akephalos* (see *supra*). The title “half of death and half of life” fits perfectly with the powerful resurrection symbol of the headless deity in Egyptian religion.

⁴⁵⁸ *Le papyrus Salt 825*, vol. 1, p. 98.

the red waters of the horizon. Transformation, rebirth, and ordered creation from chaos are all incorporated in the single tableau at the conclusion of the Book of the Night.

Bandeau Texts on the Sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305)

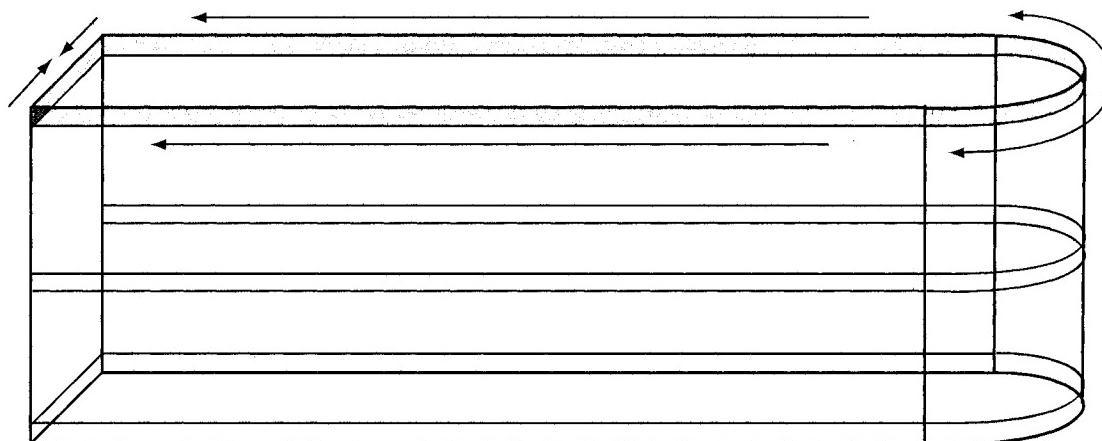
In addition to the depictions of gates, addresses from the Litany of Re, and the images of the hours from the Book of Amduat, the head end of some Type II sarcophagi contain bandeau texts between the registers. In most cases, the bandeau texts are excerpts from the Book of Amduat appropriate to the hour they accompany. However, in the unique case of the sarcophagus of Djedher son of Ahmose (CG 29305), the bandeau texts consist of three separate chapters from the Book of the Dead. This is the sole example among all the Late Period sarcophagi treated in this work which directly juxtaposes Underworld Books with passages from the Book of the Dead on the *cune* of the sarcophagus, rather than including Book of the Dead only on the lid;⁴⁵⁹ this unique situation elicits the commentary given on the interrelationship of these three spells to one another and the Underworld Books, presented after the translation of the spells below.

The bandeau texts on CG 29305 begin at the head end of the sarcophagus and wrap around one half, with additional text beginning at the head and continuing in the opposition direction. The three spells contained in these bandeaus—Book of the Dead Chapters 71, 148, and 162 (with vignettes from 163-165)—are treated here in depth

⁴⁵⁹ Although the practice of directly mixing Book of the Dead spells with Underworld Books occurs already in New Kingdom royal tombs; one of the best examples is the Second and Third Shrines of Tutankhamun, with the former combining the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity with Book of the Dead chapters, the latter mixing the Book of Amduat with the Book of the Dead (Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-anhk-amon*, p. 44). In the wall decoration of New Kingdom tombs, the Book of the Dead appears in separate rooms, clearly distinct from the Underworld Books (Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pp. 79-83).

because of their direct connection with the Underworld Books and the relationship between the three spells themselves. All three chapters focus on aspects and manifestations of the great cosmic cow, be it Mehetweret (BD 71), the seven heavenly cows and their bull (BD 148), or the Ahet cow (BD 162). In two of the texts, the hypostases of the cosmic cow are specifically creative forces, such as the seven Djaisu-utterances, or pantheistic deities, often ithyphallic and possessed of multiple heads. The feminine creative powers of the Ahet cow even finds expression in the form of an ithyphallic depiction of the goddess Mut. A close reading of these spells, in conjunction with the presence of the Ogdoad on several other Late Period sarcophagi suggests the primordial number eight and a relationship with the Hermopolitan Ogdoad.

Upper Bandeau



The text comprising the upper bandeau, which encompasses the entire sarcophagus is a late version of Chapter 71 of the Book of the Dead.⁴⁶⁰ The spell is divided into two halves, each beginning with a small vignette:⁴⁶¹ a prone mummiform cow

⁴⁶⁰ Other translations of this section: Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*, pp. 148-151; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 145-6; P. Barguet, *Le livre des morts*, p. 109-10.

⁴⁶¹ For a discussion of the vignette to this spell, see Milde, *Neferrrenpet*, pp. 144-147.

and mummiform falcon with spread wings, both atop naos-style platforms facing one another. The first half of the spell begins to the right of the vignette, over the Third Hour of Amduat, continues along Side Two of the sarcophagus and concludes at the middle of the foot end; correspondingly, the second half—beginning with the address to the seven Djaisu—commences on the left side of the vignette and continues along Side Three of the sarcophagus until the foot end.

Book of the Dead, Chapter 71 (Bandeau encompassing Side Two):⁴⁶²

*dd mdw in hm-ntr imy-r3 mšc dd-hr m3c-hrw
i bik pr m Nwn nb mh-wr.t
swd3=k w̄ m̄ swd3=k tw ds=k
whc=k w̄ sfh=k w̄
im̄ w̄ r t3 im̄ mrw.t=i
(i).n n=i nb hr w̄
ink bik m-hnw ssd
wb3 n nty hr sbty
i.n Hr s3 Wsir
ink bik n p.t rsy Dhwty n p.t mhty
shtp nsr nsn.t=s
r m3c.t n nb m3c.t
i.n Dhwty
i.n Wsir
ink wnb n n3rf nbh n i3.t imn.t
i nikw m rd.wy=f m 3.t=f
mhn.t b3 hry-ib t3.w=f
i Rc imy swh.t=f
h̄c Sbk hry-ib q3=f
h̄c N.t hri-ib wdb.w*

Recitation by the priest and general Djedher, justified:
“O Falcon who comes forth from Nun, lord of Mehetweret!
May you keep me safe as you keep yourself safe!
May you release me and loose me!
Place me in the earth and grant my desires,”⁴⁶³

⁴⁶² Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 191.

so says the Possessor of a Single Face to me.
 “I am the falcon inside the window of appearances,⁴⁶⁴
 who opens to the one who is upon the wall”
 so says Horus son of Osiris.
 “I am the falcon of the southern sky, Thoth of the northern sky,
 who pacifies the flaming one when she rages,
 who lifts up Maat to the Lord of Maat,”
 so says Thoth.

So says Osiris,
 “I am the weneb-plant of Naref,⁴⁶⁵ the nebeh-plant of the hidden mound.”⁴⁶⁶
 O punisher with his two legs in his raging moment,
 Mehen-serpent, ba who is amongst his fledglings!
 O Re within his egg!
 Stand fast, Sobek in the midst of his high mound!
 Stand fast, Neith in the mist of the river banks!

Book of the Dead, Chapter 71 (Bandeau encompassing Side Three):⁴⁶⁷

*dd mdw in p3 7 dʒis.w ipw rmn mhʒ.t
 grḥ pw n ip.t wdʒ.t
 psš tp.w iw(ʒ) nhb.t it ib.w hnp hʒty ir ſc.t m š n nsr.t
 rh.n=i tn rh.n=i rn.(w)=tn mi rh=tŋ qmʒ=tŋ
 spr=tŋ r=i ‘nh-i m ‘nh=tŋ im
 swd=tŋ n=i ‘nh imy ‘=tŋ
 wʒs imy hʃ=tŋ
 ‘nh n tp-rʒ=tŋ
 di=f rmp.wt ‘ʃʒ.w hr rmp.wt n.t ‘nh
 di=f n=i hrw.w ‘ʃʒ.w hr hrw.w=tŋ ‘nh grḥ n.t ‘nh
 wdʒ=i wbn=f
 r ssn=i tʒw r fnd=i*

⁴⁶³ The other versions put this statement in the third person, since it is being said by “Lord of a single face.”

⁴⁶⁴ Compare the falcon appearing in the *sšd* at the festival of 1 Tybi, precisely when Onuris kills Apep, as recorded by a text on the enclosure wall at Edfu Temple (Chassinat, *Edfou VI*, pp. 143 and 297—outline of events given in Cauville, *Essai*, vol. 1, pp. 169-70).

⁴⁶⁵ The weneb-plant is “the primordial flower which emerged from the water like the primeval hill” (Zandee, *Crossword Puzzle*, p. 33). On Naref, see Roulin, *Le livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 238 and references therein; the Eighth Hour of the Book of the Night (of which these sarcophagi contain the scenes from the lower register, see *supra*) is called the *sbʒ Nʒrrf* “portal of Naref.”

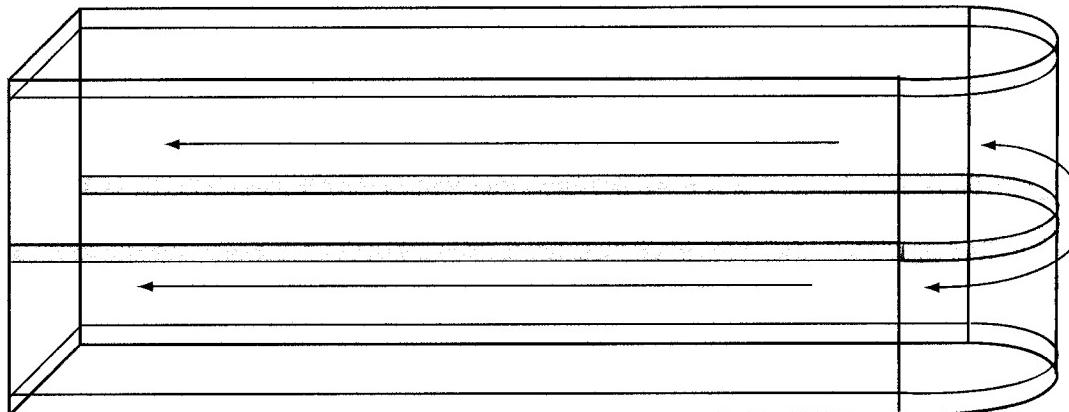
⁴⁶⁶ The *nbh*-plant grows over the burial of Osiris and may simultaneously represent the sacred tree at the eastern horizon (Koemotth, *Osiris et les arbres*, pp. 109-112).

⁴⁶⁷ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. I, p. 171.

*ir.ty=(i) m33-sn m̄ nn n imy.w 3ḥ.t
hrw pwy n ḫwȝy*

Words spoken by these seven Djaisu who carry the scale,
during this night of reckoning the udjat-eye.⁴⁶⁸
O you who divide heads, slice necks, seize hearts, steal breasts,
and make slaughter on the lake of flame—
I know you and I know your names, just as you know your creations.
May you reach me, so that I might live on that which you live on.
May you endow me with the life which is in your hands,
and the power which is in your grasp,
and the life of your utterances.
May he grant many years in addition to the years of life!
May he give me many days in addition to your days and nights of life!
May I proceed, so that he might shine,
in order for me to breathe the air at my nose,
in order for my eyes to see like those of the horizon,
on that day of robbery.

Middle Bandeau



As with the top bandeau text, the vignette appears near the middle of the head end of the sarcophagus, the hieroglyphs wrapping around the sarcophagus to either side. The vignette in this bandeau is that of Book of the Dead 148, the expected seven cows, a bull, four oars, and the four sons of Horus, and an excerpt of this spell occurs in the bandeau encompassing Side Two. This spell and its related images occur in a surprising number

⁴⁶⁸ This passage has implications for the interpretation of the scale-bearing figure in the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates (see *infra*).

of contexts, from private and royal New Kingdom tombs to New Kingdom temples and Third Intermediate Period Mythological papyri in addition to numerous Late Period tombs and papyri.⁴⁶⁹ The sarcophagus of Djedher also adds the scene of the deceased praising the solar deity, attested first under Seti I and ubiquitous by the Late Period.⁴⁷⁰ The text in the middle bandeau on Side Three are excerpts from Book of the Dead Chapter 148.

Book of the Dead, Chapter 148 (Bandeau encompassing Side Two):⁴⁷¹

*dd mdw ind hr=k R^c-hr-ʒh.ty psd m itn-f
 ‘nh pr m ʒhw
 iわ Wsir Dd-hr m^c-hrw rh rn n sfh.wt id.wt hn^c k^c irw
 di.w t^c hnq.t n ‘nh sdf^c.w imntyw
 di=tn t^c hnq.t n Wsir Dd-hr m^c-hrw sdf^c=tn s(w)
 di=tn n=f ʒh.w
 šms=tn s(w) nhm=tn sw m^c sdb.w nb dw m ‘h^c pf imy ds
 m^c h.t nb dw
 dd.in ntr.w ʒh.w mw.wt m hrw pn m grh pn m rnp.t tn hr=s is*

Recitation: “Hail to you Re-Horakhty, who shines in his disk,
 living one who comes forth from the luminous place.
 Osiris Djedher, justified, knows the names of the
 seven cows and a bull belonging to them.
 O those who give bread and beer to the living, who nourish the Westerners—
 may you give bread and beer to the Osiris Djedher, justified,
 may you nourish him!
 may you transfigure him!
 may you follow him and save him from all evil impediments,
 from that fighter armed with a knife,

⁴⁶⁹ For an extensive list of sources for Book of the Dead 148, including this sarcophagus, see R. El Sayed, “Les sept vaches célestes, leur taureau et les quatre gouvernails,” *MDAIK* 36 (1980): 387-90.

⁴⁷⁰ This development of Book of the Dead 148 is discussed at length by Assmann, *Basa*, p. 89-92. In many cases this spell is closely associated with Book of the Dead 144-147, the “gate” spells—for the probable relationship between these gate spells and the use of the portals from the Book of Gates, see *supra*.

⁴⁷¹ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. I, p. 199.

from every evil thing, which the gods, spirits or dead might say on this day, this night, this year, and what pertains to it.

Bandeau encompassing Side Three:⁴⁷²

This side of the bandeau contains a fascinating mixture of two texts—Pyramid Text Utterance 251⁴⁷³ and excerpts from Utterance 249, which becomes part of Book of the Dead Chapter 178.⁴⁷⁴ The middle bandeau text on Side Three of CG 29305 is the only example of Pyramid Texts on any sarcophagus in the corpus. Not only does this short text provide an otherwise unattested version of Book of the Dead Chapter 178, it further demonstrates that Chapter 178 is indeed composed of a number of excerpts from the Pyramid Texts.⁴⁷⁵

*i hry wnw.wt tp-^c R^c
wb₃ (n) Wsir Dd-hr m₃^c-hrw
sw₃i=f m-hnw n phr.t n.t ^ch₃-hr.wy
iw=f r s.t=f tw hnty s.wt Hp
db₃ m hn.ty=f
spd tp=f
hr 3d-f is ds spd sw₃ n=f ht
wd^c.n=f tbn tp k₃
shd=f imy.w kk_w
^c.t(?) wsr h₃ ntr ^c3
di.n Wsir Dd-hr m₃^c-hrw s{qr}⁴⁷⁶
^cnh.n=f h₃.t=sn
ni hsf=f m 3h.t
f₃i hr=tn imy.w dw₃.t*

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80.

⁴⁷³ Sethe, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 269a-271b; translation, Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 62.

⁴⁷⁴ The final statement concerning Nefertem is equivalent to Pyramid Text Spell 249, §266a-b and Book of the Dead Chapter 178, §t (= Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 189).

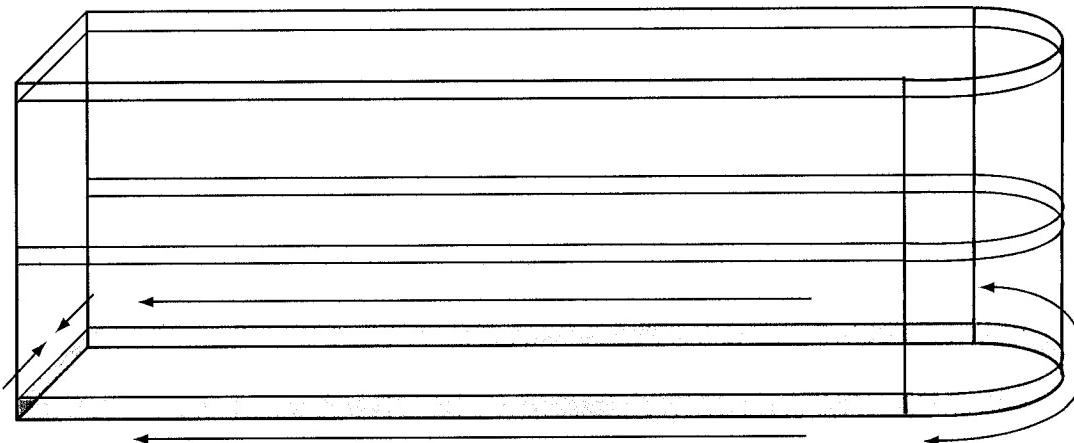
⁴⁷⁵ R. Pirelli, “Some Remarks About Ch. 178 of the Book of the Dead,” in R. Pirelli, ed., *Egyptological Studies for Claudio Barocas* (Naples, 1999), pp. 37-54.

⁴⁷⁶ The sarcophagus of Djedher writes *snq* “to suckle,” but this fits neither the context, nor the earlier Pyramid Text version.

*i^t.n=f hr=tⁿ m³³=tⁿ s(w)
hpr sw m ntr c³
... m ntr.w m sdd
ntf nb=tⁿ r-dr=tⁿ
ntf ntr c³ nty m sh.t i³rw
w^cb-c=f im=s
mi R^c
Nw.t šzp=s c.wy=f šw
sw3š
h^c=f m Nfr-tm m šsn r hm.t n R^c
pr=f m zh.t w^cb ntr.(y) hr m³³=f R^c*

O chief of the hours, who are before Re!
May it be revealed (for) Osiris Djed-her, justified,
so that he might pass through the patrol of the One with aggressive faces.
He is at this his place, foremost of the places of Apis.
provided with his horns,
sharp of head,
bearing his aggression and a sharp knife, which slices necks for him.
It is in order to see you that he has come before you.
Osiris Djedher has caused smiting,
he having lived off their hearts.
He shall not be repelled from the horizon.
Lift up your faces, those within the Underworld.
That he has come before you, is so that you might see him,
the one who transforms himself into the great god.
.... as the gods ...
He is your lord.
He is the great god who is in the Field of Iaru.
His arm is pure, within it.
When he appears as Nefertem, as the lotus at the nose of Re,
when he goes forth from the horizon,
all the gods are pure at the sight of him, namely Re.

Bottom Bandeau



The bandeau of text beneath the hours of Amduat again commence on the head end of the sarcophagus, flanking a series of vignettes. The text reproduces parts of Book of the Dead Chapter 162,⁴⁷⁷ known most prominently from the copies on hypocephali.⁴⁷⁸ In most Book of the Dead manuscripts with Chapter 162, it serves as the concluding text, either with or without the other supplementary chapters.⁴⁷⁹ Since the hours of Amduat on the sarcophagus “read” from top to bottom, the appearance of this spell in the lowest of

⁴⁷⁷ For translations of the entire spell, see Barguet, *Le livre des morts*, pp. 228-229; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 285-6. The so-called “supplementary chapters” have received little overall scholarly attention—for analysis of their transmission and a few annotated translations, see J. Yoyotte, “Contribution à l’histoire du Chapitre 162 du Livre des morts,” *RdE* 29 (1977): 194-202 (he mentions CG 29301 and 29305 on p. 194 n. 3, but mistakenly cites them as “39301” and “39305”); M. Mosher, “Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period,” *JARCE* 29 (1992): 143-172. The presence of this spell on the sarcophagus of Djedher refutes Mosher’s argument that Chapters 163-165 “were rejected by the Memphite clergy, at least by the 3rd century if not earlier, as non-traditional, perhaps as the upstart work of Amen adherents” (*ibid.*, p. 156).

⁴⁷⁸ The work on these interesting funerary objects is scattered amongst several sources, and no comprehensive treatments exists. For a useful bibliography, see E. Varga, *Napkorong a fej alatt* (Budapest, 1998), especially other articles by Varga.

⁴⁷⁹ Yoyotte, *RdE* 29 (1977): 200.

the bandeau texts suggests a continuation of its normal use as a concluding element in contemporaneous papyri.

Book of the Dead, Chapter 162 (Bandeau encompassing Side Two):⁴⁸⁰

dd mdw ind hr=k p₃ m₃i ‘₃ phty q₃ šw.ty nb wrr.t hn m n₃h
ntk nb m₃^a
rw_d m wbn h₃y
n(n) drw wbn=f
ntk nb hpr.w
‘₃ iwn
h(3)p s(w) m wd₃.t r msw=f^b
ntk n₃š dni.t m-hnw n psd.t
phrr ‘₃ h(3)h nmt.t
ntk n₃r n^cc
ii n ‘₃ n=f
m₃i n hrw=ī
īnk zh
di.k bs hr-tp n R^c
mk s(w) m D₃.t n₃r[t n.t] Iwnw^c
i.n Wsir hm-n₃r imy-r₃ m₃^c Dd-hr s₃ I^ch-ms m₃^c-hrw
di=k hpr bs hr-tp=f
di=k hpr=f m₃i nty hr-tp t₃
ntf s₃=k
im=k hm r=f
ntf b₃ n t₃ h₃.t ‘₃.t nty htp m Iwnw^e
R^c-hpr-itm rn=f^f
m₃i r=k
hpr=f m₃i w^c m šms=k
īy ntf [ntk]

Recitation: Hail o lion, great of strength, high of plumes, lord of the white crown,
provided with the flail.

You are the lord of phallus;
stalwart when rising and illumining,
without limits to his rising!

You are the lord of manifestations,
numerous of colors,
who hides himself in the udjat-eye from his children.

You are loud of war-cry among the Ennead,
great runner, fleet of strides.

⁴⁸⁰ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 206.

You are a kind⁴⁸¹ god,
 who comes to the one who invokes him.
 “Come to my voice,
 for I am the (cosmic) cow!
 Underneath the head of Re have you placed the flame!
 Look, he is in the divine Underworld of Heliopolis!
 So says the Osiris, priest, general Djedher, son of Ahmose, justified.
 May you cause that the flame come about beneath his head!
 May you cause that he become like one upon earth!
 It is he who is your son!
 Do not be forgetful towards him!
 It is he who is the soul of the great corpse which rests in Heliopolis –
 Re-Khepri-Atum is his name!
 Come so that you might cause that he become like one in your entourage
 Indeed, he is [you!]

Book of the Dead, Chapter 162 (Bandeau encompassing Side Three):⁴⁸²

*dd mdw i imn n nʒ imn
 pʒwty(?) hnty m hr.t
 ʃmi hr=k n tʒ hʒ.t n sʒ=k R^c
 swdʒ=k sw m hr.t-ntr
 ʃmi hr=k n tʒ hʒ.t n Wsir hm-ntr imi-rʒ mʃc Dd-hr
 sʒ imi-rʒ mʃc Tʃ-ms mʒc-hrw
 swdʒ=k sw m hr.t-ntr
 ntf hm=k
 hw=k sw m kkw(?)
 nis hr rn=f
 ſm=f hr mw=k
 nn rdi hpr h.t nb dw r=f*

Recitation: Hail o hidden one of the hidden ones!
 Primeval one foremost of heaven!
 Turn your face to the corpse of your son Re!
 May you keep him safe in the necropolis!
 Turn your face to the corpse of the priest and general Djedher,
 son of the general Ahmose, justified.
 May you keep him safe in the necropolis,
 for it is he who is your servant!
 May you protect him from the darkness(?)

⁴⁸¹ CG 29305 spells this word with the nursing cow; the reading *ncc* is suggested by Verhoeven, *Das saitische Totenbuch*, vol. 1, p. 330.

⁴⁸² Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 187 (Maspero does not identify the origin of this spell, but it is part of the concluding instructions to Book of the Dead Chapter 162).

Call out his name,

because he goes upon your water (i.e. is loyal),
without any evil things ever happening to him.

^a The epithets that begin Spell 162 are a description of one of the vignettes of Spell 163—an ithyphallic dwarf, as depicted at the far right side of the bottom bandeau of the head end of this sarcophagus. However, the occurrence of Spell 162 in other contexts, divorced from representations of ithyphallic deities, suggests that the Ahet cow is still the main focus of the spell.⁴⁸³ As the following text notes will demonstrate, much of this text is explicitly related to the solarized pantheistic dwarfs so popular in the Late Period. Here, the epithet “lord of the phallus,” which is followed by a description of the god’s powers of illumination may also be related to the interchange between fire and semen.⁴⁸⁴

^b The cosmic divinity who hides himself within his eye, yet is visible through his multitude of colors is a theme of many solar hymns. The underlying theology can be traced throughout Egyptian religion, but a complete commentary is outside the scope of the present study.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸³ Cf. Cairo CG 676, where the beginning of Spell 162 appears on the base of a statue of cow goddess (for photographs, see H. Sourouzian and R. Stadelmann, “La vache céleste Ihet, protégeant le particulier Padisemataouy,” in N. Grimal, A. Kamel, and C. May-Sheikholeslami, eds., *Hommages Fayza Haikal* [Cairo, 2003], pp. 267-270 who fail to identify the text as Spell 162).

⁴⁸⁴ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 321.

⁴⁸⁵ See the forthcoming treatment by J.C. Darnell, “*For I See the Color of his Uraei*”: *Gnosis and Alchemy in Ramesside Egypt, and the Amarna Origins of the Concept of the Solar Sympatheia*.

^c The Heliopolitan Underworld or Underwordly Heliopolis appears in a surprising number of religious texts,⁴⁸⁶ including several of the Underworld Books.⁴⁸⁷ Just as the god hidden within his eye is found in solar hymns, the description of the corpse of the cosmic dwarf is also found in P. Harris Magical:⁴⁸⁸

“O that dwarf of the sky ...
O great pillar, extending from the sky <to> the underworld
O lord of the great corpse which rests in Heliopolis”

The ithyphallic and pantheistic divinity described in BD 162 is the unified Re-Osiris in the form of a “giant dwarf.” The burial of Re-Osiris within Heliopolis⁴⁸⁹ is a perfect expression of the unity of these two divinities in a single form.

⁴⁸⁶ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 311 n. 47, particularly his references to the phrase *dʒ.t n.t iwnw* and *iwnw n dʒ.t*. Note especially U. Bouriant, “Notes de voyage,” *RdT* 13 (1890): 163, ln. 23 (= *KRI* II 597, ll. 7-8): [...] *iwnw shʒp d.t-f hw.t-bʒ dwʒ.t-f n km.t* “[...] Heliopolis, which hides his body, the *ba*-temple is his Underworld of Egypt.” Assmann also cites pCarlsberg I F III 39, which describes the place in which Re “enters” as Heliopolis (although the reading is uncertain—Lange and Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1*, pp. 37-38 and 13*). To these examples should be added the poorly understood toponyms in the hymn to Osiris on the stela of Amenmose (de Buck, *Readingbook*, pp. 110):

ḥnty dfʒ m Iwnw
nb shʒ m Mʒt.ty
bʒ štʒ nb Qrr.t dsr m Inb-hd
Foremost of provisions in Heliopolis.
Lord of remembrance in Maaty.
Secret of *ba*, lord of Qereret.
Holy one in Memphis.

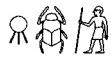
While numerous “locales (*nīw.t*)” exist within the Underworld, the parallelism and use of the city determinative following *qrr.t* indicates that toponyms on earth are being described here (*pace* Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 2, p.81: “secret *ba* of the lord of the cavern”).

⁴⁸⁷ See *supra*.

⁴⁸⁸ Col. VIII, l. 9 (= Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*, pp. 44-46); parallel noted already M.-L. Rhyner, “A propos de trigrammes panthéistes,” *RdE* 29 (1977): 137. See also Dasen, *Dwarfs*, pp. 47-48 for similar descriptions of dwarfs.

⁴⁸⁹ Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 93-94, especially notes 92 and 93.

^d The name of the god invoked in Chapter 162 is written with the following signs:

 Only a tortuous cryptographic process would allow the signs to be read phonetically as the name *Itm*,⁴⁹⁰ while a reading as Re-Khepri-Atum allows for a straightforward interpretation of the signs, maintaining thematic cryptographic references to the triune solar deity. The same cryptogram labels the pantheistic Bes figure in the Brooklyn Magical Papyrus⁴⁹¹ and a related trigram of lotus, lion, and ram also in Chapter 162 survives into Greco-Egyptian magical texts as an epithet of *Akephalos*.⁴⁹² The bases of some Ptaikos figures also feature these signs.⁴⁹³

In addition to the cow that normally forms the vignette to BD 162, CG 29305 also reproduces figures extracted from the vignettes of BD 163-165. Directly behind the cow

⁴⁹⁰ Ryhiner, *RdE* 29 (1977): 125-137; Y. Koenig, “La polymorphie divine en Égypte,” in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds., *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years (Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur)* (Leuven, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 661-664. A majority of the readings offered rest solely on acrophony. Acrophony does appear to be used in isolated instances for trigrams, such as those at Esna, since the possibilities for the readings are limited to divine names, thus mitigating the otherwise chaotic acrophonic system of derivation. If one insisted on reading the three signs here as Atum, the following suggestions offer the most plausible derivation, albeit still fraught with difficulties: the sun disk could possibly read *it* from *iati* (for the vocalization of *itn*, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 95-7); the scarab could easily have the value *t > tʒ* (*ibid.*, p. 25 and references therein), serving both as “phonetic complement” to the sun disk, and representing the transformation of the midday sun; the old man as *m* from *mwt* “death” could be an extension of the use of the prone mummy for *m* (*ibid.*, p. 26), but this is not likely.

⁴⁹¹ P. Derchain, “Le démiurge et la balance,” in *Religions en Egypte hellénistique et romaine* (Paris, 1969), pp. 31-34. The text to the figure in the Brooklyn papyrus also suggest an awareness of the lotus-lion-ram trigram, col. 4, l. 3 reads: *pʒ sr ūfy.t hʒ.t nty m wʒs.t mʒl ʒ hpr dʒ=f ntr ʒ m sp tpy* “the ram, noble of front who is in Thebes, the great lion, who created himself, the great god at the first occasion.”

⁴⁹² See the discussion of *Akephalos* in Chapter 2, *supra*.

⁴⁹³ Y. Koenig, “Les patèques inscrits du Louvre,” *RdE* 43 (1992): 123-132.

is a scarab-bodied figure with a human head and two ram heads to either side, a conflation of the ithyphallic scarab bodied figure and man with three heads in BD 165. This figure is followed by a falcon-headed dwarf, winged Mut with three heads, and a human-headed dwarf,⁴⁹⁴ all depicted ithyphallic as they appear in BD 164. They are followed by two winged walking udjat-eyes, a winged snake with horns, sun disk, and legs, the vignette to BD 163. At the edge of the head end on the right side is another ithyphallic scarab-bodied figure with the double plumes and flail—a deity found in the vignette to BD 165. In total there are *eight* deities depicted alongside the Ahet-cow.

Archetypes of the Ogdoad: Commentary to the Bandea Texts of CG 29305

The three Book of the Dead spells carved on the sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305)—Chapters 71, 148, and 162—share two common elements: a cosmic bovine (or bovines) and a group of eight divinities. Several connections exist between these spells

⁴⁹⁴ Mut and the ithyphallic dwarf with human head are actually *within* the pupil of the udjat-eye, as described in Book of the Dead Chapter 163 (Mosher, *JARCE* 29 [1992]: 161-62):

*dd mdw hr hf(z) hr rd.wy snw itn ‘b.wy
iw wd3 snw ‘h(.w) m-b3h-f hr rd.wy hr dnḥ
nty m p3 dfd n w‘ twt n f3i-‘
m hr n Bs hr šw.ty z.t=f m bik
m-hnw n p3 dfd n t3 kt f3i-‘ m hr n Nt hr šw.ty z.t=f m bik*

Words to be recited over a snake with two legs, a sun disk, and two horns,
while two udjat-eyes with two legs and two wings stand before it,
that which is in the pupil of one: an image of He-raised-of-arm,
with the face of Bes, wearing the double plumes, his back
that of a falcon,
inside of the pupil of the other is: One-raised-of-arm, with the face
of Neith wearing the double plumes, his back that of a falcon.

The goddess Mut is equated with Neith, who is even referenced with a masculine suffix pronoun (*z.t=f*).

and the Underworld Books with which they appear on the sarcophagus of Djedher. In the corpus of the Underworld Books, including the so-called Books of the Sky, the Ogdoad, or members thereof, are restricted to the last hour of the night and participate in the events directly before sunrise. For example, on the Type II sarcophagi, Heh and Hehet assist the birth of the sun god from the potter's wheel (top left corner of Side 4/foot end). These three specific Book of the Dead spells involve the creative impulse, be it speech or sexual procreation, thus reinforcing the image of the solar god who is rejuvenated in Underworld, as depicted around the sarcophagus. The bandeau texts (Chapters 71, 148, 178 and 162) that wrap about this model of the Underworld enhance the magical efficacy of the images by describing the original creative act(s) of Re-Horakhty-Atum on which the nightly regeneration of the sun is founded.

Chapter 71, the first spell of the sequence, describes creation through speech—Mehetweret, the cosmic cow, creates the world through the seven Djaisu, personified creative utterances,⁴⁹⁵ as the cosmological texts in the Ptolemaic temples of Edfu⁴⁹⁶ and Esna⁴⁹⁷ express in detail. At Esna, as in the version of Chapter 71 on CG 29305, the Djaisu are connected with Mehetweret, a form of the goddess Neith, who in her bovine

⁴⁹⁵ For general overviews of the Djaisu, see Rochholz, *Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration*, pp. 42-44 and references therein; Koenig, *Le papyrus Boulaq 6*, pp. 105-6. The Djaisu are also connected with the 77 guardian deities, which similarly appear on the interior of the sarcophagus CG 29305 (see Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens*, vol. 1, pp. 186-88 for the connection between the two groups, but he does not note their joint appearance on the sarcophagus of Djedher).

⁴⁹⁶ Chassinat, *Edfou VI* 181,10; Finnestad, *Image of the World*, p. 25, citing Edfu VIII 108, 20.

⁴⁹⁷ Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, pp. 253ff. The text appears in Sauneron, *Esna III*, text 206.

manifestation can also be called *ʒh.t*,⁴⁹⁸ the same cow that appears in Chapter 162. The seven *tzw* of Book of the Dead Chapter 71 (and its Coffin Text predecessors) are identical to the seven *dʒisw* of Ptolemaic texts,⁴⁹⁹ and the version of the spell of CG 29305 (and other Late Period copies of this spell⁵⁰⁰) may be one of the foundations of the Ptolemaic texts.⁵⁰¹ The connection between the Mehetweret and Ahet cows on CG 29305 in particular suggests a Nectanebid (or earlier) pedigree for parts of the Esna cosmogony. The presence of Mehet-weret is also consistent with the figures from the Litany of Re on the head end of the sarcophagus:⁵⁰²

prr R^c m Mh-wr.t

htp dmd n.t wr.t

Just as Re emerges from Mehetweret,
so does the United One go to rest in the great flood.

⁴⁹⁸ El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith*, vol. 1, pp. 24-27.

⁴⁹⁹ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, p. 1217 and references therein; Koenig, *Le papyrus Boulaq 6*, pp. 105-6.

⁵⁰⁰ E.g. P. Ryerson, OIM 9787 = Allen, *Book of the Dead*, pl. XXIV, spell 71, ll. 29-30 (dated as Persian-Ptolemaic by *ibid.*, p. 11). On Louvre D7 (a stone anthropoid sarcophagus), seven falcons are labeled as *dʒisw* (R. El-Sayed, “A propos des spells 407 et 408 des CT,” *RdE* 26 [1974]: 81, citing Buhl, *Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, pp. 99-100), further emphasizing their role (especially in the Late Period) as protectors of Osiris (as noted already by Goyon, *Les dieux gardiens*, vol. 1, p. 187 n. 8).

⁵⁰¹ The pairing of Mehetweret and her seven Djaisu with a “falcon who comes forth from Nun” further suggests a relationship with the cosmology of Edfu temple, where the primordial falcon settles on a reed floating in the great flood, accompanied by the Djaisu (for earlier work on the text “Enumerations of the Mounds of the First Time,” see the references in D. Kurth, “Über den Ursprung des Tempels von Edfu,” in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten (FS Derchain)* [Leuven, 1991], pp. 189-202).

⁵⁰² Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 179-80.

Although normally seven in number, a group of eight Djaisu can be related to the Ogdoad,⁵⁰³ and the seven Djaisu with Mehetweret create a group of eight divinities. Chapter 148 also forms an Ogdoad from seven similar gods with a contrasting divinity—the seven heavenly cows and their bull. That their sum is eight cannot be fortuitous, since the four male-female pairs of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad can collectively assume the forms of a bull and a cow.⁵⁰⁴

The Ahet cow, the focus of Chapter 162, is yet another hypostasis of Mehetweret, and both bovines share with Neith the qualities of an androgynous creator deity.⁵⁰⁵ Most of the text in Chapter 162 actually describes the ithyphallic creator deities in the vignette of BD 163-165, foremost among them being a depiction of the goddess Mut with an erect phallus.⁵⁰⁶ The Neith-like qualities of the goddess Mut are not only made explicit in the

⁵⁰³ A series of eight Djaisu are closely related to the Ogdoad of Djeme—compare their presence opposite one another in the “Throne of Re” chapel at Edfu (S. Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie du temple d'Horus à Edfou* [Cairo, 1987], vol. 1, pp. 21-22). Like the Ogdoad, the Djaisu die after completing their creative task (El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith*, p. 57).

⁵⁰⁴ Smith, *On the Primeval Ocean*, pp. 50-53; F. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 156-157.

⁵⁰⁵ El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith*, pp. 58-62.

⁵⁰⁶ The ithyphallic Mut is briefly discussed by L. Troy, “Mut Enthroned,” in J. van Dijk, ed., *Essays in Honour of Herman Te Velde* (Groningen, 1997), p. 310. For women enacting male gender roles, see Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 108-109, n. 17; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 15-20. In a discussion of ithyphallic Wadjet otters, Brunner-Traut suggests that the phallus alludes to their victory over the powers of chaos (“Ägyptische Mythen im Physiologus (zu Kapitel 26, 25, and 11),” in W. Helck, ed., *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* [Wiesbaden, 1968], pp. 24-28). The ithyphallic scarabs also aid rebirth in a funerary context; compare the statement in the short demotic funerary text on Berlin Äg. Inv. 7227: *qm3 p3y=k b(3).w n ipy wr* “Your ba will create as a great winged scarab.” (translation by M. Smith, “A Demotic Coffin Inscription,” in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds. *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years* [Leuven, 1998], p. 429, reading *ipy* with serpent determinative as ‘*py*; he does not suggest a connection with an ithyphallic scarab, which would further support his reading).

description of her in BD 163,⁵⁰⁷ but are also emphasized in the association between the ithyphallic Mut figure and her similarly ithyphallic dwarf companions, since Neith has a strong connection with dwarfs.⁵⁰⁸ The appearance of Mut-Neith as an ithyphallic goddess also fits well with the imagery in the Book of Amduat, particularly the four Neith goddesses at the end of the middle register of the Eleventh Hour. The first and last of this quartet are named *N.t tȝit* “masculine Neith” and *N.t-Wsir* “Neith-Osiris.”⁵⁰⁹ The representation of the ithyphallic goddess on CG 29305 does not necessarily relate to Neith’s physical characteristics, but rather a pun on her ability to *sȝt* “ejaculate,” a reference to her creative powers as well as her defense of Re, when she *sȝt*’s flame.⁵¹⁰ Such acts can directly benefit the deceased person as Osiris; compare the famous statement of Isis in the “Glorifications of Osiris.”⁵¹¹

ir.n=ȝ tȝy iw=ȝ m hm.t m-mrwt n sȝnh rn=k hr-tp tȝ
I became male, although I am female, in order to vivify your name on earth.

Each of these spells draws on the divine power of the solar divinity through a different constellation of gods. Spells 148 and 162 address a god who illuminates within his disk, while the vignettes from BD 163-165 represent the multitude of his forms. The walking udjat-eyes, ithyphallic gods and Mut (two of which are actually inside the pupils

⁵⁰⁷ See *supra*.

⁵⁰⁸ El- Sayed, *La déesse Neith*, pp. 130-31; Koenig, *Le papyrus Boulaq 6*, p. 70. Although no dwarves are depicted in the Underworld Books, descriptions of solar dwarfs can relate them with the Netherworld (Dasen, *Dwarfs*, pp. 47-48).

⁵⁰⁹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 779, nos. 800 and 804; *idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 27 (commenting on a depiction of Neith with a beard) and p. 180. These hypostases of Neith appear on the foot end of the Type II sarcophagi, including CG 29305.

⁵¹⁰ Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 17-18.

⁵¹¹ P. Louvre 3279, col. 110, l. 10; see Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 18 for similar statements.

of the udjat-eyes) are all “manifestations of the magically efficacious solar deity himself.”⁵¹² The same statement is equally true of Neith and her seven magical utterances as well as the fertile cows and their engendering bull. These manifestations recall the creation of the world through an androgynous deity who can create through speech or sexual activity. Such manifestations appear again in the forms of the sun god accompanying the addresses to the Litany of Re; these forms are not unique to CG 29305, like the chapters from the Book of the Dead, but appear on all Type II sarcophagi.

DECORATION OF THE LID AND INTERIOR

The incomplete state of the publication of the Late Period sarcophagi prohibits a comprehensive treatment of the texts on the lids of the sarcophagi. The sarcophagi of Shebmin and Ankhhor were found without their lids, while the lid of the sarcophagus of Gemhap is smaller than the *cuve* and contains texts only from the Book of the Dead.⁵¹³ The only Type II sarcophagus lid which has been published and collated belongs to the Djedher (CG 29305);⁵¹⁴ this is fortuitous, since its decorative scheme is also unique among the entire corpus of Late Period sarcophagi treated in this work.

Like many of the sarcophagus lids, the lid of CG 29305 has a trapezoidal shape in cross-section, creating a flat upper surface and two sloping sides, all three of which are

⁵¹² J.C. Darnell, “The Apotropaic Goddess in the Eye,” *SAK* 24 (1997): 39.

⁵¹³ A.J. Spencer, in Davies, ed., *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities*, p. 19 notes that the lid was probably a re-use from an earlier burial.

⁵¹⁴ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, pp. 162-168; collated by the author in December, 2002.

covered with scenes and texts. The upper portion contains texts derived from Book of the Dead Chapters 154 and 89, while the sloping sides are dominated by the twelve hours of the day and night, personified by twenty-four goddesses, each with an annotation containing their name and an action they perform on behalf of the deceased. The names of the hours of the night are identical to those on the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta, as well as the anthropoid coffin of Payeftchauawyiset.⁵¹⁵

The interior of the Type II sarcophagi are also poorly published, but none use the Underworld Books on the interior walls. The sarcophagi of Shebmin and Ankhhor are similar to the Type I sarcophagi, reproducing large-scale figures of well-known funerary deities, such as the four sons of Horus. The sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305), on the other hand, contains hundreds of gods on its interior surfaces. The description of a group of these gods is particularly important for Late Period religion.⁵¹⁶

*i ntr 77 ipw rdi.n R^c m s₃ Wsīr
ir=t_n s₃ hr Wsīr imi-r₃ m^sc Dd-hr m^sc-hrw mi ir=t_n s₃ hr Wsīr
swd₃=t_n s(w) hw=t_n s(w)
nhm=t_n sw m-^c h.t nb dw*

O these 77 gods whom Re has placed as the protection of Osiris!
May you make protection for the Osiris, general, Djedher,
as you make protection over Osiris.
May you keep him safe! May you protect him!
May you save him from all evil things!

⁵¹⁵ G. Soukiassian, “Une version des veillées horaires d’Osiris,” *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 336-341.

⁵¹⁶ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 207.

These seventy-seven deities are the same guardian deities attested in other Nectanebid monuments and the temple of Edfu, discussed extensively by Goyon.⁵¹⁷ Interestingly, their appearance on the sarcophagus of CG 29305 and similar guardian deities on the lids of Djedher (Louvre D8) and Tjaihorpata (29306) coincide with descriptions of the seventy-seven gods in Late Period papyri. For more on these deities, see *infra*.

⁵¹⁷ The passage on CG 29305 is cited by Goyon, *Les dieux gardiens*, vol. 1, p. 215. For protective deities of Osiris emanating from Re, see also Goyon, *BIAFO* 75 (1975): 370 and n. 2, citing this passage and texts from the temple of Edfu.

CHAPTER 4

SARCOPHAGUS TYPE III: AMDUAT AND LITANY OF RE SARCOPHAGI

The four sarcophagi of Type III derive the majority of their decorative scheme from the Book of Amduat, with some excerpts from the Litany of Re. The weight given to the Book of Amduat places these sarcophagi more closely within the tradition of the Amduat papyri than the other sarcophagi treated in this work. Like the Amduat papyri, the Type III sarcophagi show a substantial amount of variation, but they differ from the Third Intermediate Period papyri in their choice of hours from the Book of Amduat. While the papyri use the ninth through twelfth hours almost exclusively, the sarcophagi employ a range of the nightly hours. The only two sarcophagi which derive from a single template are those of Nectanebo II (British Museum EA 10) and Usermaatre (CG 29309), both of which add a lower register beneath the hours of Amduat containing figures and addresses from the Litany of Re. The sarcophagus of Wereshnefer combines a nearly complete copy of the Book of Amduat with all seventy-four figures from the Litany of Re (see below “Overview of Texts”).

The sarcophagi treated in the previous two chapters, as well as the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, provide unique opportunities to understand the conception of the Underworld in the Late Period, as well as the state of Underworld Book scholarship a thousand years after they first appear in New Kingdom royal tombs. Each of these other sarcophagi contain either little known Netherworld texts (Type I), combine excerpts of texts in innovative ways (Type II), or reproduce parts of each “book” to form a unified whole (Type IV/Tjaihorpata). The Amduat sarcophagi, although an important component

of the Late Period sarcophagi corpus, do not provide the same type of information. Type III sarcophagi contribute to Late Period Underworld theology in two ways: 1) the arrangement of the hours of Amduat, particularly which hours are omitted and how the hours interact with the Litany of Re, and 2) they provide further Late Period copies of the Book of Amduat. The latter point is more suited for a text critical analysis of Amduat,¹ which is beyond the scope of the current study, whose primary focus is situating the sarcophagi within the theology of the Late Period.

This chapter will examine the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre in depth, since they combine at least two Underworld compositions. A complete translation of the hours of Amduat as well as the passages from the Litany of Re on the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer is not presented here, since the texts on his sarcophagus remain unpublished.² The sarcophagus of Hor contains only a fraction of the texts on the other Type III sarcophagi; Hor's sarcophagus like that of Wereshnefer uses exclusively the Book of Amduat in the decoration of the *cune*. The First, Second, Third, Sixth, Eighth, and Ninth hours of Amduat, which are common to Nectanebo II and Tjaihorpata (Type

¹ See *supra*, Introduction. Additionally, since this work seeks to put the sarcophagi in a larger context, the nearly 1000 names in the Book of Amduat will not be dealt with in their entirety. The commentary to the copies of the Book of Amduat focus on the texts, with some notes concerning iconographic differences with the New Kingdom versions; in depth treatment of each detail of the scenes will be available in the forthcoming publications of the sarcophagi (see below).

² The author and I. Régen are in the process of publishing this sarcophagus, and that forthcoming work will deal with the wealth of texts on the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer. Again, since the present work is not concerned with every variant in each Late Period copy, a complete translation based on the version of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer is unnecessary for the goals of this work.

IV),³ are translated in this chapter, while the Seventh Hour as well as the Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Hours appear in the next chapter. The only two hours of Amudat not present in either Tjaihorpata or Nectanebo II are the Fourth and Fifth, which have been commented upon in Chapter 3. Again, the unpublished status of the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer, a Type III sarcophagus which contains the complete text to the Fourth and Fifth Hours, prevents their inclusion here, but will appear in the forthcoming publication of that sarcophagus.

LIST OF TYPE III SARCOPHAGI:

British Museum EA 10: Nectanebo II

The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, one of the treasures of the British Museum,⁴ rests appropriately near the Shabaka Stone, both objects containing a wealth of information on Egyptian religion. This sarcophagus is the only extant royal sarcophagus, with the exception of fragments of the sarcophagus of Nectanebo I, after the Twentieth Dynasty that is not usurped from an earlier New Kingdom sarcophagus.⁵ Its original archaeological context is unknown, since the sarcophagus was discovered in the mosque of St. Athanasius; whether the sarcophagus ever held the body of Nectanebo II is also uncertain. In a small monograph, *Das Dekorationsprogramm des Sarkophages*

³ See Chapter 5 for an examination of this sarcophagus. The version of Tjaihorpata has been collated on several occasions by the author. A new edition of this sarcophagus will be available in C. Manassa and I. Régen, *Huit sarcophages tardifs du musée du Caire*, MIFAO, forthcoming.

⁴ It is only due to the military losses of the French that the sarcophagus did not make it to the Louvre—"it was the property of the French government and already embarked on the ship *La Cause* for transport to France when confiscated" (M.L. Bierbrier, "The Acquisition by the British Museum of Antiquities Discovered during the French Invasion of Egypt," in W.V. Davies, ed., *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities. A Tribute to T.G.H. James* [London, 1999], p. 111).

⁵ Jenni, *Das Dekorationsprogramm*, p. 1.

Nektanebos II., H. Jenni examined the differences between the texts on the sarcophagus and those in New Kingdom tombs and provided a brief description of the layout of the texts.⁶ The only copies of this sarcophagus are the admirable drawings in the *Description de l'Égypte*⁷ and the plates in S. Sharpe's *Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum*.⁸ The images of the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II in the present work (pls. 100-103) are based on the *Description* copies and photographs reproduced with permission of the British Museum; the translations and commentary incorporate collations made by Jeffery Spencer as well as drawings and collations made by the author in situ.

CG 29309/ Geneva MAH 18050, 27806/ MMA 04.2.539: Usermaatre

The sarcophagus of Usermaatre is distributed among three different museum collections, but only the head end of the sarcophagus and part of its right wall are extant. These pieces have been collected and published with hand-copies by H. Jenni,⁹ who also offers some translations and comparisons of the text with New Kingdom versions. She dates the sarcophagus to the reign of Nectanebo II, since the decorative scheme is identical to the pharaoh's sarcophagus, but also notes that a date in the early Ptolemaic

⁶ For the shortcomings in her work, see the review by A. de Caluwe (*CdÉ* 62 [1987]: 79-80), who noted: “C'est ainsi que plusieurs problèmes essentiels, propres à la tradition tardive, comme la chronologie relative et la relation interne des différents textes, sont passés inaperçus!”

⁷ *Antiquités*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1822), pls. 40-41; for a convenient reprint (one of many), see C.C. Gilleispie and M. Dewachter, *The Monuments of Egypt. The Napoleonic Edition* (Old Saybrook, 1987).

⁸ Vol. 1, pls. 28-32; photos appear in numerous overviews, which are not listed here. The frequency with which the images on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II are misidentified is important to note. For example, the caption in Ikram and Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, p. 271 states “decorated with the Book of Gates, like many Ramesside pieces,” which is a misleading conflation of the decoration of the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II with that of Seti I.

⁹ “Der Sarkophag Usermaatres,” in A. Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 93-161.

date cannot be ruled out.¹⁰ The greatest difference between the sarcophagus of Usermaatre and the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II is the inclusion of a scene from the Creation of the Solar Disk on the head end.¹¹

Louvre D10: Hor, son of Tarotenbatet

The sarcophagus of Hor contains the scenes from Hours 1-3 and 6-12 of the Book of Amduat on the exterior of the *couvercle*, but the accompanying texts are limited to the Short Amduat.¹² Although the arrangement of the hours of Amduat on this sarcophagus will be considered below, the small amount of texts lessens its importance for the present investigation. The sarcophagus of Hor remains unpublished, outside of brief descriptions.¹³

MMA 14.7.1: Wereshnefer

Outside of small photos and general descriptions, this sarcophagus unfortunately remains unpublished, but a complete publication is currently underway.¹⁴ The original location of the tomb in which the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer was found is unknown, but

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹¹ This scene is identical to the decoration on the head end of the Type I sarcophagi (see *supra*, Chapter 2).

¹² This conclusion is based on photos kindly shared by I. Régen, where the Abregé of the Twelfth Hour is visible; this appears to be the case with all the hours on the exterior, and it is likely the same for the inside of the sarcophagus.

¹³ C. Boreux, *Musée national du Louvre, Dépt. des antiquités égyptiennes, guide-catalogue sommaire* (Paris, 1932), pp. 113-14; Jenni, *Das Dekorationsprogramm.*, p. 9.

¹⁴ For earlier bibliography, see Arnold, in Berger and Mathieu, eds., *Études sur l'Ancien Empire*, p. 36. The forthcoming publication of MMA 14.7.1 (by the author and I. Régen, IFAO) will include several of the sarcophagi in the British Museum.

it was probably located south of the Serapeum causeway.¹⁵ The exact date of the sarcophagus is also uncertain, but there is nothing to suggest a date outside the Thirtieth Dynasty through early Ptolemaic Period.

Partial Parallel: Berlin 29, Padisis

The sarcophagus of Padisis, almost completely unpublished,¹⁶ contains an interesting mixture of elements found on other sarcophagi, particularly the lids of Louvre D8 and Tjaihorpata. The rounded head end contains a portion of the First Hour of Amduat, while Sides Two and Three reproduce the fierce guardian deities present on the sides of the lids of Louvre D8 and Tjaihorpata. Side Four of Berlin 29 shows the solar barks prow to prow, a scene identical to the foot end of the lids of Louvre D8 and Tjaihorpata. The upper portion of the lid contains a large image of the goddess Shetayt from the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns, with a selection of annotations; the goddess Shetayt also appears on the floor of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, and both versions are translated in Chapter 5, *infra*.

OVERVIEW OF TEXTS

AMDUAT

The hours of the Book of Amduat on the Type III sarcophagi are complete in both their depictions and texts. The sarcophagus of Wereshnefer (MMA 14.7.1) has the most

¹⁵ See Arnold, in Berger and Mathieu, eds., *Études sur l'Ancien Empire*, p. 37 for an analysis of the archival material.

¹⁶ Schmidt, *Sarkofager*, p. 214 no. 1216 contains a photo of the Sides 1 and 3; the description presented here is based on images provided by Dr. Ingeborg Müller and Jürgen Liepe.

complete version of the Amduat, omitting only the Eighth Hour. Hor's sarcophagus (Louvre D10) includes ten of the twelve hours of the night, leaving off the Fourth and Fifth Hours, where the sun travels through the “Land of Sokar.” The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II contains the First, Second, Third, Sixth, Eighth, and Ninth Hours of Amduat, and the preserved portions of the sarcophagus of Usermaatre have the First through Third Hours with the same orientation, so one can assume the remainder of the decorative scheme follows that of Nectanebo II. The annotations above each register are continuous, like those on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. However, in most cases, the texts are carefully arranged so that the annotation to a new scene begins at the top of a column. In the rare cases where this does not happen, the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II contains a horizontal line separating the annotation of one scene from another,¹⁷ indicating that scene divisions were maintained in the Late Period.

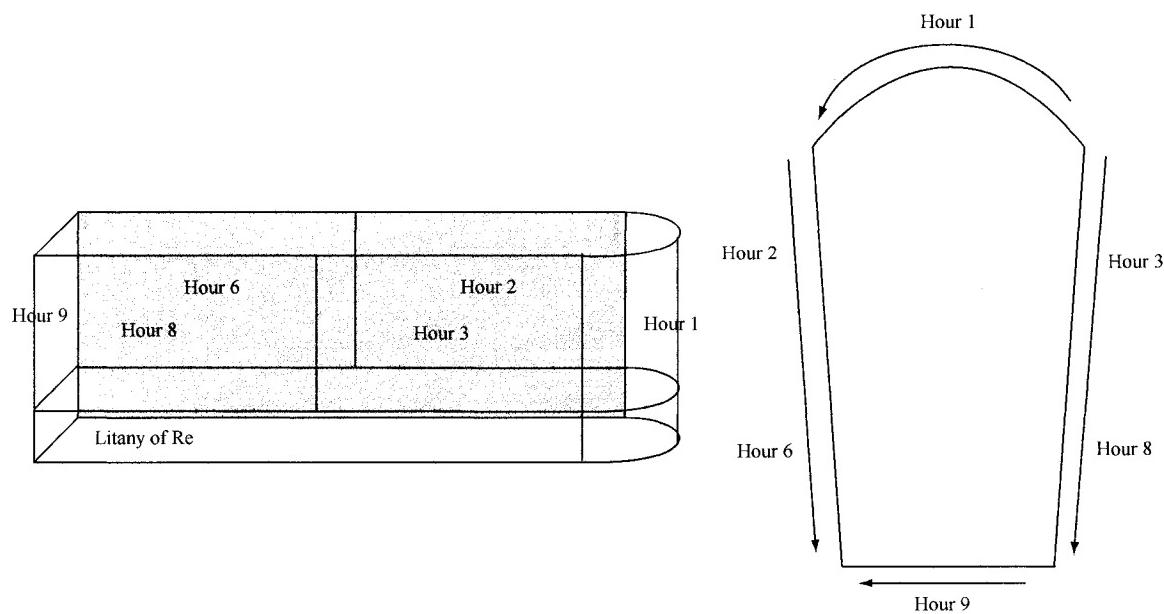


Fig. 51: Distribution of Amduat on the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II/Usermaatre¹⁸

¹⁷ E.g. Side Two, Sixth Hour of Amduat, lower register, line 15.

¹⁸ Side Two of the sarcophagi is shaded to make the walls easier to distinguish.

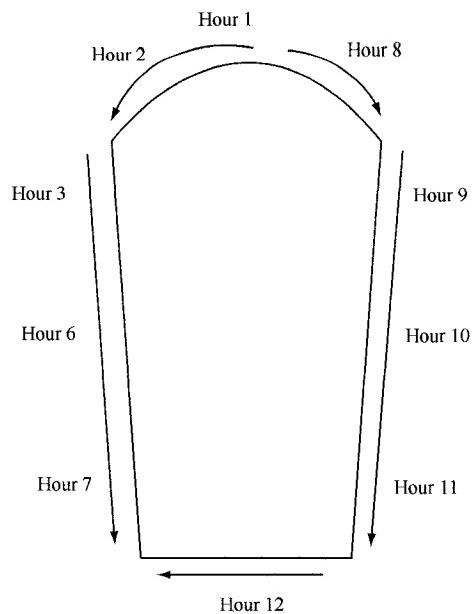


Fig. 52: Distribution of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Djedher (Louvre D10)¹⁹

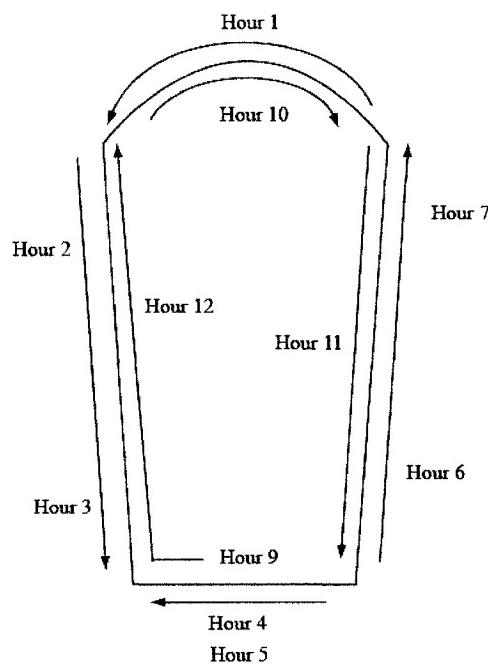


Fig. 53: Distribution of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer

¹⁹ Jenni, *Sarkophage Nektanebos' II.*, p. 9.

LITANY OF RE

The sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre contain addresses from the Great Litany of the Litany of Re, and the lid of the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer contains all seventy-four forms of the sun god. On the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre, as with the Type II sarcophagi, the highest numbered addresses are associated with the First Hour of Amduat and move progressively lower through the hours of the night. Amazingly, the sequence of addresses on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II along Sides One, Two, and part of Side Three is *identical* to the order of the addresses on the Type II sarcophagi; translations and commentaries of all addresses common to the Type II and Type III sarcophagi appear in Chapter 3, while those present only on the Type III sarcophagi are translated at the end of the discussion of each side of the sarcophagus. For more on this Late Period sequence, see *infra*, Conclusion.

CREATION OF THE SOLAR DISK

Interestingly, the sarcophagus of Usermaatre adds a scene from the Creation of the Solar Disk on the head end, next to the First Hour of Amduat.²⁰ The text to the scene does not match that of the Creation of the Solar Disk, rather the text which accompanies the scene on Side One of the Type I sarcophagi. The presence of the scene next to the First Hour of Amduat, the “opening” text of the sarcophagus, also argues against the scene being interpreted strictly as a “closing” scene.²¹ Just as the lid of one Type I

²⁰ Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, pp. 116-17 and p. 144 for the text; as she notes, this sarcophagus is not included in Myśliwiec’s list of examples (*BIFAO* 81, Supp. [1981]: 91-106).

²¹ See *supra*, Chapter 2.

sarcophagus matches the lid of Tjaihorpata, here an otherwise Type III sarcophagus uses a scene present on all Type I sarcophagi. The presence of the scene from the Creation of the Solar Disk on the sarcophagus of Usermaatre cautions against a strict interpretation of the sarcophagus types given in this work. Although the divisions are necessary for scholarly comparison and do indicate the existence of original templates, like the Underworld Books themselves, the Egyptians felt capable of mixing elements from different sarcophagus types.

SIDE ONE: BOOK OF AMDUAT, FIRST HOUR

The common element of all Type III sarcophagi is the presence of the First Hour of Amduat on the head end of the sarcophagus, a trait they share with the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. As just noted, the sarcophagus of Usermaatre also adds the scene and text which appears on Side One of the Type I sarcophagi, which was treated in Chapter 2.²² Louvre D10 is alone in adding the Second and Eighth Hours to the head end of the sarcophagus. Beneath the First Hour of Amduat, the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre have the following addresses from the Litany of Re: 74, 75, 69, 71, 73, 63, 65, and Nectanebo II adds 67 at the end of this sequence.

The plethora of divinities that make up the First Hour are arranged in six different registers, instead of the normal three in the remainder of the Book of Amduat. On the sarcophagi of Usermaatre, Nectanebo II, and Wereshnefer, the deities are not within separate compartments, but march along the register in single file.²³ The texts differ

²² For a translation and commentary on this text, see *supra*.

²³ The arrangement into boxes, like the New Kingdom versions, appears on the Type II sarcophagi.

greatly from the earlier New Kingdom copies of the Amduat in particular sections, especially in the descriptions of the groups of divinities. The Late Period versions offer entirely new interpretations of the functions of these divinities and the sarcophagi request that those deities act for the deceased as well as for Re. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata reproduces the arrangement of the First Hour on the Type III sarcophagi, so variants of his sarcophagus are included; the only divergence on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is the continuance of figures from the First Hour onto Side Two of his sarcophagus. The inclusion of the text of Tjaihorpata in this chapter allows for a significant conclusion. Although Tjaihorpata often differs slightly from the other Type III sarcophagi, his text is obviously based on the same template as the other Late Period texts, and this common Late Period template is entirely different from all attested New Kingdom versions.

The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata begins with a horizontal bandeau above the First Hour of Amduat, which is not present on the other sarcophagi. The text is a hybrid of the title of the First Hour in the long version of the Amduat²⁴ and the description of the hour in the Short Amduat.²⁵

TJAIHORPATA, INTRODUCTORY TEXT

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 285

Parallels: Similar to the Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 110-113

w3.t št3.t n.t imnt.t
‘q ntr pn m t3 m ‘rry.t n.t 3h.t imnt.t
i<tr>w 120 pw hr sqd m ‘rry.t tn
ni spr(t)=fr²⁶ ntr.w dw3.tyw

²⁴ Beginning with ‘q and ending with ntr.w dw3.tyw, the text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is mostly parallel to Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 110-113.

²⁵ See *supra*, Chapter 3.

²⁶ Written as iw.

nt R^c rn n sh.t tp.t dw³.t
 hnb.n=f²⁷ 3h.wt r-sn ntr.w imy.w ht=f
 š3^c=f ir.t shr.w n dw³(tyw) n sh.t tn
 š3^c=f ir.t shr.w n Wsir ... T3i-hr-p3-t3 m3^c hrw
 mi imy.w ht=f m dw³.t

The secret road of the west.
 This god enters into the earth at this approach of the western horizon.
 It is 120 miles of sailing in this approach,
 before he reaches the gods of the Underworld.
 The water of Re is the name of the first field of the Underworld.
 He assigns fields to them, namely the gods who are in his following.
 He commences taking care of the Underworld (gods) of this field.
 May he commence taking care of Osiris ... Tjaihorpata justified,
 like those who are in his following in the Underworld.

UPPER REGISTER

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 100
 Usermaatre: Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, pp. 130-31
 Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 285-286, 240
 Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 114-26

SCENE 1

Depiction: Nine Baboons

rn.w nw ntr.w wnw n b3 n ntr c₃
 sšm htp.w^a n psd.t m imn.t
 sšm=sn htp.w n Wsir N

Names of the gods who open for the ba of the great god,
 who present floral offerings for the Ennead in the West.
 May they present floral offerings for Osiris N.

^a The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata writes *rn.w n.w ntr.w sšm htp* ..., omitting the “opening” function of the baboons.

The primary role of baboons in Egyptian religion is the acclamation of Re in the eastern horizon, yet here they open the door-leaves of the western horizon rather than

²⁷ For a *sdm.n-f* replacing a dramatic *sdm-f*, see *infra*.

those of the east.²⁸ Baboons at the entrance to the Underworld presage the triumphant appearance of the sun in the eastern horizon.²⁹ The Late Period versions are unanimous in giving the baboons the added role of offering floral bouquets to the Ennead in the West,³⁰ a passage not attested in any New Kingdom versions of the Amduat.³¹ This ennead of baboons are the underworldly counterparts to their eastern cousins who acclaim Re at sunrise, just as Re himself can be the “Netherworldly baboon.”³² Some of the names given to this troop of baboons alludes to their location—“Flesh,”³³ “Heart of the earth,”³⁴ and “He who is within the earth (*hri-ib t3*).”³⁵

SCENE 2

Depiction: Twelve Goddesses

*rn.w nw ntr.wt sšm.w ntr ‘3 (m imnt.t)*³⁶

²⁸ See *supra*.

²⁹ As such, they are yet another example of the intentional switch of east and west to represent the ever-recurring solar cycle (for this phenomenon, see Ph. Derchain, “Perpetuum mobile,” *OLP* 6-7 [1975-76]: 153-61).

³⁰ For the term *htp.w*, see *Wb.* III 195.18-19; for bouquets in funerary contexts, see J. Dittmar, *Blumen und Blumensträuße als Opfergabe im alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1986), pp. 109ff. The recipient of the bouquets—the Ennead—appear elsewhere in connection with the solar cycle, particularly the eastern horizon, but also within the Underworld (Barta, *Götterkreis der Neunheit*, pp. 30-31).

³¹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 114.

³² Litany of Re, Address 69 (see *supra*, Chapter 3); this address also appears on Side One of the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre.

³³ The reading of this name as “flesh” is upheld by the flesh determinative (thrice repeated on Tjaihorpata) in all the sarcophagi, countering Hornung’s translation “Der zufreudet” (*Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 11; however, his discussion of this name remains useful).

³⁴ Amduat nos. 2 and 4 (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 115).

³⁵ This is the reinterpretation of the name *ib-ib-t3* (no. 5) made by the sarcophagi of Usermaatre and Tjaihorpata, while Nectanebo II keeps the earlier version.

³⁶ Phrase added by Tjaihorpata.

sšm-sn Wsir N r bw nb mr.n=f im mi R^c
rdi{t}=sn nh=f m wi3=f

Names of the goddesses who lead the great god (in the West).
May they lead Osiris N to every place which he desires like Re.
May they cause that he live in the bark.

The description of these goddesses on the Late Period sarcophagi indicates that they are hypostases of Hathor, *nb.t wi3*, who stands at the prow of the solar bark during the twelve hours of the night. Such is not apparent from the New Kingdom texts: *rn.w n.w ntr.w snsny imy-t3* “names of the goddesses who praise the one within the earth.” Furthermore, the late interpretation of their function correlates them perfectly with the twelve hour goddesses.

SCENE 3

Depiction: Nine kneeling gods, three each with crocodile, jackal, and human heads

rn.w nw ntr.w snsny R^c
dw3-sn Wsir N hr nb.w dw3.t mi imyw-t3

Name of the gods who praise Re,
May they adore the Osiris N before the lords of the Duat,
like those who are within the Earth.³⁷

The verb *snsny* is borrowed from the New Kingdom descriptions to the twelve goddesses in Scene 2. Although the wording on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata differs from Usermaatre and Nectanebo II, using the verb *dw3* like the New Kingdom versions, the texts are clearly based on the same template.

SCENE 4

Depiction: Twelve Hour Goddesses

³⁷ Tjaihorpata: *rn.w n.w ntr.w dw3 R^c m imnt.t dw3-sn Wsir N mi nb t3-dsr* “Names of the gods who adore Re. May they adore Osiris N like the lord of the sacred land.”

*rn.w nw ntr.wt m³c.ywt^a ntr m (m)skt.t
rdit-sn nh Wsir N m (m)skt.t mi R^c r^c nb*

Names of the goddesses who properly lead the god in the night bark,
May they cause that the Osiris N live in the night bark like Re every day.³⁸

^a Although this passage differs lexicographically from the description of the twelve goddesses in the New Kingdom versions, it should be similar in meaning to the earlier text:³⁹ *rn.w n.w ntr.wt sšm.ywt ntr t₃* “Names of the goddesses who lead the great god.”

However, Jenni translates the version on the sarcophagus of Usermaatre as: ““Namen der Göttinnen. Die beiden Wahrheiten ziehen ([st]z) den Gott in der Nachbarke.”⁴⁰ Two Maat-goddesses do haul the solar bark in the First Hour, but the label should, like the New Kingdom versions, refer to the activity of the twelve goddesses in the top register. The verb *m³c* “to lead” (*Wb.* II 23.1-2) is synonymous with *sšm*, but has the benefit of the

nuance “leading properly” (*Wb.* II 23.8). The odd orthography  on the sarcophagus of Usermaatre is probably a confusion resulting from the full participial ending of the feminine plural *.ywt*,⁴¹ also present in the New Kingdom versions, further influenced by the two Maat goddesses in the middle register of the First Hour.⁴²

³⁸ Tjaihorpata: *rn.w n.w ntr.wt sns sn R^c sns=sn Wsir N mi imy.w t₃* “Names of the goddesses who adore Re. May they adore Osiris N like those who are within the earth.”

³⁹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 122-23.

⁴⁰ Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, p. 104.

⁴¹ GEG §357 (p. 274), as he notes, the feminine is almost always written *.t* with plural strokes, although by comparison with the masculine form of the plural participle the full ending is *.ywt*.

⁴² Westendorf has suggested the name of the goddess Maat may even derive from the verb *m³c* “to lead” (“Ursprung und Wesen der Maat, der altägyptischen Göttin des Rechts, der Gerechtigkeit und der Weltordnung,” in S. Lauffer, ed., *Festgabe für Dr. Walter Will* [Köln, 1966], pp. 207-08, 214, *passim*).

The names of the twelve goddesses indicate that they are personifications of the hours of the night, the very goddesses who lead Re through their own space-time dominion. Anthropomorphic divisions of time are well attested in the Underworld Books, and the underside of the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata also contains representations of the day and night hours (see *infra*, Chapter 5).

MIDDLE REGISTER, ANNOTATION (both halves)⁴³

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 100

Usermaatre: Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, pp. 131-32

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 286, 289

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 126-29, 133-36

*mʒ^c.ty htp/stʒ^a ntr pn m (m)skt.t
 sqdt m rr.t tn niw.t tn^b
 itr.w 220 pw
 'pp=f mw m-h̄t Wrns itrw 360 pw m ʒw=s^c
 hnb.(yw) rn n ntr.w imiw ht=f
 nt R^c rn n sht tn
 iri nbw rn n iri=s
 ſʒ^c ntr pn wd-mdw ir shr n imy.w-dwʒ.t r sh.t tn rr.t tn
 'pp ntr pn ʒ hr-sn m sr^d
 irr=f hpr m-h̄t p=f rr.t tn
 iwtt r m mw.wt m-h̄tw=f
 'h̄c-sn r rr.t tn
 iw=f wd-mdw=f n nn ntr.w imi.w rr.t tn
 iw ir-tw nn m imn nt dwʒ.t mi qd pn
 dsr(w) imn(w) n rry.t tn
 ſh pw n zi hwy.tw=f m s.t=f^e*

It is the two Maats who pacify/haul this god in the night bark,
 which sails in this gateway, namely this locale
 It (scil. the gateway) is 220 iteru.

⁴³ The sub-divided register is annotated with a single continuous text (Hornung, *Amduat*, vol. II, p. 24, n. 1). The text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata appears in Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 286 and 289.

It is bound for Wernes (it is 360 iteru in its width) that he traverses the water afterwards.
“Those of the Field” is the name of the gods who are in his following.
“Water of Re” is the name of this field.
“Guardian of the flame” is the name of its guardian.
It is at this field and at this gateway that this god begins to command
and to care for the Datians .
It is as a ram that this great god passes over them.
As soon as he passes this forecourt, he makes his transformation,
without the dead following him,
because they come to a halt at this forecourt.
He continually commands to these gods within this forecourt.
This is done in the hidden part of the Duat according to this design, sacred and hidden,
of this gateway.
It is effective for a man, (it means) he is protected in his place.

^a The Late Period sarcophagi differ from one another as well as the New Kingdom versions: Nectanebo II has *mʒ.ty*, with *sʒ* written as walking legs over plural strokes; Usermaatre seems to use this entire orthography as *mʒ.ty*,⁴⁴ following with the verb *htp*; Tjaihorpata uses an entirely different wording, *htp in hm n ntr pn m mskt.t*. The Maat goddesses who lead Re along the paths of the Underworld are simultaneously the two feathers adorning the solar crown and the two eyes illuminating the dark road ahead.⁴⁵ The two Maat goddesses symbolize the dual nature of solar travels—one for the heavens and one for the undersky,⁴⁶ and like the other divinities in the First Hour of Amduat their very existence proclaims Re’s ultimate triumph in the eastern horizon. Furthermore, the two Maats might allude to another stage in the solar journey, the Judgment Hall of Osiris, or

⁴⁴ Probably as a pun on “those who lead.”

⁴⁵ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 193-94, citing several parallels from solar hymns. Some of these aspects are discussed by Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 17, but he does not mention the allusions to the other stages of the nightly journey.

⁴⁶ Compare Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, pp. 89-90, where Maat is the constant companion of Re when he rises and sets; on this hymn, see also *idem*, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 270-71.

the “Hall of the Two Maats.”⁴⁷ Although no Judgment Hall appears on the Type III sarcophagi, it is depicted prominently on the Type II sarcophagi,⁴⁸ and the presence of the two Maats in the First Hour of the Book of Amduat represents *pars pro toto* the Hall of the Two Maats itself. Again, an examination of the entire decorative scheme of all sarcophagus types allows for new and exciting interpretations of the Amduat. Finally, like many of the other gods who populate the First Hour of Amduat, such as the baboons and the hour goddesses, the two Maats, who are also the two daughters of the sun god, also suggest the end of the solar journey, where in the eastern horizon:⁴⁹ *šzp tw s3.ty=k m irw=k* “Your two daughters receive you in your visible form.”

^b The apposition of ‘rry.t tn and niw.t tn further demonstrates the identification of the entire First Hour with the “gateway” to the Netherworld. For more on this, see *supra*, Chapter 2.

^c According to the sarcophagi of Usermaatre and Nectanebo II, the length of Wernes is sixty iteru longer than in the New Kingdom versions and the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. The precise measurements of the Underworld have sparked much debate,⁵⁰ but their

⁴⁷ Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, pp. 63-67. The conclusion of the speech of Djedthothiufankh in the tomb of Petosiris, where he addresses an Ennead of baboons from the First Hour of Amduat, further strengthens the connection between the First Hour of Amduat and the *wsh.t m3'.ty* (Lefebvre, *Tombeau de Petosiris*, vol. 2, p. 45, text 70, ll. 9-10): *imi 'q=i pr=i m r3-s3w nn šn'=i r wsh.t m3'.ty* “Allow me to enter and leave Rasetau, without blocking me from the Broad-hall of the Two Truths.”

⁴⁸ See *supra*, Chapter 3.

⁴⁹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 812.

⁵⁰ The views of scholars can be divided into three positions: 1) the Underworldly measurements correspond to the circumference of the earth (Ch. Leitz, *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie*

underlying significance is theological rather than scientific. The existence of a measurement is more important than the number itself.⁵¹

^d The transformation of the sun from a hieracocephalic deity to a criocephalic one occurs during his entrance into the First Hour, the “gateway” to the Underworld proper. Wiebach-Koepke⁵² offers two readings of the passage—a transposition of *m sr* with *m-ht* or less likely, *irr=f hprw=f* referring to a transformation other than that into the ram-form. However, these interpretive problems disappear with the recognition of the concomitant meaning of *m-ht* in the Underworld Books.⁵³

[Wiesbaden, 1989], pp. 101-04), 2) the measurement reflects a distance the sun travels in the sky (J. Zeidler, “Die Länge der Unterwelt nach ägyptischer Vorstellung,” *GM* 156 [1997]: 101-112), and 3) the large numbers are primarily symbolic, indicating the enormous distance the sun must travel each night (K. Ferrari d’Occhieppo, R. Krauss, and Th. Schmidt-Kaler, “Die Gefilde der altägyptischen Unterwelt,” *ZÄS* 123 [1996]: 103-110).

⁵¹ As concluded by S. Quirke, “Measuring the Underworld,” in D. O’Connor and S. Quirke, eds., *Mysterious Lands* (London, 2003), pp. 161-181.

⁵² “Die Verwandlung des Sonnengottes und seine Widdergestalt im mittleren Register der 1. Nachtstunde des Amduat,” *GM* 177 (2000): 71-82. In her translation of Amduat, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, vol. 2, pp. 8-9 she opts for the first of these possibilities.

⁵³ Baumann, *Suffix Conjugation*, pp. 66-69 (noting some examples in the Book of Caverns, which are not included in Wiebach-Koepke’s examples of *m-ht*). To Baumann’s references on p. 67 n. 138 should be added O. Perdu, “La préposition *hft* et les temporelles non-concomitantes” *RdE* 30 (1978): 113-14, where *hft* and *m* interchange with *m-ht* in descriptions of sunrise (Perdu himself argues that *m-ht* has a different meaning than the other prepositions, but he offers no evidence other than the traditional translation of *m-ht* as “after”). The prepositions *hft* and *m-ht* share the quality of introducing either subsequent or concomitant action, depending on the context.

^c This is one of the few examples on the sarcophagi proclaiming the effectiveness of the Underworld Books⁵⁴ and represents a departure from the New Kingdom text *dsr.w imn.w n ‘nd n rhw st* “sacred and hidden according to the selectiveness of those who know it.”⁵⁵

The deities who populate the registers above and below the solar bark are characteristic of the hundreds of gods who appear throughout the Book of Amduat. In the context of Late Period Egyptian religion, however, one set of figures takes on an extraordinary significance. The four human-headed stelae, labeled *wd-mdw R* “Decree of Re,” *wd-mdw Tm* “Decree of Atum,” *wd-mdw Hpri* “Decree of Khepri,” and *wd-mdw Wsir* “Decree of Osiris,”⁵⁶ shed light upon an important genre of religious literature that flourished in the post-Saite period (see Chapter 6, Section 1 below). As Darnell has observed, these stelae “may be another comparison of the roads of the Netherworld with the desert tracks of Egypt in the upper world.”⁵⁷

Another notable figure in the top half of the split middle register is the deity named *dʒi wnw.t* “He who traverses the hours,” who holds a curved “magic wand” in the New Kingdom versions of the Book of Amduat.⁵⁸ The Late Period versions alter the

⁵⁴ The text does not appear on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, who ends the line with *imn.w*; unfortunately the text of Usermaatre is damaged, but the traces of the signs suggest that it reproduced the New Kingdom versions.

⁵⁵ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 136.

⁵⁶ A human-headed stela called *wd Wsir* (No. 135) also appears in the top register of the Second Hour of Amduat (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 192).

⁵⁷ *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 189 and n. 107.

⁵⁸ The object in question was identified already by Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 24. A more recent discussions of the intersection of actual magic practice and this depiction is Koenig, *Magie et magiciens*, p. 87; for an overview of magic wands in other funerary contexts, see H. Altenmüller, “Totenglauben und Magie,” in *La Magia in Egitto ai Tempi dei Faraoni* (Milan, 1987), pp. 131-146.

iconography of this figure—on Nectanebo II and Usermaatre, he holds a folded cloth, while on Tjaihorpata he hoists a *hm*-club. These small alterations are reminiscent of the shades transformed into pouring pots on the Type I sarcophagi (*supra*), and suggest that the use of such magic wands declined after the New Kingdom.

Beneath the solar bark appears another bark transporting two kneeling figures (each labeled *Wsir*) who adore a scarab (*hpr*). Just as Re can transform himself into the Netherworldly baboon in order to praise himself as he traverses the Underworld, so too the Osiris figures adoring the scarab praise a hypostasis of Osiris himself. Although Osiris does not frequently manifest himself as a scarab,⁵⁹ a fascinating parallel to the image in the First Hour of Amduat appears on a Third Intermediate Period coffin, where two baboons praise a scarab inside a sun disk.⁶⁰ The image is labeled as: *dwȝ nȝr cȝ Wsir hnty imnt.t dwȝ.t* “Adoring the great god, Osiris, foremost of the west and the Underworld.” The identical layout of the scenes and other instances where Osiris appears as a scarab suggest that the scarab in the First Hour of Amduat likewise represents Osiris.

A final variant in the depictions of the middle register of the First Hour of Amduat appears only on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. The *wp-n.t* standard (no. 80) normally appears as *wp*-horns, with a mummy standing between them, atop a staff crossed by two serpents. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata replaces the *wp*-horns by a serpent. These aquatic serpents associated with the floodwaters contrast with the fiery

⁵⁹ An examination of the relevant sources is M.A. Stadler, “Der Skarabäus als osirianisches Symbol vornehmlich nach spätzeitlichen Quellen,” *ZÄS* 128 (2001): 71-83; to his examples should be added a depiction of a scarab with *ȝt*f crown on the interior of the coffin of Horendotes (BM 6678), labeled *Wsir*.

⁶⁰ Nes-pa-neb-Imach, Copenhagen, inv. 3909, cited by Stadler, *ZÄS* 128 (2001): pp. 79-80 without a direct comparison to the Amduat scene.

uraeus goddesses in the lower register; the replacement of the horns by a serpent may be the result of Late Period associations between serpents and the inundation.⁶¹

LOWER REGISTER

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 100

Usermaatre: Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, pp. 132-33

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 252, 290

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 140-150

SCENE 5

Depiction: Nine kneeling baboons

rn.w n.w ntr.w hsi.w n R^c
'q=f m dw3.t
hsι-sn n Wsir N m dw3.t mi R^c

Names of the gods who make music for Re
when he enters into the Duat.

May they make music for Osiris N in the Duat like Re.

The text to the baboons is no different from the New Kingdom versions, with the exception of the final sentence incorporating the deceased. However, a closer examination of the names of the baboons offers some interesting aspects of their music-making in the Netherworld. In particular, the baboon called *hk nw m bs=f* “who praises by means of his flame” (no. 86) finds a close parallel in P. Harris Magical:⁶²

Another incantation:
Hail, baboon of 7 cubits,
whose eye is of gold,
whose lips are of fire,
whose every word is flame.

⁶¹ L. Kákosy, “The Astral Snakes of the Nile,” *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 255-260.

⁶² Col. VIII, l. 4 (Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, pl. 19 and pp. 43-44; he does not note the Amduat parallel).

The flaming words and ecstatic dance of the baboons are all aspects of their “mysterious language” which aids Re in his travels through the Underworld.⁶³ This same magically efficacious speech was also deemed appropriate for incantations on earth as well, as P. Harris attests.

SCENE 6

Depiction: Twelve uraei

*rn.w nw ntr.wt shd kkw m dw3.t
shd-sn kkw n Wsir N m dw3.t*

Names of the goddesses who illumine the darkness in the Duat,
May they illumine the darkness for Osiris N in the Duat.

Again, the label to the uraei closely follows the earlier versions. The names of the fiery serpents, on the other hand, differ dramatically from the names in the New Kingdom royal tombs,⁶⁴ with only four out of twelve common to both corpora. The names from left to right are as follows (those matching the earlier versions are followed by the number given to them by Hornung):

<i>nsr.t</i>	“Flaming one” (no. 92)
<i>mrt nsr.t</i>	“Painful of flame” (no. 95) ⁶⁵
<i>hw.t t3.wy</i>	“She who protects the lands” (no. 98)
<i>bsy.t</i>	“Fiery one” (no. 101)
<i>nbi.t</i>	“She who blazes”

⁶³ H. te Velde, in Kamstra, Milde, Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, pp. 129-137.

⁶⁴ This divergence was observed by Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 29, citing the tombs of Padiamenemope and Petosiris. However, Dümichen, *Grabpalast*, vol. III, pl. 26 is not the tomb of Padiamenemope, but the sarcophagus of Padi-isis (Berlin 29), and the names of the uraei on that sarcophagus are those of the New Kingdom Amduat texts, with the exception of some orthographic differences. Interestingly, the Type III sarcophagi use different names than either the New Kingdom versions or the tomb of Petosiris.

⁶⁵ For references concerning this name see Roulin, *Livre de la Nuit*, vol. I, p. 264.

<i>hsy.t</i>	“She who draws near” ⁶⁶
<i>nb.t h̄</i>	“Mistress of glorious appearances” ⁶⁷
<i>wbn.yt</i>	“She who rises”
<i>wm.t</i>	“Fat one” ⁶⁸
<i>bhn.t</i>	“She who slices” (no. 96)
<i>tk3</i>	“Torch”
<i>wpst</i>	“She who burns” (no. 93)

SCENES 7 AND 8

Depiction: Nine praising gods and twelve praising goddesses

rn.w n.w ntr.w dw3 nb psd.t

dw3-sn Wsir N mi s̄sm psd.t

Names of the gods who adore the lord of the Ennead.

May they adore Osiris N, like the leader of the Ennead.

rn.w n.w ntr.wt dd hnw n R̄ m ‘p=f Wrns

di-sn hnw Wsir N mi R̄ m imnt.t

Names of the goddesses who acclaim to Re when he passes through Wernes.

May they acclaim Osiris N like Re in the West.

FIRST HOUR, CONCLUDING TEXT

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 100

Usermaatre: Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, pp. 133-35

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 287-88

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 150-173

The extensive dialogue of the sun god with the inhabitants of the first hour of the night includes a wide range of themes which relate to the entirety of the solar journey through the Netherworld. The order in which Re calls to the groups of divinities, as

⁶⁶ The walking legs and bellicose names of the other goddesses suggest that this name derives from *Wb.* III 159.5-6.

⁶⁷ Similar to the name of no. 100: *nfr.t h̄.w* “Beautiful of glorious appearances.”

⁶⁸ Refers to the puffed out front part of the uraeus.

outlined by Barta, suggests that their elaborate arrangement in the First Hour of Amduat conveys their position to either side of the solar bark.⁶⁹

*'q ntr.w m 'rr.t imn.t n ʒh.t
'h^c r idb itrw 120^a
'h^c b in hm n ntr m-ht htp=f r 'rr.t tn
wd-mdw=f n nn ntr.w im=s
wn n=i sb3.w=tn
sn n=i 'rr.t=tn
st*i* n=i irw.n=i
sšm wi hpr.w m h^c.w=i
wdd=i tn ir=tn n h3.t=i
ir.n=i tn (n) rn n b3=i
qm3.n=i tn n ʒh.w=i
ty.n=i nd=i hr=i^c im=(i) snf=(i) h^c.w=i
'h^c=sn (n)=f
iw=i shtm=(i) irw r=s
di=i srq m sfg-ir.w Wsir hnty-imn.tyw*

These gods as they enter into the western gateway of the horizon,
and stand along the bank of 120 iteru.

Halting by the majesty of this god, after he arrives at this gateway,
while he issues commands to those gods who are therein:

“Open for me your portals!

Open for me your gateways!

Light up for me, those whom I have made!

Guide me, those who came about from my limbs!

To my corpse have I commanded you!

Just as I have created you for the reputation of my *ba*,
so have I fashioned you for my *akh*-power.

That I have come here is to greet myself and give breath to my flesh,
so that they (scil. the limbs) might arise for him (scil. Osiris).

I always destroy those who act against it.

(For) I shall cause Osiris Khentimentiu to breathe as He-who-is-revealed-of-forms!

^a These two statements are unique to the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata—they are not present in the New Kingdom copies nor the other Late Period sarcophagi..

⁶⁹ “Der Weg des Sonnengottes durch die Unterwelt in Amduat und Höhlenbuch,” *GM* 100 (1987): 7-14.

^b The sarcophagus of Usermaatre does not contain an *in* following the infinitive *‘h̄*, which is present in the New Kingdom versions⁷⁰ and the other sarcophagi. On the sarcophagus of Usermaatre, *‘h̄* must then be interpreted as a dramatic *sdm=f*, providing further evidence for the functional equivalency of the dramatic *sdm=f* and infinitival forms.

^c Hornung⁷¹ suggests that here *nd-hr* means to “give something to someone,” but the idea of Re “greeting himself,” fits better with the Underworldly journey of the sun. Here already in the first hour, Re proclaims the ultimate purpose of his journey—to “greet” Osiris in the eastern horizon, a reference to their sexual union before sunrise.⁷²

Re’s command at the beginning of the Concluding Text to the First Hour of Amduat is important both grammatically, because of its intensive and often complex use of emphasis, and conceptually, because the nominal verb forms highlight the goals of the Underworldly journey of the sun. After reminding the Datiens that their sole purpose is to care for the corpse of the sun in the Underworld, Re alludes to his triumphant egress from the Duat and the union of Re and Osiris in the eastern horizon.

FIRST HOUR, CONCLUDING TEXT, CONT.

Re addresses the gods of the First Hour

⁷⁰ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat* I, p. 150.

⁷¹ *Das Amduat*, vol. II, p. 35 n. 10.

⁷² For a discussion of *nd-hr* as “greet” and the sexual union of Re and Osiris, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Underworld Books*, pp. 346-47, who includes this passage in the First Hour of Amduat).

wn n=ī ḡ.wy=t_n bnty.w
 sn n=ī ḡrr.t=t_n bnty.w
 n_tr.wt hpr.wt m b₃=ī
 n_tr.w hpr t_n n Hpri
 wnn=t_n hnty dw₃.t
 ḡh^c=t_n n Wrns
 mny=t_n n idb št₃
 īr=t_n n dw₃.tyw r ḡrr.t īry=t_n
 mn=t_n m s.wt=t_n
 ȝh.t n=t_n n.t sh.t=t_n

Open for me your arms, o baboons!
 Open for me your gateway, o baboons!
 O goddesses who came about from my ba!
 O gods, transform yourselves for Khepri,
 since you are foremost of the Duat.
 May you stop at Wernes!
 May you moor at the hidden bank!
 May you act for the Datians at your own gateway!
 May you remain in your places!
 May your fields belong to you from your pastures!

FIRST HOUR, CONCLUDING TEXT, CONT.

The gods of the first hour address Re

n_tr.w ḡrr.t t_n n R^c
 sns=sn n_tr.w=sn
 wn(w) n=k īmn.t št₃ īr.w
 sn(w) n=k ḡ.wy n niwt wr.t
 shd n=k kkw
 srq=k htmy.t^a
 īr=k m rn=k n R^c r bw hr Wsīr hnty-īmn.tyw
 ihy n R^c r r₃-c.wy t₃
 i₃w n=k srq ȝh.w
 q=k sb₃ n niwt wr.t
 wn=n n=k ḡ.wy m bntyw
 sn=n n=k ḡ.wy m htwt
 sns tw snsyt=k
 shd n=k ȝh.w=k kkw
 dw₃ t(w) n_tr.w=k R^c
 s₃m tw wnw.t īm.t=k
 št₃ t(w) s₃.ty=k mm=k^b
 ht_p=k wd.w tp.w sht t₃
 t₃i.t=k grh īn.t=k hrw
 twt n_tr pw d₃i wnw.t

htp=k wiʒ=k hpr
^a*itʒ.n=k niw.wt hn̄b.tyw m štʒ(y.t)*
^b*htp n=k N.t*
^c*wp=k nty r-gs=k*
^d*kfʒ n=k dbc-tʒ*
^e*iʒw t(w) ntr.wt Wrns*
^f*iʒw n=k n hn.w*
^g*smʒc-hrw=k r hftiʒw=k*
^h*dʒ=k sdb.w m nikw*

The gods of this gateway (speak) to Re,
when they praise their gods.

Just as the West, hidden of visible forms, is opened for you,
so are the two doorleaves of the great locale opened for you,
so you might illumine the darkness,
and thereby cause the Place of Destruction to breathe!

May you approach the place in which Osiris, foremost of the Westerners is,
in your name of Re.

Jubilation be to Re at the threshold of the doors of the earth.
Praise be to you, who causes *akh*-spirits to breathe,
when you enter the portals of Wernes.

We open for you the two doorleaves as *benty*-baboons.
We throw back for you the two doorleaves as *hetut*-baboons.

Your praised ones praise you.
Your *akh*-uraei illumine for you the darkness.

Your gods praise you, o Re.
The hours amongst which you are lead you.
Your two daughters haul you, while being among you.
You occupy the stelae which are atop fields of the land.
What you take is the night; what you bring is the day.
You are this god who traverses the hours,
as you rest in your bark of Khepri.

You have taken possession of the locales of the field gods in Shetayt.
Neith is pacified for you,

so that you might divide the floodwaters beside you.
The Sealer of the Earth uncovers for you his shoulder
The goddesses of Wernes adore you.
To you belongs the adoration of the Praisers.
May you triumph over your enemies!
May you assign punishments among the sinful!

^a Normally the activities within Hetemyt, the Place of Destruction, are limited to punishment and deprivation. However, the place which destroys can equally be the

location of rebirth and regeneration, particularly evident in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁷³

^b The twin daughters of Re are the Maat goddesses who haul him along the roads of the Netherworld. The odd word which follows *s3.ty* remains to be explained, and the late versions on the sarcophagi offer a possible solution. Wiebach-Koepke⁷⁴ suggests that the word *irw* has been omitted, but this is at odds with both early and late copies. The



orthographies of the sarcophagi are as follows: Nectanebo II , Usermaatre , and

Tjaihorpata . None of the late versions adopt the variant in Ramesses VI, where the two daughters are referred to as *b3.w=k* “your bas.” The spelling of Tjaihorpata suggests a possible adverbial use of the preposition *mm* “among.”⁷⁵

^c Another difficult orthography follows *hnb.ty*, but here, the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre contain an interesting variant. Rather than of the New Kingdom versions and the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (which omits the final š-lake), the sarcophagi of Usermaatre and Nectanebo II clearly spell out *št3*. Rather than the rare verb *(i)m(i)m*

⁷³ See the discussion to the Type I sarcophagi, Side One, *supra*.

⁷⁴ *Phänomenologie des Bewegungsabläufe*, vol. 2, p. 16.

⁷⁵ *GEG* §178.

(*Wb.* I 82.21),⁷⁶ the New Kingdom versions might be read *mm š* “among the š-waterway.”⁷⁷

^d The appearance of Neith alongside the floodwaters immediately suggests Mehetweret, the bovine hypostasis of Neith as creatrix,⁷⁸ and the horns of the *wp-nt* staff in the First Hour of Amduat may be identified with the horns of the goddess Mehetweret. Mehetweret is not commonly attested in the Netherworld Books, but she does appear in the Litany of Re, where Re “emerges from Mehetweret,”⁷⁹ a reference to the eastern horizon. Many of the gods within the First Hour specifically allude to Re’s rebirth in the eastern horizon, and the mysterious *wp-nt* staff might serve the same purpose.

^e Much of the speech by the gods of the first hour to the sun god consists of dramatic *sdm-f* forms describing actions concomitant with the speech itself. The final two clauses, however, allude to the future defeat of the sun god’s enemies and are interpreted as subjunctive *sdm=f*s.

FIRST HOUR, CONCLUDING TEXT, CONT.

The Command of Re

⁷⁶ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 38 n. 50.

⁷⁷ On these Netherworldly waterways, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 151 and nn. 514-515.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 3, *supra*. Compare also the reference to Neith from the Temple of Edfu, where she “separates the islands and the shores” (El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith de Sais*, vol. 2, pp. 590-91, Doc. 948 = Edfu V 125.5).

⁷⁹ See *supra*.

wd-mdw in hm n ntr pn m-ht spr=f r rr.t tn
 h3 n rr.t=tn
 rwd n c.wy=tn
 htm n q(3)r.w=tn
 iy.w hr=i n p.w=(i) hr=(i) n š3s.w=i
 mn=tn m s.t=tn
 hc=tn r idb=tn
 p ntr pn hr=sn
 hwt=sn m-ht sn=f sn m sht Wrns
 wnw.t sšm (m) rr.t tn
 wšm.t h3.tyw hftyw n.w R^c
 rn n wn.wt pw tp.t n grh
 rdi.n Wsir N hnw n R^c
 smz=f hrw=f r hftiw=f
 hnb.wt=f mm ntr.w r niw.t tn

Commanding by the majesty of this god after he arrives at this gateway:
 “Aggressiveness be to your gateway!
 Firmness be to your doors!
 Sealing be to your bolts!
 O those who come before me at my passing and before me at my traversings—
 remain in your places,
 stand at your banks!”
 This god shall pass over them.
 It is after he passes by them bound for the field of Wernes that they mourn.
 The hour who guides (in) this gateway:
 “She who cracks the skulls of the enemies of Re”
 is the name of this first hour of the night.
 Osiris N has given praise to Re,
 so that his voice might be justified against his enemies,
 and so that his field portions be among the gods at this locale.

After the Underworldly denizens proclaim that the doors have been thrown open
 for the sun god, Re immediately commands that the portals be sealed shut. The entrance
 of Re into the Netherworld is separate from that of the damned, and the Underworld
 Books refer several times to the dead/damned not following Re in his journey out of the
 Underworld.⁸⁰ However, both here and in the text to the middle register, there are

⁸⁰ See *infra*.

allusions to the damned not *entering* the Underworld with Re, suggesting that some of the spirits of the damned existed not within the confines of the Place of Destruction, but roamed around earth. When Re sank into the western horizon, the Egyptians must have thought it possible for these dispossessed evil spirits to attempt to enter the Underworld by subterfuge. These otherwise obscure statements in the First Hour of Amduat support the evidence of malevolent *ȝh*-spirits in the Letters to the Dead and creates a nice contrast with the blessed spirits who can both exit and enter the Underworld at will.

Underneath the First Hour of Amduat, seven addresses from the Litany of Re fill the lowest register, which is present around the circumference of the sarcophagus. From the beginning of the First Hour (where Side One abuts Side Three), the following addresses are found: 74, 75, 69, 71, 73, 63, 65, and 67. As has been noted with regard to the Type II sarcophagi, the numbers travel retrograde with respect to the hours of Amduat; moreover, this exact sequence of addresses precede the First, Second, and Third Hours of Amduat on Side One of the Type II sarcophagi.

SIDE TWO

On the remaining sides of the Type III sarcophagi, the decoration diverges from a single template. The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II places the Second and Sixth Hours of Amduat on Side Two, which was probably also the case for Usermaatre, although a few signs from the Second Hour are preserved.

SECOND HOUR OF AMDUAT

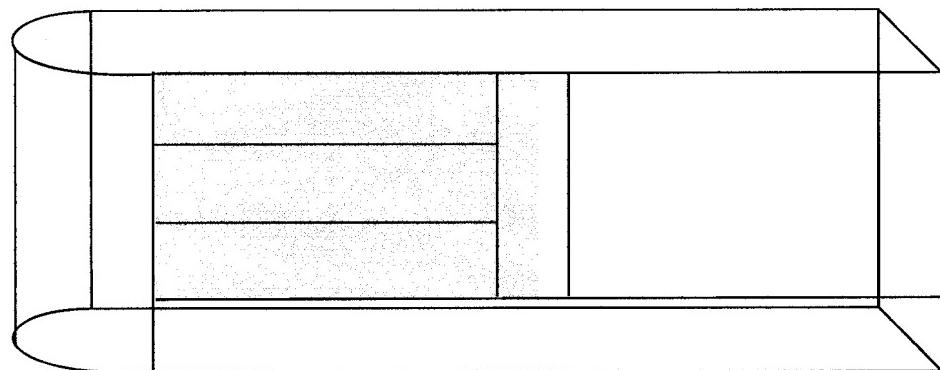


Fig. 54: Sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, Second Hour of Amduat

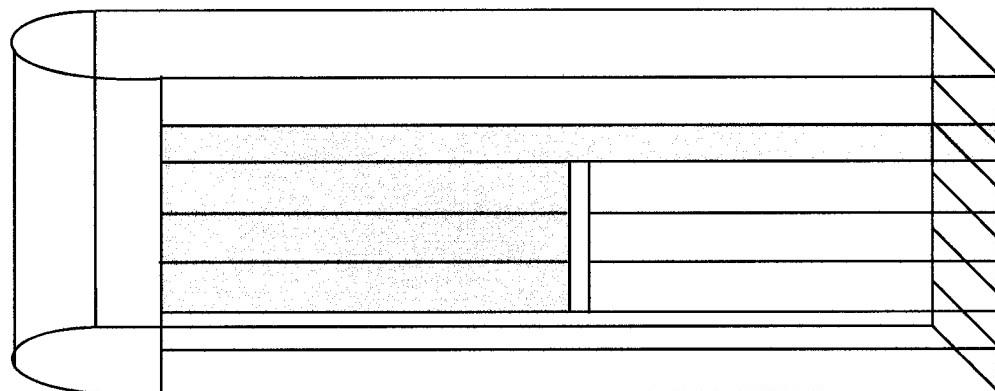


Fig. 55: Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, Second Hour of Amduat

INTRODUCTORY TEXT

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 101

Usermaatre: Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, p. 135 (mostly destroyed)

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 243, 245

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 174-180

*htp m Wrns in ntr pn
ir hp i3rw m n.t R^c
itrw 309 m 3w sh.t 220 m wsh.t tn
ir.t ntr pn '3 hnb n psq.t
rn n wnw.t n.t grh ssm.t ntr pn '3
s3.t mk nb=s rn n wnw.t tn*

hw=s Wsir N
 hnb (i)n ntr pn ȝ ȝh.wt n ntr.w dwȝ.tyw
 ir=f shr=sn r sh.t tn
 rh dwȝ.tyw^a
 ir rh rn.w=sn
 wnn=f hr=sn
 hnb n=f ntr pn ȝ ȝh.wt r bw=sn n sh.t Wrns
 ȝh=f hr ȝh=w^b
 ȝpp=f m-ht ntr pn ȝ
 ȝq=f tȝ wbȝ=f dwȝ.t
 wp=f zbi.wt m hnsk.tyw
 ȝpp=f hr ȝm-ȝ m-ht Mȝ.ȝ hnby.ȝ
 iw=f wnm=f tȝ r wiȝ-tȝ
 di=tw n=f hȝt.t Tȝ-biw
 iw ir=tw nn sȝm n bȝ.w dwȝ.tyw m sȝ mi-qd=sn m imn.t n.t dwȝ.t^d
 iw rh m bȝ ȝh

Resting in Wernes by this god,

following the course of Iaru in the water of Re.

(309 iteru is the length of the field, and 220 iteru is its breadth).

This great god apportions (fields) for the Ennead.

The name of the hour of the night which guides this great god is

“Wise one who protects her lord,” is the name of this hour.

May she protect Osiris N!

Apportioning fields by this great god for the Underworldly gods,

so that his might care for them at this field.

Know the Underworldly denizens!

As for the one who knows their names,

he will exist with them,

and this great god will apportion fields for him at their places
in the field of Wernes;

he will stand at the correct position;

he will follow the great god;

he will enter the earth and open the Underworld;

he will separate the tresses of the lock-wearers;

he will pass over the “Donkey-swallower”

in the following of Maat of the field-plots.

he will eat bread at the bark of the earth.

he will be given the prow-rope of the Tebiu bark.

This image of the *bas* of the Underworldly gods is to be executed according to the written template, entirely, in the hidden part of the Underworld.

The one who knows it is an effective *ba*.

^a Hornung interprets *rh dw3.tyw* as an imperative.⁸¹ This is a rare indication of the use of the text to the Book of Amduat in a ritual context, since it is in a direct address rather than a narrative description. The text to the long and short versions of the Second Hour contain the necessary knowledge of the Underworldly inhabitants and attest to the power of that knowledge, both on earth⁸² and after death.

^b The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II narrowly interprets the writings of the New Kingdom simply as *ḥw*, while the contemporaneous sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata re-interpreted the odd spellings as *ḥ=f hr=f ḥ b3=f*.⁸³ These small variants suggest at least two different versions of the Book of Amduat were in use during the reign of Nectanebo II and indicates a process of textual editing to rationalize odd orthographies.

^c Following this statement, the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II greatly diverges from the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (the basis for the transliteration and translation above):

[r]n.w [n.w] ntr.w šspy.w R^c m dw3.t
šsp=sn Wsir nswt Nht-hr-hb mry-hwt-hr pw m^c hrw hr ḡ.wy=sn
iry=sn hprw m bw=f mi imy wi3=f
The names [of] the gods who receive Re in the Underworld.
May they receive this Osiris King Nectanebo (II), beloved of Hathor, justified,
upon their arms.
May they make transformations in his place like the one within his bark.

⁸¹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 44 n. 11; less likely is that the “knowledge of the Datians” is the name of the field.

⁸² The Short Amduat on the sarcophagi of Gemhap and Tjahepimu state: “It is effective for a man on earth.”

⁸³ This variant provides concrete evidence for Hornung’s interpretation of the New Kingdom text as *ḥw b3* “the standing place of the *ba*.” (*Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 44 n. 13).

^d The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata indicates that the template of the Second Hour is to be executed in the “hidden” part of the Underworld, but unlike the New Kingdom texts, it does not specify the wall upon which the images should appear (see also the Introductory Text to the Sixth Hour, below). This omission is in keeping with the complete lack of the “directions” from the Book of Amduat on any Late Period sarcophagus, although the Type II sarcophagi adhere precisely to the directions within the Book of Amduat.

UPPER REGISTER, ANNOTATION

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 101

Usermaatre: not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 244-45

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 182-88

*wnn=sn m shr pn
i_w=sn dw₃=sn n_{tr} pn ‘₃ m-ht spr=f r=sn
in hrw=sn s₃m sw r=sn
hwt=sn sbi sw m-ht wd=f sn md.wt
in nn n_{tr}.w s_r mdw.t tp.w t₃
ntsn s_r b₃ r qdd=sn
ir.t=sn pw shpr inw w₃w
irt hry.w r wn.wt=sn
ntsn s₃ hrw in_i grh
r prw n_{tr} pn ‘₃ m kkw sm₃w
r htp m ‘rr.t n.t zh.t i₃bt.t n.t p.t
i_w=sn hwt=sn n n_{tr} pn
i₃bk=sn n=f m-ht ‘pp=f hr=sn
i_w rh st m pr m hrw
i_l(w)=f m grh r im₃.w n niw.t wr.t imnt.t*

They exist in this fashion.

They adore this great god after he reaches them.

It is their voices which guide him to them,

and their cries which guide him after he commands to them.

It is these gods who raise up words to those who are on earth.

It is they who raise up *bas* to their sleep.

What they do is create the messengers⁸⁴ of the middle of the night,
and “do” the enemies at their hours.

It is they who guard the day and bring the night,

⁸⁴ Translation suggested by Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe*, vol. 2, p. 23 n. 1.

so that this great god might emerge from the uniform darkness,
so that he might rest at the gateway to the eastern horizon of the sky.
They cry out for this god.
It is after he passes by them that they mourn for him.
The one who knows it is one who goes forth by day,
and he is taken in the night to the grove of the great locale of the West.

The sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Tjaihorpata each augment the annotation with text requesting that the deities of the Second Hour act for the benefit of the deceased.

Nectanebo II:

*īw s̄r.n Wsir N mdw n n̄tr.w tpy.w tʒ
wnn=f hn̄c R̄c m wiʒ ɔ̄
īw hn̄b=f m sh.t Wrns m̄i n̄tr.w dwʒ.tyw
īw Wsir N rh rn=sn
wnn=f hr=sn
hn̄b n=f n̄tr pn ɔ̄ ʒh.t r bw hr=sn n sh.t Wrns
ɔ̄h̄c=f shm bʒ=f
ɔ̄pp=f wbʒ=f dwʒ.t wp=f sb̄i m hnskty.w*

The Osiris Nectanebo lifts up words to the gods who are on earth.
It together with Re in the great bark that he exists.
His plots are in the field of Wernes like the Underworldly gods.
Osiris Nectanebo knows their names;
it is before them that he exists.
This great god apportions his fields at their places in the field of Wernes.
As he stands, so is his ba powerful.
He passes by, opens the Underworld, and separates the tresses of the lock-wearers.

Tjaihorpata:

*īw Wsir N rh sn m pr m hrw
īl m gr̄h r m̄m̄w n.t niw.t wr.t imnt.t
Osiris N knows them as one who goes forth by day,
and is taken by night to the grove of the great locale of the West.*

MIDDLE REGISTER, ANNOTATION

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 101

Usermaatre: not preserved

Tjaihorpata: None

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 197-200

The middle register of the Second Hour is a problematic portion of the Book of Amduat, since the New Kingdom versions, although extant, preserve a corrupt and incomplete text. The original complete version was probably not available to Nectanebo II, since he has only a single sentence describing the middle register, which is similar to, but not identical with the incomplete sentence which begins the New Kingdom versions. The beginning of the annotation on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II contains unexpectedly full spellings (e.g. bark determinatives written thrice rather than using plural strokes) and longer epithets of Nectanebo II than on other parts of the sarcophagus, as if the ancient scribes were trying to “stretch out” the text to fill as many of the columns as possible. The remainder of the middle register then continues with the concluding text of the Second Hour. The copy of the text on the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer is quite amazing. It begins with the same sentence as the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, but then continues with the faulty New Kingdom text. The scribes who laid out the version on the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer were aware of the missing sections of the text, because they carefully left uncarved sections between the carved signs. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, on the other hand, omits the annotations of the middle register of the Second and Third Hours of Amduat entirely.

*wnn-sn m shr pn
hnw=f wi3.w imy.w t3
iw hnw Wsir nswt nb t3.wy Sndm-ib-r stp.n hw.t-hr
s3 R nb h.w sh n s.t m3.t Nht-hr-hb.t mry hw.t-hr pw m3-hrw
<hnw> wi3.w imy.w t3*

They exist in this fashion,
as he travels in the barks within the earth.
Osiris King, lord of the two lands, Senedjem-ib-re, chosen of Hathor,
son of Re, lord of diadems, effective at the place of Maat,
Nectanebo (II), beloved of Hathor, justified,

<travels> in the barks within the earth.

LOWER REGISTER, ANNOTATION

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 101

Usermaatre: not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 247-48

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 205-211

*wnn-sn m shr pn
ḥkn-sn n ntr pn ȝ m tr.w
ḥkn-sn n=f m rnp.wt imy.w ȝ.wy-sn
iわ ntr pn ȝ wd=f n=sn mdw
dwi=sn n=f
ȝḥ=sn m ḥrw ntr pn ȝ
srq ḥty.t=sn dwi=f n=sn
wd=f n=sn iṛw=sn
mȝ=f n=sn n sm.w=sn imy.w sh.t=sn
ntsn snm wȝd.t imy.t Wrns n ntr.w imy.w ht R^c
ntsn iȝb mw n ȝh.w
wd ntr pn ȝ
ntsn rkḥ wȝwȝ r sȝm.t hftyw nw R^c
ntsn wdd ḥȝty.w hr sd.t
hwt.hr=sn iȝbk=sn m-ht ȝpp ntr pn ȝ hr=sn
imy nbi.t m sȝȝw sh.t tn
iわ rȝ sw m ȝh ȝpr*

They exist in this fashion.

They praise this great god with their *tr*-signs.

They praise him with the *rnp*-signs which are in their hands.

This great god commands to them,

with the result that they call to him.

It is from the voice of this great god that they live;

and it is when he calls to them that their throats breathe.

He commands to them their duties.

He offers to them their plants which are in their fields.

It is they who offer the plants which are in Wernes.

for the gods who are in the following of Re.

It is they who grant water to the effective sprits,

as this great god commands.

It is they who heat the consuming flame in order to burn the enemies of Re.

It is they who place the hearts upon the fire.

Then they cry out and they mourn when this great god passes by them.

“He who is in the flame” is the guardian of this field.

The one who knows it is an equipped spirit.

Text added to the Lower Register:

Nectanebo II:

*hw sw
iw dwi.n Wsir NN n ntr.w imy.w ht R^c
wd=f n-sn mdw.t ntr pn
m-ht 'p R^c hr-sn*

The one who protects himself.

Osiris NN calls to the gods who are in the following of Re.

He commands to them the words of this god

after Re passes over them.

Tjaihorpata:

hw=sn Wsir N mi 3h 'pr m hr.t-ntr
May they protect Osiris like an equipped spirit in the necropolis.

The annotation to the bottom register is not afflicted by the problems of the middle register, and the sarcophagi do not deviate from the New Kingdom versions, with the exception of the concluding additions. The usefulness of the bottom register of the Second Hour lies in its ability to make the deceased an equipped *akh*-spirit, an apt statement considering the focus on the plant symbols which represent units of time as well as sustenance. The *rnp*-plant both feeds the deceased and grants him eternal years in the afterlife. Just like the consumption of other abstract concepts, such as “eating of Maat,” the blessed dead can literally swallow time.⁸⁵

SECOND HOUR, CONCLUDING TEXT

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 101

Usermaatre: not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 241-43

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 218-267

The Type III sarcophagi, as well as the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, reproduce the lengthy concluding texts which follow the first three hours of Amduat. The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II uses the concluding text to fill the middle register, since it does not

⁸⁵ For more on swallowing time, see *supra*.

employ the faulty texts of the New Kingdom. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata writes the concluding text above the Second Hour.

*dd mdw in ntr.w dw3.tyw hft ntr ȝ pn ȝq=f m ȝm r-dr
hn=f nt-R^c r Wrns
i h^c b₃ ȝ
šsp n=s dw3.t iwf ir p.t
ȝnh=k iwf m t₃ dsr n=k
mi r=k R^c ir=k m rn=k n ȝnh
Hpri^a hnty dw3.t
hns=k sh^cty hw nb
int=k^b h^cw
hwi=k nh₃-hr
ih_i m p.t hn^cw m t₃
n wb₃ h₃.t=f
hd shd wr
h₃y imy tp R^c
dr kkw m ȝ.t Imn.t
m rn=k hns^c št₃-^c
shd kkw-sm₃w
ȝnh iwf m₃wy=f hr=f
htp.wy R^c m Imn.t
ihy n=k
wi₃=k n m₃wy
ssm t(w) hn^cw.w=k imy.w t₃ hsr nšny^d
htm=sn n=k ȝpp r wn^cw.t mkt-nb=s
i₃w zp sn zbi n b₃=f
ȝs₃s ȝpr.(w)
iy n h₃.t=f
wp mfk.t^e
wn ȝ.wy t₃
št₃.w ȝm.w=k hr Ws_ir
nd=k nd Ws_ir
m₃-hrw=k r hfty.w=k
m htp zp snw n Imn.t
m hpr m hpr n I₃bt.t^f*

Recitation by the Underworldly gods when this great god arrives
at the (door) “Swallower of the Entirety,”
as he traverses the “Water of Re” up to the (region of) Wernes:
“O may your great *ba* appear in glory!
May the Underworld receive to herself the “Flesh” which belongs to heaven!
May you live, “Flesh,” in the earth which has been sanctified for you.

Come, Re, may you act in your name of “Living one,”
Khepri, who is foremost of the Underworld.
May you traverse the field, “She who protects the lord.”
May you bind the *hiw*-snake,
and may you smite Nehaher snake!
Jubilation is in heaven and praise is in the earth,
for the one who opens his corpse!
Illumine, great illuminer!
Shine, one upon the head of Re!
Dispel the darkness in the hidden chamber,
in your name of the one who traverses the One mysterious of arm!
Illumine the unbroken darkness,
so that “Flesh” might live and he might be renewed in his own presence.
Welcome, Re in the West!
Jubilation be to you!
Your bark belongs to proper navigation;
your crew, those who repel the tempest, conducts you within the earth!
They destroy Apep for you at the hour of “She who protects her lord”
Praise, One who goes to his ba,
who rushes on being equipped,
who returns to his corpse,
who opens the turquoise region,
who throws open the door leaves of the land!
Mysterious are your goings before Osiris!
Your protection is the protection of Osiris.
You are justified against your enemies,
as one who sets peacefully for the West,
as one who manifests as Khepri for the east.

^a Khepri is mentioned several times in the concluding text to the Second Hour, although a scarab beetle appears only once in this hour, at the prow of the third bark sailing in the middle register. This concluding text presages the sunrise in the eastern horizon and diurnal forms of the solar god, just as the concluding text to the First Hour.

^b The verb *int* is used in both the New Kingdom and Late Period Amduat copies,⁸⁶ but does not appear in the *Wb.* as such. Wiebach-Koepke has correctly recognized the association between this verb and *intty* “He of the bindings” in the 64th Address to the

⁸⁶ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 241 copies *inq* for Tjaihorpata, but collations revealed that the verb used is also *int*.

Litany of Re.⁸⁷ However, the formation of this verb was probably aided by another verb *int* “to turn back” (*Wb.* I 102.2-7), which is used as early as the Coffin Texts.⁸⁸

^c The Late Period copies change the verb *hsr* “to repel” to the verb *hns* “to traverse,” transforming the being “Secret of arm” from an inimical being⁸⁹ to a more neutral entity. This dichotomy exists elsewhere in the Amduat, particularly in the Twelfth Hour, where the sun god travels backwards through the giant serpent in order to become rejuvenated. Elsewhere in the Underworld Books, deities “secret of arm” protect the sun god and carry his mysteries;⁹⁰ this positive aspect of *štȝ-ε* appears later in the concluding text to the Second Hour, where the arms of the crew of the solar bark are also hidden when they destroy Apep. The variant text on the Late Period sarcophagi fits better with the use of the term *štȝ-ε* in the Underworld Books in general and the concluding text of the Second Hour in particular than the verb used in the New Kingdom versions of the text.

^d This epithet is only present on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II and does not appear in any earlier copies. The epithet of the crew also replaces their description in Tjaihorpata and the New Kingdom copies: *ε-sn štȝ* “their arms are hidden.” Interestingly, the verb *hsr* appears here on the sarcophagus, replacing a statement about being “secret of arm,” which is the verb in the New Kingdom versions which appears in conjunction with *štȝ-ε*,

⁸⁷ *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, vol. 2, p. 30 and n. 1; for the root *nt*, see also D. Meeks, “Notes de lexicographie (§5-8),” *BIFAO* 77 (1977): 88 (reference courtesy of Prof. Fischer-Elfert).

⁸⁸ Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 87.

⁸⁹ Hornung, *Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 27 n. 17 suggests that *štȝ-ε* here refers to Apep (without citing direct parallels).

⁹⁰ See the text cited in Chapter 2, *supra*.

replaced by *hns* on the sarcophagi. The interplay between the different copies suggests a complex textual tradition. These changes might have been rationalizations of copying mistakes which shifted the position of certain phrases.

^e The term *mfk3.t* is written correctly on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, despite the erroneous spellings of all New Kingdom versions (e.g. Ramesses III ).⁹¹

The turquoise region is located within the eastern horizon,⁹² and in the Concluding Text to the Second Hour represents yet another example of imagery from the end of the solar journey appearing near the beginning of the night.

^f The odd statements concluding the speech of the Underworldly gods incorporate events at the western and eastern horizon. The sentence ends with a reference to Khepri, just as the speech begins with a reference to “Khepri, foremost of the Underworld.” This long speech possesses poetic merit and a carefully planned structure. The final statement also emphasizes the triumphant nature of the solar journey through the repetition of sounds.

SECOND HOUR, CONCLUDING TEXT, CONT.

The speech of the sun god is separated from the speech of the gods on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, since the latter fills out the middle register and the former begins a separate text block following the Second Hour. The decoration on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II must have been well planned in advance in order to achieve such a perfect fit.

⁹¹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 234-35.

⁹² See Chapter 5, *infra*.

wd-mdw in hm n ntr pn ɔ n ntr.w hnty.w Wrns
 wn.w sb3.w=tн št3.w
 m3 iwf kf3 kkw=tн
 mw n=tн n Wrns
 wdn t3 n=tн n rd im^a
 hftyw=tн n htmy.t=tн
 sšrt n snl.w=tн
 n dwi st hw3.wt=tн
 ndmt n nfrw.t=tн^b
 dwn n rd.wy=tн
 šm=tн hr=sn
 pd ɔ.wy=tн
 n=tн b3=tн nn hr=sn r=tн
 ɔnh irw=tн
 mdw=sn ɔh=tн
 spd n sf.wt=tн
 qn=tн hfty.w n Wsir N
 mn tr=tн
 dd rnp.wt=tн
 hpr hpr.w r tr=f
 hmst=tн i3w.t=tн^c
 bdty n=tн m t3 k3m.w n=tн m m3c-hrw
 n'i=tн n wi3
 ni hm=tн r ssm.w=tн m sht Wrns^d
 ɔnh.w b3=i imy=tн
 ɔh3 hr hɔ.w=i
 mkd wi r ɔpp
 s'nh(w)=tн n b3=i
 srq=tн n h3.t=i n Wsir N^e
 mn=tн n s.t=tн dsr.t
 i w [...] =tн imn.t shr.w=s
 i w ɔr=tн n b3=tн
 pr Rc ht ɔ.t=tн
 sbi grh hrs kkw
 i mtн wi šm.t=i m-ht ɔh.t
 sbi=i hr ht i3b.t^f
 ihy dw3.tyw nd tn
 ihy lr=i shr.w=tн
 dw3=sn ntr pn m wi3=f
 i3kb=sn
 snf sn r htp m sh.t n Npri imy-ht
 Wsir N rh mdw pn m-ht ɔr-f hr dw3.tyw
 rn n wnw.t tn s3t mk nb=s
 ɔnh b3 n Wsir N

*srq=f h3.t=f
mn=f s.t=f m wi3 c3
wd-mdw=f n dw3.tyw
dw3=f ntr pn c3
mn tr=f dd rnp.t=f
mi mn R^c m wi3 c3*

Commanding by the majesty of this great god to the gods who are foremost of Wernes:
“Open your mysterious portals,

so that ‘Flesh’ might see and your darkness might be uncovered.

Water be to you at Wernes!

May bread be offered to you from the plants there!

May your enemies belong to your places of destruction!

Desiccation be to your corpse,

because of the evil stench of your putrefaction!

May your corporeal remains (*nfrw.t*) smell sweet!

May your legs stretch out,

so that you might travel upon them!

May your arms be outstretched!

To you belong your bas, they shall never be far from you!

May your visible forms live,

so that they may utter your efficacious spells.

May your swords be sharp,

so that you might conquer the enemies of Osiris N.

May your seasons endure,

and your years be stable!

Manifest your manifestations at the proper time!

May you occupy your fields!

Emmer be to you as bread, and grain be to you as justification.

May you navigate the barks.

You shall not return to your images in the field of Wernes.

May my *ba* which is among you live!

Those who fight for my flesh—

protect me from Apep!

As you are enlivened for my *ba*,

so do you breathe for my corpse and for Osiris N.

May you remain in your sacred places

[...] hidden of its condition.

You approach your *bas*.

Re emerges from your chambers,

traversing the night, repelling darkness.

O, behold, I am following the akhet-eye,

I travel behind the left-eye.

O Underworldly gods, protect yourselves!

O, I have taken care of you.”

They adore this god in his bark.

It is when he passes them in order to rest in the field of Nepri, afterwards,
that they mourn.

Osiris N knows this speech when he approaches the Underworldly gods.
The name of this hour is “Wise one who protects her lord.”

May the *ba* of Osiris N lives,
and his corpse breathe.

May he remain in his place in the great bark.

May he command to the Underworldly gods.

May he adores this great god.

May his seasons endure and his years be steadfast,
as Re endures in the great bark.

^a Again, the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II diverges from the New Kingdom copies, while Tjaihorpata approximates the earlier versions: *rwit tȝ n=tȝn n rd im tȝw nn shtm* “May bread go away(?) for you from the plants therein; breath without destruction!” The unusual use of the verb *rwit*, “to remove, go away,”⁹³ is replaced by a more appropriate verb *wdnw* “to offer” on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, an important variant.

In the New Kingdom versions, the statement about offerings is followed by the wish: *tȝw n=tȝn nn htm=tȝn* “Breath be to you, without you ever being destroyed.” Nearly all the New Kingdom versions, except Seti I, write only an *n*-water for the negation in *nn htm=tȝn*.⁹⁴ This incorrect writing might have led to the textual variant on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II: “your enemies belong to the Place of Destruction.”

^b The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II does not cease to amaze with entirely new phrases added to the text. In the text on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, in contrast to the foul-

⁹³ *Wb.* II 406.2ff.; such meanings are clearly not appropriate to a description of foodstuffs in the Underworld.

⁹⁴ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 242-243.

smelling putrefaction, the corpse is to smell positively sweet.⁹⁵ The word for corpse, *nfrw.t*, seems to be attested only in this passage on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II; however, the meaning of the root *nfr* “beginning/end, with the connotations, procreation, recreation, etc.,”⁹⁶ and the existence of the words *pr-nfr* and *r-nfr* for “embalming building,” provide a firm lexicographical base for the translation of *nfrw.t* as “corpses.”⁹⁷ This added statement replaces the sentence from the earlier versions and the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata: *sš n wtʒ.w=tн* “opening be to your mummy wrappings!”

^c Following *hpr hpr.w*, the sarcophagi versions again utilize different vocabulary. Tjaihorpata uses the word *wnw.t* like the earlier versions, while Nectanebo II uses *tr*, probably under the influence of the *tr*-signs depicted in lower register of the Second Hour. The odd word *ikʒ.t* is interpreted as *iʒ.t* “mounds” by Tjaihorpata and *ʒh.t* “fields” by Nectanebo II. Again, time, both seasons and years, is connected directly with fields and sustenance.

^d The negation is unexpected, since normally the gods in the Underworld return to their original positions after any movement within a particular hour when the sun god visits.

⁹⁵ Compare the similar statement in the Ritual for the Glorification of Osiris, P. Louvre I 3079, col. 110, l. 13 (Goyon, *BIAFO* 65 [1967]: 142): *ir-tw n-k wry.t m ddw r sdwh-k r sndm sti-k ...* “A shrine is made for you in Busiris for your mummification and to sweeten your smell ...”

⁹⁶ P. Frandsen, “On the Root *nfr* and a ‘Clever’ Remark on Embalming,” in J. Osing and E.K. Nielsen, eds., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt (Studies Iversen)* (Copenhagen, 1992), p. 56.

⁹⁷ For a thorough discussion of the meanings of *nfr*, see *ibid.*, pp. 49-62; Frandsen does not note the existence of any word for *nfr* meaning “corpse,” but it would be appropriate as another “clever” application of the wide semantic field covered by the word. It may also be significant that the term *nfr.t* for “Underworld” only occurs in the corpus of Underworld Books, such as in the Fifth Hour of Amduat (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 417; the example from the First Hour of Gates is probably to be read *hntyw*, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 65-66 n. 137).

The omission of the verb *n*i** before *wi₃* on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II suggests that this portion of the text may be corrupt, although it is remarkably free from apparent errors elsewhere. For example, the text *s^cn_h m₃(wy) sh.t n(t)tn shtyw Wrns*, present in the New Kingdom versions and the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, is omitted following *sšm=t_n*, but Nectanebo II turns this into a prepositional phrase *m sht Wrns*, creating a grammatically correct reinterpretation.

^e The text on Tjaihorpata ends here, but adds *n Wsir N*, suggesting that the Datians breathe through the corpse of the sun god *and* the corpse of Tjaihorpata. Although this is quite a bold statement, the texts from the Litany of Re on CG 29306 unequivocally state the identity of his corpse with that of Re (see below Chapter 5).

^f The left and right eyes of the solar god are personified as barks in the middle register of the Second Hour⁹⁸—Re literally follows behind his two eyes.

SIXTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

On the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, the Sixth Hour follows the Second Hour of Amduat on Side Two. The direct juxtaposition of these two hours implies that Side Two of the sarcophagus represents parts of the west and south walls of the “Hidden Chamber” (see *infra*). On the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, the Sixth Hour occurs on Side Three of the sarcophagus.

⁹⁸ I. Hegenbarth, “‘O seht, ich gehe hinter meinem *sh.t*-Auge’ – Einige Überlegungen zu den Barken des mittleren Registers der zweiten Stunde des Amduat,” *SAK* 30 (2002): 169-185.

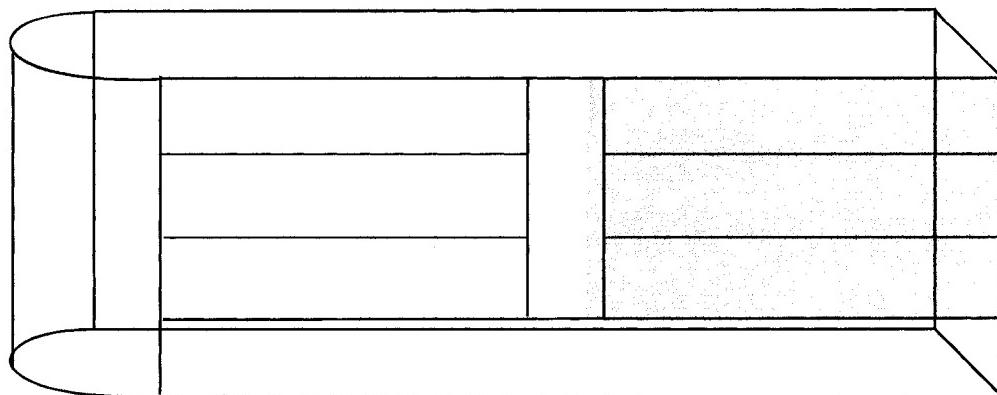


Fig. 56: Sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, Sixth Hour of Amduat

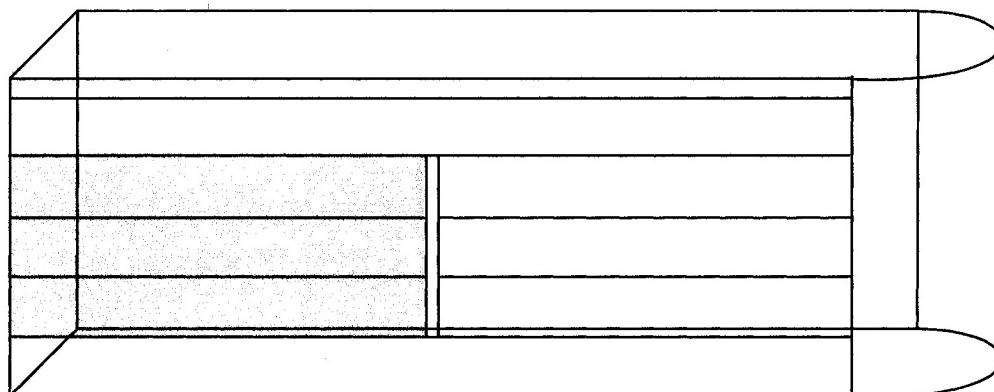


Fig. 57: Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, Sixth Hour of Amduat

INTRODUCTORY TEXT

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 101

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 271

Parallel: Similar to Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 456-59 (Nectanebo II);
ibid., pp. 460-464 (Tjaihorpata)

The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II uses an abbreviated introductory text to the Sixth Hour, while the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata uses the text which appears as horizontal lines in the New Kingdom tombs.

Nectanebo II:

htp in hm n ntr pn ⲉʒ m mdw.t nb.t dwʒ.tyw

wd=f mdw n ntr.w imy.w=s
 wd=f n=sn ȝh. wt=sn m htpw-ntr r niw.t tn
 di=f n=sn mw n.t=sn
 rn n sbȝ n niw.t tn spd mdw.t
 rn n wnw.t n.t grh Mspry.t
 iȝ Wsir NN m nb-htp.w imy ntr.w

Resting by the majesty of this great god in the deep waters “Mistress of the Datians.”
 He gives commands to the gods who are within it.
 He commands to them their fields, consisting of their offerings at this locale;
 and he gives to them the water of their floods.
 The name of the portal of this locale is “Sharp of Knives.”
 The name of the hour of night is “Harbor.”
 Osiris N is a lord of offerings among the gods.

Tjaihorpata:

wȝ.t štȝ.t hn̄nw ntr pn cȝ mw m wiȝ=f
 iȝr.t=f shr.w n imy.w dwȝ.t
 dm rn.w=sn
 rh m d.t=sn
 mtn sw im iȝr.w=tȝn^a wnw.t=sn štȝ.w-hr.t
 iȝwty rh sȝm pn štȝ n dwȝ.t (i)n rmȝ nb
 iȝw iȝr=tȝw sȝm pn štȝ m sȝ mȝ-qd m imn.t n.t dwȝ.t^b
 iȝw rh s(t) r ȝw m dwȝ.t
 htp=f m htp.w-ntr hn̄c imy.w-ht Wsir
 mȝc ȝb.w=f nb m tȝ
 iȝw Wsir N rh s(t) r ȝw=f m dwȝ.t
 htp=f m htp.w-ntr hn̄c imy.w-ht Wsir d.t nhȝ

The mysterious road where this great god sails in his bark.
 He cares for those who are in the Underworld
 (their names are pronounced,
 known in their bodily forms).
 Look, he is among their visible forms and their mysterious hours,
 whose secret form of the Underworld is not known by anyone.
 This image is to be executed according to the written template, entirely,
 in the hidden part of the Underworld.
 The one who knows it will partake foodstuffs in the Underworld,
 and he shall be content with the offerings together with the followers of Osiris,
 all which he desires is presented to him on earth.
 The Osiris N knows it, in order to partake of his foodstuffs in the Underworld,
 he is content with the offerings together with those who are in the following of
 Osiris, forever and ever.

^a This represents a departure from the New Kingdom versions: *mtn m ir.w=tн* “carved in their visible forms,”⁹⁹ probably due to the odd writings of the verb *mtn* in most earlier copies.

^b As in the Introductory Text to the Second Hour, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata does not assign the Sixth Hour to a specific wall of the Hidden Chamber—the south wall in the New Kingdom recensions.

UPPER REGISTER

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 101

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 272-273

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 465-481

SCENE 1

Depiction: Ten seated gods

The first group of deities are in a seated posture, some seated on thrones, but others lacking any visible means of support underneath them, representing the *process* of awakening.¹⁰⁰ The names of the gods primarily indicate their possession of offerings and requirements for a blessed afterlife.¹⁰¹

*dd-mdw in hm n ntr pn ⲉʒ n ntr.w imy.w¹⁰² sht tn
i hfd.w imi.w dwʒ.t
htp.w iry.w nb=sn
htp n=tн htp=tн
ʒh.wt=tн nty.w {n} htp=tн*

⁹⁹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 461; *idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 109-10 and n. 10.

¹⁰⁰ Hornung, *Die Unterweltsbücher der Ägypter*, p. 118.

¹⁰¹ The names of the deities on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II are nearly identical to the New Kingdom versions; the differences on CG 29306 seem to be the result of confusions in signs.

¹⁰² Tjaihorpata, l. 2, has *tp* like the New Kingdom texts.

$\dot{h}tp=tn$ $\dot{i}m=sn$ r^c nb^a
 $n\dot{t}tn$ htp hrw
 $nb.w^c$ $m\dot{z}^c$ n $rd.wy=tn$
 $q\dot{z}^{103}$ n $\dot{i}r.w=tn$ $\dot{c}3$ n $hpr=tn$
 $wsr=tn$ $shm=tn$ $tz-phr$
 $wsr=tn$ m $wsr=tn$ $shm=tn$ m $shm=tn$
 $nd=tn$ hr $Wsir^b$ m^-c $\dot{i}r.w$ nw^c $\dot{w}3y.w$ $r=f$
 $irt=sn$ pw m $dw3.t$ $rdit$ $htp.w$ n $ntr.w$ $dw3.t$
 hpr $htp=sn$ $hr^-c.wy$ m $3w$ tp $t3$ $r-gs$ ntr $\dot{c}3^d$

Recitation by the Majesty of this great god to the gods who are in this field:

“O Seated Ones within the Duat!

O those of the offerings who pertain to their offering baskets—

May your offerings and your fields which are your offerings be offered to you,

so that you might be content with them every day.

You are those who are content with the provisions,

possessors of arms, straight of your feet,

high of your forms, great of your manifestations.

May your *wsr*-power be your *shm*-strength and vice versa!

Your *wsr*-power is your necks and your *shm*-strength is your *shm*-scepters.

so that you might protect Osiris from the binders and those who rob him.

What they do in the Duat is to give offerings to the Underworldly gods.

Their offerings manifest immediately as victuals upon earth beside the great god.

^a This convoluted passage concerning offering mimics the sportive use of *hpr* in the theology of P. Bremner-Rhind.¹⁰⁴ Predictably, this repetitive use of *htp* led to a certain amount of confusion for the scribe(s) of CG 29306; the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II adheres to the New Kingdom versions.

^b Following the mention of Osiris, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata repeats the same sentence for his own benefit (ll. 17-19): *nd=tn hr Wsir iri-p^c t h3ty-c hm-ntr snyt T3i-hr-*

¹⁰³ Tjaihorpata, l. 10 writes ‘*q(z)*’ “precise,” a new variant.

¹⁰⁴ See *infra*.

p3-t3 htp m ‘nh. Nectanebo II, like his New Kingdom royal predecessors, lacks this addition.

^c The verb *nw*, spelled *nwn.t* in the New Kingdom texts (*Wb.* II 222.7), is perhaps an early example of the verb *nw* (*Wb.* II 220.15) “to cover, wrap up,”¹⁰⁵ like the *wt.w* “binders” who are punished in the Seventh Hour of Amduat. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata reinterprets   as  ; although one is tempted to suggest a conscious use of the verb *s tp* “to remove,”¹⁰⁶ the scribes of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata made the same mistake in the demonstrative *nw* in the line 6 of the middle register.

^d Tjaihorpata writes *m 3wt tp r3 n ntr pn ‘3* “as victuals upon the speech of this great god,” expressing the “creative utterance” found in the New Kingdom versions.¹⁰⁷ However, Nectanebo II’s *tp t3* is not necessarily a confusion of  and , but rather an allusion to the “offering formulae” so frequent in the Book of Gates.¹⁰⁸

SCENE 2

Depiction: Ennead of *hq3* scepters

*wd-mdw in hm n ntr pn ‘3 r hq3.w nsw.tyw bity.w imi dw3.t
i m3‘-tn
wts hd*

¹⁰⁵ For an alternate solution, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 111 n. 9; the term *nw* at Edfu Temple has an exclusively positive connotation (Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 494-95).

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter 2, *supra*.

¹⁰⁷ Hornung, *Texte des Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 469; *idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 111. For numerous parallels to creation through speech, see J. Zandee, “Das Schöpferwort im alten Ägypten,” in *Verbum. Essays on Some Aspects of the Religious Function of Words* (Domplein, 1964), pp. 33-66.

¹⁰⁸ For these, see *infra*.

rmn n.t m rhy.t
 3h.t=tн n=tн m dw3.t
 hpr htp=tн im=s r` nb
 m3` n wd=tн `nh n b3.w=tн srq n htyt=tн
 ntn hpr.w tp t3
 hknw r=tн
 dr=i <hfty.w>
 `h` b3.w=sn m dw3.t hr hq3.w=sn
 `k.t=st m itm.wt
 hm.n st `w3

Commanding by the majesty of this great god to the scepters of the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Underworld.

“O may you be straight!

Raise the white crown!

Carry the red crown among the *rekhyt*-people.

May your fields belong to you in the Duat,

so that your offerings come about through them every day.

May justice be to your commands! Life be to your bas! Breath be to your throats!

You are those who come into being on earth.

Rejoice,

for I have driven away <my enemy>.

May their bas stand in the Duat upon their scepters,

whose pommels are provided with knives,

the Robber not being aware of them.

SCENE 3

Depiction: Lion and udjat-eyes

ntr.t nt R`
 wnn=s m hry k3-hmhm.t m dw3.t
 nim k3 hmhm.t
 htp R` hr ntr.t=f
 wnn ssm Is.t-t3l.t m `r.w ntr.t tn

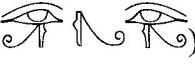
The divine eye of Ra:

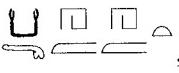
It exists above the lord with roaring voice in the Underworld.

The lord with roaring voice is pleased,

when Re rests upon his divine eye.

The image of Isis-Tait exists in the vicinity of this divine eye.

Above the lion, two *udjat*-eyes flank a *tit*-sign (), while below are

the following signs,  , which write *k3 hmhm* “lord of the roaring voice.”¹⁰⁹

Lions and *udjat*-eyes are related in other funerary texts¹¹⁰ and this constellation may be an image of the god Horwer Mekhenty-irty, who in the form of a lion has Shu and Tefnut as his two eyes.¹¹¹ The relationship between the depiction in the Sixth Hour of Amduat and Horwer is particularly striking in light of a depiction on the naos of the temple of Kom Ombo, where a lion occurs in conjunction with two *udjat*-eyes.¹¹² The lion with the two *udjat*-eyes could equally represent the god Atum, who possesses leonine and tauric¹¹³ traits; furthermore, Atum appears between two *udjat*-eyes in the Eleventh Hour of Amduat (see *infra*). Finally, the verb *nim* “to be (sexually) pleased,” suggests a

¹⁰⁹ The reading of *k3* as lord in this passage was first proposed by de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion*, pp. 256-57. For further discussion of *k3* as lord, see Zandee, *Crossword Puzzle*, p. 30. A reading of *k3* as bull would also be an appropriate description of a lion (de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion*, pp. 400-403). W. Westendorf, “Verbogene Gottheiten in den Unterweltsbüchern. Eine Göttinnen-Gruppe im Amduat,” in N. Kloth, K. Martin, and E. Pardey, eds., *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück. Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag* (Hamburg, 2003), pp. 471-72 suggests that the lion represents Osiris, but outside of Westendorf’s proposed derivation for the divine name *Wsir*, there is little independent evidence to support this identification.

¹¹⁰ CT Spell 1000 (Gardiner Papyrus, *CT* VII, 217b): *wn.n=i ir.t=k tw št3.t h3.t Rwti* “I have opened this your mysterious eye which is behind Ruty.” Papyrus of Pinudjem: *m3i hs3 hrst wd3.ty* “raging lion, blazing of *udjat*-eyes” (de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion*, p. 141; he translates *hrs.t* as carnelian, but the walking leg determinative suggest Wb. III 151.1-2, and *hrst wd3.t* is paralleled elsewhere, for which see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 671).

¹¹¹ H. Junker, *Der sehende und blinde Gott*, pp. 28-29; de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion*, pp. 248-253.

¹¹² Kom Ombo, no. 941, reproduced and translated by Sambin, *Clepsydre*, pp. 181-183; see also Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, p. 153.

¹¹³ Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1, pp. 12ff, 31-37.

connection with the Bull-of-bulls who bellows a cry of sexual pleasure in the Eighth Hour of Amduat (see *infra*).

SCENE 4

Depiction: Two guardian deities

*dd mdw in hm n ntr pn ⲉ₃
hdd s3w s̄sm=k
twr ntr.w wr m wd
imn.t n s̄sm.w=t
hd kkw=tn
srq n h^c.w=tn iwf s3w=tn
iw=i ⲉp=i hr=tn m htp*

Recitation by the Majesty of this great god:
“O Illuminer, guard your image!

O one whom the gods respect, great of command,
hiddenness be to your images.

May your darkness become bright,
and breath be to your limbs and the flesh which you guard.
I pass by you safely.

SCENE 5

Depiction: Three burial chests

*mdw dd ntr pn ⲉ₃ r h3w s̄sm pn št₃ n dw₃.t
hd kkw m t₃
hⁱ n iwf^a
mdw tp dmd=f h^c.w=f
s̄sm [pw] št₃ n(t) dw₃.t
wnn hry.w h.t=sn m s3w=sn^b*

Words spoken by this great god in the vicinity of the secret image of the Underworld:
“May the darkness within the earth become bright!

Rejoicing be to the flesh!

The head speaks, when the flesh has been united.

They are the secret image of the Underworld.

Those upon their bellies exist as their guardians.

^a The 46th Address to the Litany of Re, which appears directly below the end of the Sixth Hour of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo contains a parallel statement. For commentary on that address, see *supra*.

^aThe first register of the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II ends here, but the version in Tjaihorpata continues: *iw R^c shd=f kkw hr qdd=f m-ht imnt.t* “Re illuminates the darkness during his sailing after the west.”

The text of Tjaihorpata omits an interesting aspects of the New Kingdom text—*tp mdw=f m-ht dw3.t-ntr dwi=s hr=f* “the head speaks after the adoratrice calls to it.” Earlier in the annotation, the head speaks when it has been reunited with the body, but here the head appears to speak in a disembodied state. The “speaking head” recalls both the head of Isis in the Fifth Hour of Amduat and the head in P. Jumiliac.¹¹⁴ Both sarcophagi seem to omit this interesting detail through lack of space; for the burial chests and their relationship to the corpse of Khepri in the middle register, see below, “Commentary to the Sixth Hour.”

MIDDLE REGISTER

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 101

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 274-75

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 485-505

SCENE 6

Depiction: Solar Bark

*sqdd ntr pn c3 m niw.t tn hr mw
ir=f hpt m sht tn r h3wt h3.t Wsir
wd mdw <i>>n hm n ntr pn c3 .n ntr.w imi.w sht tn
mni=f n nw hw.wt št3.w hr sšm.w n Wsir*

¹¹⁴ Vandier, *Le papyrus Jumilhac*, p. 121, col. X, 20-XI, 15; Ph. Derchain, “L’auteur du papyrus Jumilhac,” *RdE* 41 (1990): 13-16.

*īw ntr pn ⲉʒ dwi=f hr-tp nw hw.wt štʒ.w
 hrw pw sdmw
 ntr pn ⲉp.hr=f m-ht dwi=f st
 īw Wsir N m-ht ntr pn ⲉʒ
 wd=f mdw n ntr.w īmy.w sht tn
 dwi=f hr nw hw.wt*

This great god is sailing in this locale upon the water,
 as he makes a course in this field in the vicinity of the corpse of Osiris.
 Commanding by the majesty of this great god to the gods within this field
 when he moors at these secret burials which contain the images of Osiris.
 This great god calls out atop these secret burials.
 The voice is what is heard.
 Then this great god passes by, after he calls them.
 The Osiris N follows this great god,
 he commands to the gods within this field,
 he calls out over the burials.

SCENE 7

Depiction: Seated baboon and Goddess

*i.n hm n ntr pn smn nn n ntr.w m niwt tn m dwʒ.t
 i.n R^c n ntr pn
 mn ir.w=k
 mn n ʒh.w=k
 ssm tw īmn.t m sht=k
 m s̄tʒ īmn.t sh̄r=s
 īmn n ⲉ.wy=ty hʒy=sn*

Recitation by the majesty of this god who endows these gods in this locale in the Duat.
 Re says to this god:
 “May your visible forms endure,
 and endurance be to your effective spells.
 She who is hidden leads you in your field,
 in the mysterious region, hidden of affairs.
 Hiddeness be to your (fem.) naked arms!

SCENE 8

Depiction: Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt

*dd mdw īn hm n ntr pn n nsw.tyw htp.tyw bity.w n ʒh.w īmy.t niw.t tn
 nsy.t=tn n=t nsw.tyw
 ſzp n=t tn hd.t=tn r tp.w=tn
 htp=tn n=t tn htp.tyw
 bity=t tn n=t tn bity.w
 ʒh=t tn n=t tn ʒh.w*

$\underline{htp-ntr=tn}$ $n=tn$ $\underline{htp=tn}$
 $\underline{shm=tn}$ $b3=tn$ $w3\check{s}=tn$
 $nswt$ n $\underline{htp=tn}$ hr $n\check{i}w.wt=tn$ $\check{zh}.wt=tn$
 $\underline{hnm=tn}$ $\check{st}\check{z}$ m $\underline{bity=tn}$
 $\check{zh}=tn$ m $\check{zh}=tn$
 $nt(t)n$ \underline{htp} m $\underline{htp=sn}$
 $rdi.n$ $r3$ $\underline{ntr.w}$ $n=sn$
 $nttn$ nd $\underline{hr=i}$ tp $t3$ $niky$ \check{zpp}
 $nsw.tyw$ $\underline{bity.w}$ $\check{zh}.w$ $\check{imy}.w$ $t3$
 iw rdi $r3$ n $Wsir$ $nswt$ N $\underline{shm=f}$ m $\underline{htp=f}$ ¹¹⁵
 $wnn=sn$ m \underline{shr} pn $\check{h}=sn$ r $\underline{pr=sn}$
 $\check{tw}=sn$ $sdm=sn$ hrw \underline{ntr} pn r^c nb

Words spoken by the majesty of this god to the Kings of Upper Egypt,
 those who are provided with offerings, the Kings of Lower Egypt,
 and the efficacious spirits who are in this locale:

“May your kingship be yours, Kings of Upper Egypt.
 May you receive your white crowns upon your heads.
 May you be content, those provided with offerings.
 May your red crowns be yours, Kings of Lower Egypt.
 May your efficacious powers be yours, efficacious spirits.
 May your offerings all be yours, so that you might be content.
 May you have power over your bas, so that you might be strong.
 Kings of your offerings upon the locales and the fields.
 May you unite with this mystery in your lower Egyptian crowns.
 May you be efficacious in your efficacious spirits.
 It is you who are content with your offerings,
 which the speech of the gods has given to them.
 It is you who protect me on earth and who punish Apep.
 The Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt and the efficacious spirits who are in the earth.
 The speech of the Osiris King N allows him to have power over his offerings.
 They exist in this fashion at their caverns(?).¹¹⁶
 They hear the voice of this god, each day.

This admittedly repetitive and seemingly uninformative annotation is a strong affirmation of the powers of speech in the Underworld. While it is not surprising that \check{zh} -spirits possess \check{zh} -power, the continual word play renews the attributes of the four groups

¹¹⁵ The annotation on the sarcophagus of Nectanbeo II ends here; the following lines are from Tjaihorpata.

¹¹⁶ This example appears in *Wb.* I 532.2.

of gods being addressed. In fact, their provisions come into existence simply at the command of the sun god. The addition to the text on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II likewise emphasizes the efficaciousness of speech—the utterances of the king give him control over his offerings.¹¹⁷ Although the sixteen mummiform gods appear in the deepest part of the Underworld, they protect Re “upon earth,” a confirmation of the king’s role as described in the treatise “Cult-Theological Treatise,” also known as “King as Solar Priest.”¹¹⁸ Through his performance of ritual and his reading of sacred texts, the king repels Apep from the solar bark, and deceased kings do the same in the Underworld for the solar deity.¹¹⁹

SCENE 9

Depiction: Corpse of Khepri

*ḥ3.t ḥpri pw m iw=f=f ds=f
‘ś(3)-ḥr.w m s3w=s
wn=f m shr pn sd=f m r3=f
ir=f dwn=f hr ssm pn
htp=f r s.t nb n dw3.t*

The corpse of Khepri in his own flesh,
while He-of-many-faces protects it.
He exists in this fashion—his tail in his mouth.¹²⁰
He stretches himself out underneath this image.
He rests at every place of the Underworld.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ The only additional text in the New Kingdom versions is in the tomb of User (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 499): *nd hr imi-r3 niw.t t3ty Wsr tp t3* “and who protect the mayor and vizier User upon earth.”

¹¹⁸ Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*.

¹¹⁹ The intersection of this world and the next during royal rituals is further suggested by the addresses to Netherworldly deities in the text “Confirmation of royal power in the New Year,” attested in a Late Period papyrus (see *infra*, Conclusion).

¹²⁰ The annotation on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata ends here.

For commentary on the corpse of Khepri, see below “Commentary to Sixth Hour of Amduat.”

LOWER REGISTER

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 101

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 276-277

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 505-522

SCENE 10

Depiction: Twelve gods, seated and standing

dd mdw in hm n ntr pn ȝ n nn n dwȝ.tyw¹²²
i hȝy.w hmsy.w n nwn
 imy.w sh.t=sn
nttn ntr.w hd tp hȝ hȝ.t
nttn nn n ntr.wt hmsy.w m-ht hpr
 bw hr hȝ.t=f m dwȝ.t
nh n hr.w=tn srq n ib.w=tn
hdw.t n kkw=tn
shm=tn m mw=tn
htp=tn m htp.w=tn
pr n bȝ.w=tn
 q=sn m-ht=(i)
bȝ=i m-ȝ=i
 htp=i hr hȝ.t=i
ȝw=i swȝ=i hr=tн m htp
ȝw=sn sdm=sn hrw Rȝ rȝ nb
 srq=sn m mdw=f
ir.t=sn pw m dwȝ.t sbȝ bȝ shn ȝw.wt
 ir.t hr.t ȝh.w m mw m dwȝ.t

Words spoken by the majesty of this great god to these Underworldly gods:

“O those who stand and those who sit for Nun,

 those who are in their fields.

You are the gods whose heads light up and whose corpses stand upright.

¹²¹ In the earlier versions, the snake is banned from movement: *iwty nȝ.i.n=f r s.t nb n.t dwȝ.t* “He cannot go to any other place in the Underworld.”

¹²² Tjaihorpata writes: *dd mdw in ntr pn ȝ n nn n ntr.w i ntr.w hnty dwȝ.t imy.w-ht nb.t dwȝ.t* ..., precisely following the New Kingdom versions (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 505-506).

You are these goddesses who sit in the following of Khepri,
at the place which bears his corpse in the Underworld.
Life be to your faces and breath to your hearts!
Illumination be to your darkness!
May you have control over your water,
and be content with your offerings!
Emergence be to your *bas*,
so they might enter into my entourage!
My *ba* is with me,
so that I might rest upon my corpse.
I pass over you in peace.
They hear the voice of Re every day,
and they breathe by means of his words.
What they do in the Underworld is conduct *bas*, help shades to alight,
and make requirements for the *akh*-spirits, namely water in the Underworld.

SCENE 11

Depiction: Serpent with the heads of the four sons of Horus

*īwty m33 st ntr pn ē3
srq nn n ssm.w īmy.w qb.w=f
sdm=sn īrw ntr pn ē3 rē nb
īr=f pw m dw3.t
shb šw.wt ēm hfty.w shr m dw3.t
īw Wsir N m b3 ēp htp hr h3.t=f*

The one who cannot see this great god.
Who gives breath to the images who are in his coils.
They hear the voice of this great god every day.
What he does in the Underworld,
is digest shades and swallow the enemies who are felled in the Underworld.
Osiris N is a *ba* who passes by and rests upon his corpse.

The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata contains a similar annotation, but the order of the phrases is entirely different, and some phrases are entirely misplaced. Although much of the Amduat on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is free from errors, in this scene, the text was probably copied from a perturbated original. The overall appearance of the text suggests that at some point in the textual transmission a retrograde text was copied in the wrong direction, an attested occurrence in the New Kingdom tombs and Third

Intermediate Period Amduat papyri.¹²³ Oddly, none of the other annotations in the Sixth Hour on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata appear to have used a corrupt text.

SCENE 12

Depiction: Four seated gods

*dd mdw in hm n ntr pn ȝ3 n nn ntr.w
ȝh̄ r=tn m hm
dwn r=tn m wrd
hpr n bȝ. w=tn
htp n ȝw. wt=tn
dwn n rd. wy=tn
wbn R̄ n=tn
mȝc n mȝs.t=tn
n ȝm.t ȝnh=sn m wbn R̄ r̄ nb
ir=sn pw ptr mȝwy n ȝh.ty*

Words spoken by the majesty of this great god to these gods:
“Stand up and do not retreat!
Stretch out and do not be weary!
The power of manifestation be to your bas!
The power of rest be to your shades!
May your legs be stretched out,¹²⁴
when Re shines for you.
May your knees be straightened,
as their life proceeds with the shining of Re each day.
What they do is witness the renewal of He-of-the-horizon.

The passages concerning the “shining” of Re are unique to the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II and reaffirm the power of the solar rays within the Underworld.

SCENE 13

Depiction: Spitting serpents with knives

*dd mdw in hm n ntr pn ȝ3 n is.t ntr.w ȝzw hnty niw.t tn
i psd.t ȝ3.t ss̄m n irw.w¹²⁵ ntr.w=*

¹²³ See *supra*, Introduction.

¹²⁴ Here the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata writes: *mȝc n mȝs.t=tn htp=tn m iwf*, and then moves to the beginning of the next scene, omitting the rest of the description of the four deities.

tk n hr=tn spd n sf.t=fn
 3m=tn hfty.w hpri
 dn=tn šw.wt=sn
 nttn iry.w iwf št3
 ir.n nwn s.t=sn

Words spoken by the majesty of this great god to the crew of the male gods,
foremost of this locale.

O great Ennead, images of the visible forms of his gods.
May your faces burn and your knives be sharp,
so you might roast the enemies of Khepri,
and cut up their shades.

You are the guardians of the secret flesh,
whose places Nun made.

COMMENTARY TO THE SIXTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

The two most significant depictions within this hour are the representations of the Solar-Osirian corpse in the top and middle registers.¹²⁶ At the end of the top register are three burial chests, each containing three signs: a sun disk, a *sšm*-sign, and a body part. Separate compartments within the burial chests house each of these signs in the Late Period versions. The “body parts” are not representations of the sun god as much as hieroglyphs signifying his constituent elements—head, wing,¹²⁷ and rear. These signs are

¹²⁵ Nectanebo II correctly interpretes the cryptographic writing () present in all New Kingdom versions (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 519); Tjaihorpata writes .

¹²⁶ Oddly, the three burials in the top register of the Sixth Hour are omitted on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306), although the annotation describing the burials is present.

¹²⁷ L. Gestermann has questioned the identification of the body part in the middle burial as a wing, arguing that it represents a headless and tailless figh sign (); the Amduat depiction also omits the tail), which is only later interpreted as a wing (in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, pp. 102-4). The difficulties in her analysis have been noted by W. Westendorf (“Drei Gräber einer dreigeteilten Gottheit im Amduat,” *GM* 200 [2004]: 97-104); he rejects the identification of the burial as a winged scarab, identifying the three body parts as those of the original mixed form of the solar deity—“Kopf (des Re), den Flügeln (des Horus) und dem Raubkatzenleib (der Mafdet)” (*ibid.*, p. 100). However, the importance of the image in the Sixth

the *sšm*-image of that part of Re, a wonderful exploitation of the pictorial quality of the hieroglyphic writing system. The parts of the corpse, by their nature Osirian, are surmounted by sun disks, in order to “solarize” and thereby resurrect each part. Thus, in the middle register of the Sixth Hour the annotation claims that the sun god sails “in the vicinity of the corpse of Osiris,” while the corpse in that register is labeled “Khepri.” Similarly, the “relics” of Osiris in Greco-Roman temples can be housed within solar images—*bnnb*-shaped receptacles.¹²⁸

At the end of the middle register, the body parts have been joined and the “awakening”¹²⁹ corpse of Khepri is guarded by a four-headed serpent. This same image appears independent of other Amduat depictions on the lid of the sarcophagus of Tadipakem (CG 29316), amongst scenes from the Book of the Dead. A statement in the accompanying text on CG 29316 indicates that the figure is indeed a “solar” corpse:¹³⁰ *ink R' m iwf=f ds=f* “I am Re in his own flesh.” The identification of the burial chests with the corpse of Khepri in the second register is further supported by part of “The revelations of the mystery of the four balls,” a Late Period funerary ritual:¹³¹

Hour of Amduat is not the physical form of the solar divinity, but rather the representation of his *corpse*, be it the corpse of a tripartite human-falcon-panther or the corpse of a winged scarab.

¹²⁸ Blackman and Fairman, in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 416-17. In the chapel of Khonsu at the Temple of Edfu, an obelisk holds the leg of Osiris (Cauville, *Essai*, pp. 59, 61). Compare also the association of *iwn*-pillars with the relics of Osiris at Dendara (Beinlich, *Osirisreliquien*, pp. 51 and 55-56).

¹²⁹ Indicated by the striding position of the legs—for more on this image, see Chapter 2, *supra*.

¹³⁰ Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, vol. 2, p. 105. Contra Gestermann, in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, p. 105, who reads the annotation as “Dies ist der Leichnam dessen, der aus seinem eigenen Fleisch entsteht.”

¹³¹ MMA 35.9.21, col. 30, ll. 2-3 (Goyon, *Le Papyrus d’Imouthès*, pl. 29). This same chest, which can also be said to contain the corpse of Osiris, is “sealed” by the 77 guardian deities of Pharbaithos, the very genies who appear inside the sarcophagus of Djedher, CG 29305 (see

sd=k p3 k3r m mh 1 iw p3 hprr ‘3 št3 im=

You have broken the chest of one cubit, in which the Scarab, great of mystery, is.

The preceding Fourth and Fifth hours of the Book of Amduat are located in *R3-st3w* and *Imh.t*, both possessing earthly counterparts in Memphis and Heliopolis.¹³² Similarly, the burial pits, and by extension the corpse of Khepri, are given a Heliopolitan association. The center structure is labeled *hw.t st3w hr-‘h* “Burial of the haulings of Kheraha”¹³³ while the two others are called *hw.t dw3w sth* “Burial of the adoration of Seth”¹³⁴ and *hw.t dmd Hr* “Burial which unites Horus.” These three “burials” are only one of many references to the sun god being interred at Heliopolis. For example, in the Sixth Hour of the Book of Gates, the burial of “this great god” is also in Heliopolis, specifically the *hw.t-bnbn*,¹³⁵ and in Chapter 162 of the Book of the Dead explicitly names the “great corpse” buried in Heliopolis:

ntf b3 n t3 h3.t ‘3.t nty htp m Iwnw

R-‘hpr-itm rn=

It is he who is the *ba* of the great corpse which rests in Heliopolis,
Re-Khepri-Atum is his name.¹³⁶

supra). The passage in question also argues against Westendorf’s claim (*GM* 200 [2004]: 98): “Ich meine, die Idee vom Grab des Sonnenkarabäus sollten wir begraben!”

¹³² For a discussion of Imhet and Heliopolis as a model of the Underworld, see *supra* (Fourth Hour of Amduat, Chapter 3).

¹³³ Westendorf, *GM* 200 (2004): 99 translates “tomb of the wounding/battle of Kheraha.” For other examples of *hw.wt št3.wt* with *sšm.w*, see Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 128 n. 13.

¹³⁴ The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II omits the name of Seth present in the New Kingdom versions.

¹³⁵ For more on the *hw.t-bnbn* as burial place, see the commentary to the 74th Address of the Litany of Re (Chapter 3, *supra*).

¹³⁶ For the trigram writing Re-Khepri-Atum and a parallel to this passage in the Harris Magical Papyrus, see *supra*.

There can be no doubt that the center of solar worship in Egypt also contained a cult for the corpse of Re, which according to the theology of the Solar-Osirian unity is normally the Osirian component. The body of Re buried in Heliopolis is simultaneously an Osirian burial, as the numerous references to Osiris in Heliopolitan toponyms attest.¹³⁷

SIDE THREE

The other long wall of the Type III sarcophagi also contains two hours from the Book of Amduat. The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II reproduces the Third and Eighth Hours of the Book of Amduat on Side Three, opposite the Second and Sixth Hours on Side Two. The sarcophagus of Usermaatre is missing most of Side Three, but parts of the Third Hour are preserved.

THIRD HOUR OF AMDUAT

The sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre place the Third Hour of Amduat on the first half of Side Three, opposite the Second Hour on Side Two. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, on the other hand, contains the Second and Third Hours consecutively on Side Two. The Third Hour shares several features with the preceding/opposing Second Hour, including physical structure and the existence of a single annotation to each register. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata tends to follow the New Kingdom versions of the text, although the limited surface of the sarcophagus caused some phrases to be

¹³⁷ E. El-Banna, “Aspects héliopolitains d’Osiris,” *BIFAO* 89 (1989): 101-126 (to his examples, which do not consider the Underworld Book material, should be added the occurrences in the Sixth Hours of Amduat and Gates); Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 311 and n. 47; S. Cauville, *Dendara, Les chapelles osiriennes*, vol. 2, p. 238, lists the occurrences in *Dendara X* (she notes that although the body parts of Osiris are located throughout Egypt, the final resting place of the mummified body is Heliopolis).

omitted. The sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre, on the other hand, diverge from the earlier versions as well as the text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata; the Third Hour on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II is also distinguished by long additional texts involving the deceased king.¹³⁸ The following commentary will demonstrate new connections between some of the deities in this hour and the accompanying annotations, such as the importance of the inundation and the return of the goddess of the eye of the sun even to the inhabitants of the Netherworldly regions.

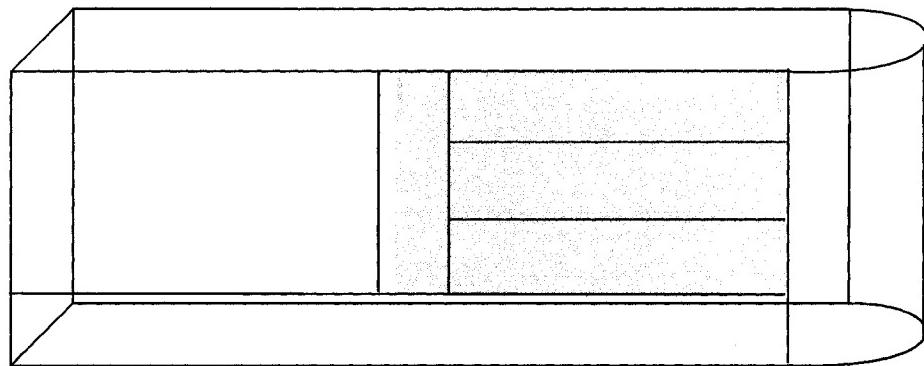


Fig. 58: Sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre, Third Hour of Amduat

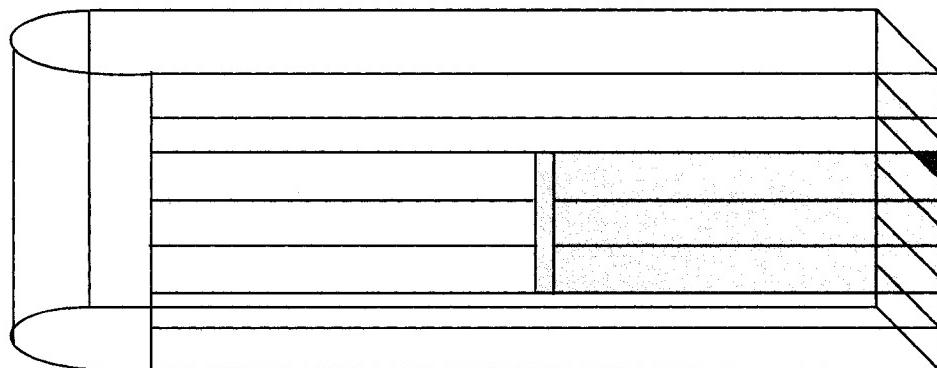


Fig. 59: Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, Third Hour of Amduat

INTRODUCTORY TEXT

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 102

Usermaatre: Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Gasperlenspiel*, p. 136

¹³⁸ For convenience, the different versions are labeled and presented next to one another, rather than placing one version in a separate note.

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 248
Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 270-273

*htp m sh.t npr.tiw^a in hm n ntr pn ȝ
ir.t hp.wt m nt Wsir
itrw 309 m ȝw n sht tn
ntr.w wd ȝh.w imi-ht Wsir^b
[rn n wnw.t nt grḥ] ssm ntr pn ȝ dnt bȝ.w
rn n sbȝ n niw.t tn itw^c
ir ntr pn ȝ shr.w ntr.w imi.w-ht Wsir
wd=f n=sn hnbt.t r sh.t tn
(Nectanebo II/Usermaatre):
iȝ Wsir N mȝ-ȝrw ȝh.(w)
iȝ=f ȝr=f r b(w) ȝr=sn
di=tw n=f mw r sh.t tn
(Tjaihorpata):
ȝh bȝ.w ȝtȝ.w
ir n ntr.w im=s^d
ir ȝh rn=sn tp-tȝ
iȝ=f ȝr=f r bw ȝr Wsir*

Resting in the fields of the grain-deities by the majesty of this great god,
and pursuing the course in the waters of Osiris.
(There are 309 iteru in the length of this field).

It is the gods who command, namely the effective spirits in the following of Osiris.
The name of the hour of the night which leads the great god is: "She-who-slices-bas."
The name of the gateway of this locale is: "The-one-who-seizes."

This great god cares for the gods who are in the entourage of Osiris.
He grants to them land shares at this field.
(Nectanebo II/Usermaatre):
Osiris N, justified, knows the secret bas.

He ascends to the place where they are,
so that one gives water to him at this field.

(Tjaihorpata):
Know the secret bas!
Act for the gods who are within it!
As for the one who knows their names on earth,
he will always ascend to the place where Osiris is.

^a *Npr.tiw* in the New Kingdom versions has the land sign, and is thus translated by Hornung as "Uferbewohner;"¹³⁹ however, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306)

¹³⁹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 63.

clearly writes three pieces of grain, thus reinterpreting the name as “grain-deities.” Usermaatre simply has three pellets, which could either be grains or plural dots.

^b The New Kingdom texts preserve two different versions of this sentence,¹⁴⁰ both of which are different from the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. It is possible that this variant is intended to be a participial statement, with another phrase in apposition: “As for these gods who are commanded, (they are) the akh-spirits in the following of Osiris.”

^c The name of the hour and portal is only present on the sarcophagus of Usermaatre, although partly damaged. The following sentence *ir ntr pn ⲉ* begins the introductory text as present on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II.

^d The imperative *ir n ntr.w* ... on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is not in the earlier versions (nor the other sarcophagi) and supports the reading of *rḥ* as an imperative.¹⁴¹ The verb *rḥ* also appears as an imperative in the Second Hour of Amduat (see *supra*).

UPPER REGISTER, ANNOTATION

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 102

Usermaatre: Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, p. 136

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 249

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 278-283

*wnn-sn m shr pn m dwʒ.t m iwf-sn n d.t-sn ds-sn
mdw bʒ.w-sn hr-sn
htp šw.wt-sn hr-sn*

¹⁴⁰ *wd ntr pn ⲉ mdw n ʒh.w* ... and *wd.hr ntr pn ⲉ mdw n ʒh.w* (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 271).

¹⁴¹ The reading of *rḥ* as an imperative was proposed for the New Kingdom versions by Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 63.

m-ht dwi=sn ntr pn ⲉ₃
 (Nectanebo II/Usermaatre:) *iw=sn mdw=sn n=f dw3=sn sw*
 (Tjaihorpata:) *iw=sn mdw b3.w=sn n=f w3š=sn n=f*
*i3kb=sn m-ht pp=f hr=sn*¹⁴²
 (Nectanebo II:) *iw Wsir N dw3=f ntr pn ⲉ₃ m ht p=f hr b3.w šw.wt*
irt=sn pw m imn.t
nd sbi
shpr Nwn
irt nmtt m h̄pi
 (Nectanebo II:) *prr d̄c m t3 hr=sn*
 (Tjaihorpata:) *pr=f m d̄c m t3 hr=sn*
di=sn hrw
nd=sn sbi

In this fashion do they exist in the Duat, in the flesh of their own bodies,
 their bas speaking over them,
 their shades resting over them,
 after this great god calls to them.

(Nectanebo II/Usermaatre:) They always speak to him and praise him.
 (Tjaihorpata:) Their *bas* speak to him and they adore him.
 They mourn after he has gone past by them.
 (Nectanebo II:) Osiris N adores this great god after he passes over the bas and shades.
 What they do in the west is
 to pulverize the rebel,
 to cause Nun to develop,
 to make strides in the inundation waters,
 (Nectanebo II:) when the storm-wind goes forth from the earth beneath them,
 (Tjaihorpata:) when he goes forth as a storm from the earth before them,
 they cry out,
 when they grind the rebel.

UPPER REGISTER, ANNOTATION (CONT.)

Tjaihorpata:
iw rh sn m rn.w=sn
ni zbi.n=f n hmhm.t=sn
ni h3.n=f m h3dw=sn
iw Wsir N rh.(w) sn rh.(w) rn=sn
nn zbi=f n hmhm=sn
 (As for) the one who knows them in their names,
 he cannot perish at their roar,
 he cannot descend into their trap.
 Osiris N knows them and knows their names,
 without perishing at their roar.

¹⁴² Here Usermaatre ends the Amduat text and reproduces the titles and filiation of Usermaatre.

Nectanebo II:

*īw r̥ḥ n̥tr pn ‘z m ‘p hr-sn
n̥i šmt.n=f n hmhm.t=sn
n̥i h3.n=f m h3d=sn
īw Wsir N r̥ḥ rn n sht tn
shpr.n=f ȝw=f
īw=f r̥ḥ rn n n̥tr.w imy.w=s
īw=f r̥ḥ sn m ‘p n̥tr pn ‘z hr-sn
n̥i šm-f n hmhm.t[=sn
n̥i] h3i=f m h3d[.w]
wn[-f] m iry s.t
īw=f d̥r=f r bw hr Wsir
di=tw n=f mw r sh.t tn
p3d=f r hr hn R*

This great god knows when he passes over them.
He cannot perish at their roar.
He cannot descend into their traps.
Osiris N knows the name of this field,
 having already created his provisions.
He knows the name of the gods who are within it.
He knows them when this great god passes over them.
He shall not perish at their roar.
He will not descend into their traps.
[He] shall exist as a guardian of the throne.
He shall seek out the place where Osiris is,
 so that he might be given water at this field.
His rations are in heaven with Re.

The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II diverges from the text of the New Kingdom versions and the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, elaborating on the results of the knowledge of the gods in this region of the Underworld. Additionally, Nectanebo II adds a crucial piece of information to this section of the Amduat. Although the other versions speak of “one who knows them (i.e. the gods and their names),” Nectanebo II indicates that the sun god himself must know their names or else perish at their roar and descend into their traps. Not only is the deceased king incorporated into the solar cycle in a specific fashion, the sun god is placed in a situation earlier applied only to a deceased king. The

additional text on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II is cleverly composed and alludes to passages in the middle register as well.¹⁴³

The deities who populate the upper register of the Third Hour have widely varying forms and names typical of the host of deities who appear throughout the hours of the night. Some of the names of the deities allude to functions described in the annotation, such as the punishment of enemies, but three deities in particular deserve further attention. The gods named *in.ty* “He of the one who is brought” (no. 198), *in.tyt* “She of the one who is brought” (no. 199), *in ir.t=s htp-ntr* “Who brings her eye, and thus pacifies the god” (no. 203) all describe the mission to retrieve the goddess of the eye of the sun. While this goddess possesses a ferocious nature and might participate in “pulverizing the rebels,” she has a more direct link with the annotation. Although deep within the earth, the upper register annotation gives prominence given to meteorological phenomena, including storm winds and especially the inundation waters, called both Nun and Hapi.¹⁴⁴ The goddess of the eye of the sun, explicitly being fetched by three gods in the upper register, heralds the rising of the inundation waters. Hathor sails through nearly every hour of the night inside the solar bark,¹⁴⁵ and here she plays an additional role as the eye of Re, the wandering goddess who returns to Egypt and brings with her the life-

¹⁴³ For example, *shpr zwt* is an allusion to the name of the water mentioned in the middle register (see below); part of the text also repeats wishes for the deceased king in the middle register present already in New Kingdom copies.

¹⁴⁴ In the Hymn to Hapi, it is said “He (Hapi) is in the Underworld (*dw3.t*)” (Van der Plas, *L'hymne à la crue du Nil*, vol. 2, p. 40). Both Hapi and Nun can be located within the Netherworld (*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 95, 126-131). See also Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Amours et fureurs de La Lointaine* (Paris, 1997), pp. 157-178 for the connection between the Underworld, Inundation, and goddess of the eye of the sun.

¹⁴⁵ The one exception is the Seventh Hour, where she is replaced by Isis who combats Apep with her magical spells.

giving inundation waters. The names of the three deities who fetch the eye of the sun remain one of the only references to the eye-goddess in the Underworld Books.¹⁴⁶ However, her place in the Underworld may result from a further association between the eye of Re and eye of Horus, both of whom protect the solar divinity.¹⁴⁷ Finally, the return of the goddess of the eye of the sun was celebrated on earth during the same days as important Osirian festivals.¹⁴⁸

MIDDLE REGISTER, ANNOTATION

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 102

Usermaatre: Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, pp. 136-37

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 249-50

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 291-95

ḥns ntr pn ȝ nt nb wȝ hpr ȝw.t
 (Nectanebo II:) *īw ḥns Wsir N nt nb wȝ hpr ȝw.t*
 (Nectanebo II:) *īw ȝw.t=f wnn=f m shr pn*
 (Usermaatre:) *wnn=f m shr pn*
 (Tjaihorpata:) <*wnn=f m*>^a *shr pn*
 hn=f m wiȝ.w īmī.w-tȝ
 ir=f hpt Wsir r niw.t tn
īw ntr pn ȝ ȝt=f ȝhȝw m niw.t tn
 wd-mdw=f n Wsir hnȝ imy.w-ȝt=f
 in nn n wiȝ.w štȝ.w sȝm sw m sh.t tn
 hpt ntr pn ȝ m sht tn r wnw.t dnt-bȝ.w

¹⁴⁶ For another occurrence of the goddess of the eye of the sun in the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 112-113.

¹⁴⁷ Darnell, *SAK* 24 (1997): 35-48. For the eye of Horus in the Underworld Books, see *supra*.

¹⁴⁸ Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt and C. Kuentz, *Abou-Simbel, le petite temple*, p. 223 n. 525. Goyon, *Le Papyrus d'Imouthès*, p. 84 n. 7 rejects Kuentz's arguments, adversely affecting his interpretation of the text "The raising up of the multitudes on the last day of Tekh." Several passages describing the sexual prowess of Osiris (e.g. Col. 44, l. 9, *bȝ nk mri hm.wt* "copulating ba who loves women") may be influenced by Hathoric rituals. Further evidence of the connection between Hathor and Osiris appears in the "Ritual of Bringing in Sokar," this juxtaposition of Hathor and Sokar caused Faulkner to remark (*JEA* 23 [1937]: 12): "the problem of this text is the large proportion of it that is devoted to praise of Hathor ... it is by no means clear what connexion Hathor has with Sokar, and at present I have no suggestion to offer." Such pessimism is no longer needed.

*phr¹⁴⁹ nn n wiʒ.w r idb n iʒw m-ht hns niw.t tn
iʒw rh st m iʒy st
pʒd=f r hr hn^c R^c*

This great god as he traverses the water of the sole lord which becomes sustenance.
(Nectanebo II:) Osiris N traverses the water of the sole lord which becomes sustenance.

(Nectanebo II:) His provisions exist in this fashion.

(Usermaatre:) He exists in this fashion.

(Tjaihorpata:) <He exists in> this fashion,

as he travels in the barks within the earth.

as he makes the course of Osiris at this locale.

This great god rests a lifetime in this locale,

and he commands to Osiris together with those who are in his following.

It is these secret barks which guide him in this field,

while this great god travels in this field during the hour “She-who-slices-bas.”

It is after traversing this locale that these barks go around the bank of “One-who-seizes.”

The one who knows it as a guardian of the throne,

his rations will be in heaven with Re.

^a The otherwise banal phrase *wnn=f m shr pn* in the annotation to the second register is particularly important for the textual history of this portion of the Amduat. In all New Kingdom versions and the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, *wnn=f m* is omitted,¹⁵⁰ although it appears on the sarcophagus of Usermaatre.¹⁵¹ Nectanebo II adds an entirely new sentence describing the provisions of the sun god.

LOWER REGISTER, ANNOTATION

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 102

Usermaatre: Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, pp. 138-39

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 251-52

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 302-307

wnn-sn m shr pn
dwʒ-sn ntr pn cʒ
(Nectanebo II:) *wd=f n-sn mdw.t*

¹⁴⁹ After *phr*, the annotation on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata ends.

¹⁵⁰ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 68 n. 1 interprets *shr pn* as an adverb, but without a preposition preceding *shr*, such a reading is unpersuasive.

¹⁵¹ Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, p. 136.

(Tjaihorpata:) *iw ntr pn ՚3 wd=f n=sn mdw.t*
 [‘]*nḥ=sn dwi=f n=sn*
 wd=f n=sn mw=sn
 šsp=sn tp.w=sn m t3w tp-r3=f
 irt=sn pw m imn.t
 irt¹⁵² m̄q šd b3.w hnr šw.wt
 rdit tmw iwtyw wnn r s.wt=sn n.t htmy.t
 stt=sn sd.t shpr ՚m.w hftiw
 m imit sft=sn
 hwt=sn i3kb=sn m-h̄t ‘p ntr pn ՚3 hr=sn
 htri rn n s33 sh.t tn
 iw rh st m ՚h shm m rd.wy=f
 (Tjaihorpata:) *iwty q=f m htm.t im=s Wsir N*
 (Nectanebo II:) *iw Wsir N m ՚h shm*
 [‘]*pr.(w) m irw.w=f*
 shr.n=f hfty.w=f nb.t

They exist in this fashion,

adoring the great god.

(Nectanebo II:) He commands to them.

(Tjaihorpata:) This great god commands to them.

It is when he calls to them, that they live,

he commanding to them their water,

It is from the breath of his utterance, that they receive their heads.

This is what they do in the hidden area:

roasting and slicing bas, imprisoning shades,

placing those who do not exist and those for whom there is not being
at their places of destruction,

It is to bring about the burning of their enemies, that they shoot flames,

by means of that which is atop their knives.

They cry and they mourn after this great god passes over them.

Kheteri is the name of the guardian of this field.

The one who knows it is a powerful *akh* (standing) on his two feet,

(Tjaihorpata:)

without him entering the place of destruction therein, namely Osiris N.

(Nectanebo II:) Osiris N is a powerful *akh*,

equipped of visible forms,

having felled all of his enemies.

These gods, like numerous others within the Book of Amduat, help punish the enemies of Re, thus safeguarding the corpse of Osiris. However, the annotation describes

¹⁵² Both Nectanebo II and Usermaatre omit *ir.t*.

another, less well-attested event—the gods of the lower register receive their heads when the sun god speaks to them. The reception of one's head through solar speech/light is portrayed vividly on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, where light pours into the necks of headless mummies.¹⁵³ Darnell has related these gods to the deities in the Book of Caverns, called “those relating to the (solar) pupil,” whose heads must be attached. As Darnell also notes, the relation between the heads of headless deities and the solar pupil “explains the presence of the cat in the scene on the shrine—the cat is the eye of the sun, the pupil to whom the heads of these beings belong.”¹⁵⁴ This in turn suggests another reason for the existence of gods carrying the solar pupil in the upper register of the Third Hour of Amduat.¹⁵⁵ In three separate Underworldly compositions headlessness is linked with the goddess of the eye of the sun.

THIRD HOUR, CONCLUDING TEXT

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 102

Usermaatre: Not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 257-58

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 312-341

The Third Hour of Amduat is followed by a lengthy concluding text. The following transliteration and translation is based upon the text on the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Tjaihorpata; the text, although originally present on the sarcophagus of Usermaatre, is not preserved in the surviving pieces of the sarcophagus. On the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, the concluding text occurs immediately after the Third

¹⁵³ Second Side, Scene 2—Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 108-117; on p. 113 he quotes the passage from the Third Hour of Amduat in relation to the Tutankhamun scene.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹⁵⁵ A goddess *b3hy.t* “She of the Eastern Mountain” (no. 276) in the lower register also appears to carry two solar pupils.

Hour in the same block of vertical columns with passages from the following Eighth Hour. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata places the concluding text on Side Four, below a scene from the Book of Gates and above the Eighth Hour of Amduat. Although the decoration of the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Tjaihorpata differ significantly, it is notable that both juxtapose the Third and Eighth Hours of Amduat.

\underline{dd} mdw in $ntr.w$ $\check{s}t3.w$ hft ntr pn ϵ_3 $\epsilon q=f$ m i_tw
 $\underline{hn}=f$ nt nb w^c hp_{rt} $\check{z}wt$
 mi $r=k$ $n=n$ $hnnw$ $lwf=f$
 $s\check{sm}$ n $h^c=f$ $ds=f$
 $\epsilon^c w$ $dw3.t$ nb srq
 mdw $h^c.w=f$ ir $\epsilon nh=f$
 h^c $b3=k$ $w3\check{s}$ $shm=k$ ¹⁵⁶
 $s\check{sm}$ tw $M3^c.ty=k$ m $w3.t$ kkw
 $p.t$ n $b3=k$ $t3$ n $h3.t=k$
 ϵh^c $n=k$ $w^c.ty$
 (Nectanebo II:) $w^c t.t$ r $nfr.t$
 (Nectanebo II:) mni tw $s3b.w$
 (Tjaihorpata:) $nfrwy$ $mny.t$ $wi3$ n $h^c.w=f$
 (Tjaihorpata:) $\underline{dd}=f$ $im\check{i}$ $s3b.w$ (r) $wi3$
 $\check{ss}p$ tw $\epsilon.wy$ $imn.tyw$
 m $irw.w=k$ $dsr.w$ n $nh\check{h}$
 $nfr.wy^a$ $m33$ $imn.tyw$
 $htp.wy$ sdm $dw3.tiw$ R^c
 m $htp=f$ m $imn.t$
 (Nectanebo II:) $h\check{d}w.t=f$ $dr=sn$ kkw (r?) $s\check{sm}$
 (Tjaihorpata:) $h\check{d}w.t=f^c$ m kkw $s\check{sm}.w^b$

Recitation by the mysterious gods before this great god as he enters the door “Seizer,”
when he sails the water “Unique lord who becomes sustenance”

“Come to us, one whose flesh is conducted on the water,
who is led to his own body,
interpreter of the Duat, possessor of breath,
whose flesh speaks, and who creates his own life.
May your ba appear in glory! May your power dominate!
May your two Maats guide you on the roads of darkness.
The sky belongs to your ba, as the earth belongs to your corpse.”

¹⁵⁶ This sentence is the beginning of the Concluding Text as present on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

May the Unique one stand up for you,
 (Nectanebo II:) she who is alone at the towrope,
 (Nectanebo II:) when the jackals bring you to moor.
 (Tjaihorpata:) How perfect is the mooring of bark of his flesh,
 (Tjaihorpata:) when he says: “Assign the jackals to the bark!”
 The arms of the westerners receive you
 in your sacred visible forms of the ancient one.
 How beautiful it is that the westerners see!
 How peaceful is that the Datians hear Re,
 when he sets in the west,
 (Nectanebo II:) and he illuminates,
 so that they might drive away the darkness (from) the images.
 (Tjaihorpata:) and illuminates the arm in the chamber “She who is Dark of Images.”^a

^a The text on the sarcophagi of Tjaihorpata and Nectanebo II omit the particle *ʒ*, which precedes *mʒʒ* in all New Kingdom versions (written as *m-owl* in Seti I).¹⁵⁷ The use of *mʒʒ* without an object is paralleled in Pyramid Text Utt. 306 (§476a),¹⁵⁸ which also contains an exclamatory adjectival sentence reinforced with the particle *ʒ*: *nfr.wy ʒ mʒʒ nfr.wy ʒ ptr* “How beautiful is seeing! How beautiful is perceiving.”

^b The reading of this line is obscure, but the version in the New Kingdom texts and the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata suggest the idiom “to illuminate the arm,”¹⁵⁹ rather than *rdi* in the stative form.¹⁶⁰ Nectanebo II contains a variant text which is rather unclear.

¹⁵⁷ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 318. Hornung, *Das Amudat*, vol. 2, p. 76 n. 16 mentions the use of the particle, but does not comment further. The particle *ʒ* is attested in a variety of sentences (Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 2, §819; GEG §245).

¹⁵⁸ Sethe, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, vol. 1, p. 245.

¹⁵⁹ Two deities named *hdw.t-ε* appear in the Amduat (*Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 122, 216-17). Similarly named deities appear on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 84-86 and references therein).

¹⁶⁰ The stative should be feminine to agree with the feminine noun *hdw.t* and significantly, the plural strokes are replaced by flesh signs in SI3 (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 319).

THIRD HOUR, CONCLUDING TEXT, CONT.

$m\dot{i}$ $r.k$ $n=n$ R^c $\dot{z}hty$ $hpri$ nbi $ntr.w^a$
 $hn=k$ $idb.w$ $dw3.t$
 $hns=k$ $sh.wt=k$ $imn.wt$
 $hpr=k$ $hpr.wt$ m $t3=k$ pw
 rnn $n=k$ $niw.t$ $wr.t$
 $htp.n=k$ $hr=s$
 imi hkn $r.k$ n $Wsir$
 $hkn=f$ $n=k$ m $d.t=f$ $imi-dw3.t$
 $h3$ R^c $\check{s}t3y.t$
 $h3$ R^c $hw\dot{i}$ $hftyw=f$
 $m3^c-hrw=k$ R^c r $hftyw=k$
(Nectanebo II:) [nb]¹⁶¹ itn $hd.w$ $b3$ shd $t3$
(Tjaihorpata:) $m3^c-hrw=k$ $Wsir$ N r $hfty.w=k$
 ir itn $hd=k$ $shd(w)$ $t3$

Come to us, Re of the horizon, Khepri, swimmer of the gods!

May you traverse the banks of the Duat!

May you tread your hidden fields!

May you make your manifestations in that earth of yours!

The great locale jubilates for you,
after you have stopped there.

Give praise to Osiris,

while he praises you with his body within the Duat.

O, Re of Shetayt!

O, Re who smites his enemies!

You are justified, Re, against your enemies.

(Nectanebo II:) [Lord] of the disk, shining of ba, who illumines the earth.

(Tjaihorpata:) You are justified, Osiris N, against your enemies.

The disk creates your light, so that the earth might light up.

^a Tjaihorpata replaces the epithet $\dot{z}h.ty$ with $\check{s}t3$, possibly short for $\check{s}t3y.t$ —Re of Shetayt.

Hornung reads the epithets of Khepri in the New Kingdom versions as “Goldkäfer, Same

der Götter,”¹⁶² as he admits, $hprr-nbw$ is an otherwise attested epithet, although a golden

¹⁶¹ Restoration made on the basis of the New Kingdom versions (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 323).

¹⁶² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 74.

scarab is consistent with Egyptian religious imagery.¹⁶³ On the sarcophagi of Tjaihorpata and Nectanebo II, there are no water signs following the verb *nbi*, so either the late interpretation is “golden one of the gods,” or both versions refer to the scarab as *nbi ntr.w* “swimmer of the gods.” At dawn, when the sun is represented by the newly born scarab, he is said to “swim in his redness,”¹⁶⁴ and other heavenly bodies, such as the stars, can be described as swimming through the heavens.¹⁶⁵

THIRD HOUR, CONCLUDING TEXT, CONT.

*wd-mdw iñ ntr pn cʒ n bʒ.w štʒ.w imy.w-ht Wsir*¹⁶⁶

i nw sštʒ.n=i iñmn.n=i bʒ.w=sn

cʒ.r.w n=i n Wsir m ht=f

r nd-hr=f

r sbit hr ssm.w=f

*r shtm ir.w wt.w*¹⁶⁷ *r=f*

Hw n=k Wsir

Siʒ n=k Hnty-imntiw

i ʒh.w Wsir imiw=ht Hnty-imntiw

mn n ir.w=tñ

ʒh n hrp.w=tñ

(Nectanebo II:) *s(s)n tʒw n fnd.w=tñ*

(Tjaihorpata:) *ssnt tʒw (n) dwʒ.t hʒi tʒw n fnd.w=tñ*

mʒʒ n hr.w=tñ

sdm n cñh.wy=tñ

¹⁶³ For the creative aspects of the color gold, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 129-30; Aufrère, *L'univers mineral*, vol. 2, pp. 367-373 and 389. Compare also the label to Isis accompanying a scarab wearing an Atef crown from the tomb of Petosiris, which seems to identify the scarab with the precious metal: *wḥm.n=k cñh m nbw pr m h̄.w=k* “You have been resurrected by means of the gold which emerged from your flesh.” (F. Daumas, “La scène de la résurrection au tombeau de Pétosiris,” *BIFAO* 59 [1960]: 72).

¹⁶⁴ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 49.

¹⁶⁵ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 278-80.

¹⁶⁶ Written as a š-lake over *r*-mouth on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, although all New Kingdom versions and Nectanebo II use a normal orthography.

¹⁶⁷ Nectanebo II writes *ir.w r=f* “those who act against him,” omitting the word *wt*.

kft n ḫfn. wt=tn
 (Nectanebo II:) *wḥc n wt=tn*
 (Tjaihorpata:) *wḥc n Rc m d.t=f mʒc n wt=tn*
htp.w n=tn tpy-tȝ
mw n=tn n hr.t-ntr
ȝh.wt n=tn¹⁶⁸ m dwȝ.t n sh.t=tn
nī hr.n bȝ.w=tn
nī shd hȝ.wt=tn
wn n sbȝ.w=tn
šsp n qrr.wt=tn
ȝh c n=tn hr s.wt=tn

Commanding by the Majesty of this great god to the mysterious bas, who are in the following of Osiris.

“O these whom I have made mysterious, whose bas I have concealed—
ascend to me and to Osiris in his following

in order to greet him,
in order to pass over his images,
in order to destroy those who make bindings against him.

May Hu belong to you, oh Osiris!

May Sia belong to you, Foremost of the Westerners!

Oh akh-spirits of Osiris who are in the entourage of Foremost of the Westerners.

Stability be to your visible forms,

Transfiguration be to your manifestations!

(Nectanebo II:) A breath of air be to your noses!

(Tjaihorpata:) A breath of air (be to) the Underworld and wind descend to your noses!

Sight be to your eyes and hearing to your ears!

Uncovering be to your wrappings!

(Nectanebo II:) Loosening be to your bandages!

(Tjaihorpata:) Loosening be to Re in his body! Straightening be to your bandages!

May offerings be to you upon earth,

and water in the necropolis!

May fields belong to you in the Underworld of your field!

Your bas will never be felled.

Your corpses shall not go upside down.

Opening be to your portals!

Light be to your caverns!

Uprightness be to you at your places!”

THIRD HOUR, CONCLUDING TEXT, CONT.

ii.n=i r mȝȝ hȝ.wt=i
sip.n=i shm=i
hn.w Tȝ-tnn hn

¹⁶⁸ Here ends the concluding text of the Third Hour as present on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

$\exists w < -^c > ir-sn hpt=i$
 $b3=k n p.t Wsir$
 $\underline{h}3.t=k n t3 Hnty-i gr.t$
 $ntr.w=k m ht=k$
 $\exists h.w=k tp-^c.wy=k$
 $hpr.n tw.wt=k im.w=k$
 $ist^a \exists h n \exists h=k Wsir$
 $\exists h n \exists h.w=\underline{tn} imy.w-ht Wsir$
 $iw=i ^c r=i n t3 hrw m-ht wi$
 $zbi=i grh$
 $r htp b3=i$
 $ir.w=\underline{tn} n hrw$
 $ir.n=i \exists h.w=\underline{tn} n grh$
 $qm3.n=i b3.w=\underline{tn} n=i m-ht=i$
 $sw(t) ir(w)=\underline{tn}$
 $ni h3=\underline{tn} r htmy.t$
 $iw ntr pn ^c mni=f r=sn$
 $dwi.hr=sn n ^c(f)^b=f m-ht wd=f n=sn mdw$
 $iw Wsir N m b3 \exists h shm m rd.wy=f$
 $[ni] q=f htmy.t$
 $tpi=f t3w r wnw.t=f$

“That I have come here is to see my corpses,
 after having inspected my power.
 O rower of Tatenen—row!
 Those extended <of arm>—may they make my course!
 Your *ba* belongs to heaven, Osiris!
 Your corpse belongs to the earth, Foremost of Igeret.
 Your gods are in your following;
 your effective spirits are before you,
 your forms having already manifested within you.
 Meanwhile, effectiveness be to your *akh*-spirit, Osiris;
 and effectiveness be to the *akh*-spirits who are in the following of Osiris.
 I ascend to the earth, daytime in my wake.
 That I go by night,
 is so that my *ba* might be at peace.
 Your visible forms belong to the day;
 but for the night-time have I fashioned your *akh*-spirits.
 I have fashioned your *bas* for myself to be in my following
 Thus have you been created!
 You shall not fall into the place of destruction.”
 This great god moors near them.
 Then they call to his bark, after he has commanded to them.
 Osiris N is an efficacious *ba*, powerful on his feet.
 He shall not enter the place of destruction.
 He shall inhale breath at his hour.

^a The particle *ist* is rare in the Underworld Books, but its use here in the concluding text to the Third Hour parallels the function of the particle *ist* in other text genres—simultaneous action, but change in actor.¹⁶⁹ In the solar deity’s speech, he addresses Osiris, describes the gods who are related to Osiris, then employs the particle *ist* to return to his address to Osiris. The particle *ist* is closely related to the particle *tf*, which appears frequently in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.¹⁷⁰

^b Hornung, followed by Wiebach-Koepke, interprets the word “ as ‘.wy “arms:” “Dann rufen sie zu den Armen? seiner Barke.”¹⁷¹ A more plausible solution is offered by the word “ “royal barge.”¹⁷² Considering the myriad of terms for the solar bark in the Underworld, the use of the rare term “ is a likely solution.

EIGHTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

The Eighth Hour is another sandy region—the sand is used to hide the corpses, because only an image of the deities are visible.¹⁷³ In this respect, the Eighth Hour is

¹⁶⁹ Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*, pp. 136-138. For *ist* in the Underworld Books, see Baumann, *The Suffix Conjugation of Early Egyptian*, pp. 158-59 and 350-51.

¹⁷⁰ A. Piankoff, “La particule  ou 

¹⁷¹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 75; Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungabläufe*, vol. 2, p. 51.

¹⁷² Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 38, citing R. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford, 1956), pl. 11, l. 2 (reference courtesy of Prof. John Darnell).

¹⁷³ This situation is actualized in Saite/Persian burials at Saqqara: a corpse buried in a deep shaft filled with sand are supplied with an above-ground chapel (containing a statue), as noted by B. George, “Ein Text der Ptolemäerzeit über das Dasein in Unterwelt und Grab,” *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14 (1979): 21-22.

similar to “Sokar Land” in the Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat, which only appear on the Type II sarcophagi and the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer. The Eighth Hour is the only hour from the entire Book of Amduat omitted from the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer, but the version on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II is here compared to the text on Side Four of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.¹⁷⁴ The upper and lower registers place great emphasis on the sounds heard in each cavern; although the sounds are radically different they all allude to the sexuall regenerated Osiris (see below, Commentary to the Eighth Hour of Amduat).

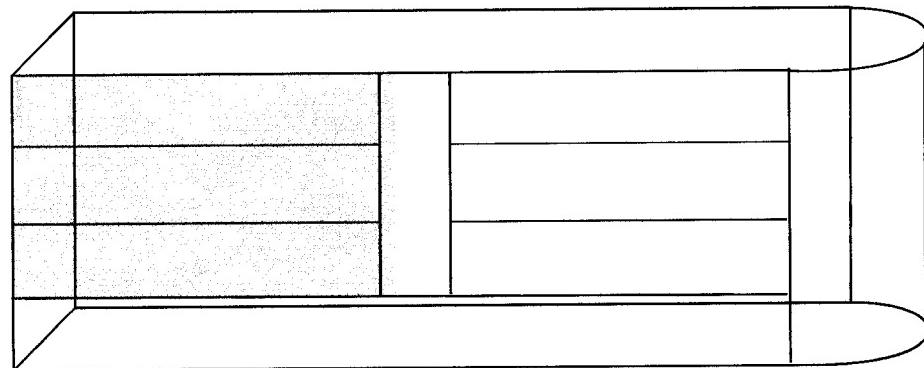
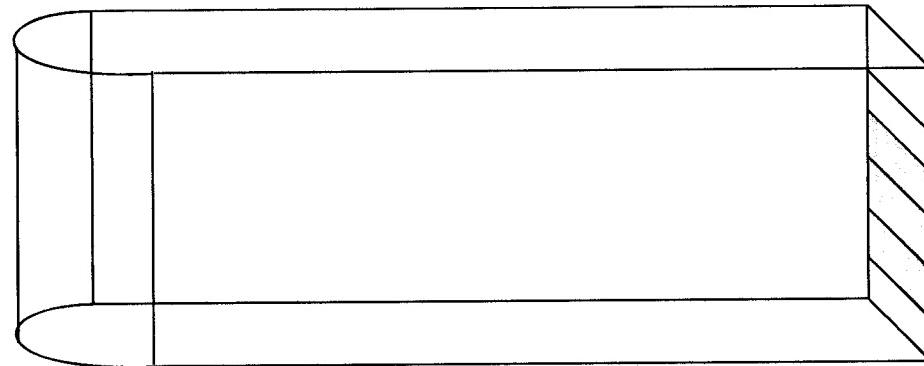


Fig. 60: Sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, Eighth Hour of Amduat



¹⁷⁴ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 258-264. The Eighth Hour appears directly between an excerpt from the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates and scenes from the First and Second Division of the Book of Caverns.

Fig. 61: Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, Eighth Hour of Amduat

INTRODUCTORY TEXT

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 102

Usermaatre: Not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 258-59

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 581-84

*htp in hm n ntr pn c3 r qrr.t tn n
ntr.w št3.w hry.w Šc=sn
wd=f n=sn mdw m wi3=f
ntr.w st3=sn <sw> m niw.t tn m irw dsr n Mhn
rn n sb3 n niw.t tn c3 nn wrd=f
rn n niw.t tn idb^a ntr.w=s
rn n wnw.t n.t grh ssm.t nb.(t) wš3
(Tjaihorpata): hw=s Wsir N*

Resting by the majesty of this great god at this cavern of
the secret gods who are upon their sand.

He commands to them from his bark.

The gods haul <him> in this locale in the sacred visible form of Mehen.

The name of the portal of this locale is: “He-who-stands-without-tiring.”

The name of this locale is: “Bank-of-its-gods.”

The name of the hour of the night who leads is: “Mistress of the deep of the night.”

(Tjaihorpata): May she protect the Osiris N.

^a The name of the locale given in the New Kingdom versions, Nectanebo II, and the Type II sarcophagi is *db3.t*, interpreted by Hornung as “sarcophagus,”¹⁷⁵ although no sarcophagi appear in the Eighth Hour. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, however, writes *idb*, a common word for “bank.” Further examination of the term *db3.t*, suggests that it can be synonymous to *idb*, but that later editors chose to substitute the more common term for bank, although they wrongly maintained the feminine suffix pronoun—*ntr.w=s*.

¹⁷⁵ *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 141.

A use of *db3.t* to mean “earthen dam, mound” is quite similar to *idb*, and is attested in funerary texts, specifically shabti spells.¹⁷⁶

UPPER REGISTER

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 102

Usermaatre: Not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 259-60

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 588-605

FIRST CAVERN

Door name: *ds nb dsr.w* “Knife, lord of sacred items.”

On the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, the word *ds*, in each door name of the Eighth Hour, is determined with the expected knife-sign (𓏏) as well as a door leaf (𓏏), suggesting that *ds* is a type of door.

*wnn=sn m shr pn hr mnḥ.t=sn
m št3.w n Hr iw^c Wsir^a
ntr pn dwi=f n b3.w=sn
NII: r h3w=sn
Tjaihorpata: m-h̄t q=f m niw.t tn n.t ntr.w hry.(w) ū^c=sn
iw sdm=tw hrw ht m qrr.t tn mi ū^b ū^c n biw.t
b3.w=sn dwi n R^c
št3 rn n qrr.t tn*

They exist upon their clothing
as the mysteries of Horus, the heir of Osiris.

This great god calls to their *bas*,

Nectanebo II: and to their vicinity.

Tjaihorpata: after he enters into this locale of the gods who are upon their sand.

A sound is heard in this cavern like a swarm of honey-bees.

It is their *bas* who call to Re.

“Mysterious” is the name of this cavern.

^a This common epithet of Horus is surprisingly rare in the Underworld Books,¹⁷⁷ which focus primarily on the relationship between Re and Osiris. The appearance of this epithet

¹⁷⁶ H.D. Schneider, *Shabtis* (Leiden, 1977), vol. 1, p. 51 n. b (cited by Meeks, *ALEX*, vol. 1, 77.5158); for *db3.t* as mound, see Willems, *Heqata*, p. 478 n. ag (reference courtesy of Prof. Fischer-Elfert).

in the Eighth Hour may provide further evidence for the connection between this hour and the scene of Horus and Osiris in the lower register of the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates, both of which appear on Side Four of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

^b Although *ff* may be an onomatopoetic use of the name of a fly to mean “buzzing noise,”¹⁷⁸ such a meaning is unattested elsewhere. Rather, the spelling *f* on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata suggests the expression *ʃf n bi.t*, Coptic **ѧܩҢԵԲԱ**, “honey-bee” (*Wb.* I 182.11). The metaphor remains the same—the sound heard in the first cavern is that of insects.

SECOND CAVERN

Door name:

Nectanebo II: *ds h3p T3-tnn* “Knife which conceals Tatenen.”
Tjaihorpata: *ds 'h' T3-tnn* “Knife, standing place of Tatenen”¹⁷⁹

*wnn=sn m shr pn hr mnḥ.t=sn mn.(w) hr ḫs=s <n>
m št3 īr.n Hr
ntr pn dwi=f n b3.w=sn r h3w=sn
īw sdm=tw hrw ht m qrr.t tn miḥ hrw sqr m bi3.wy^a
b3.w=sn dwi n R^c
dw3.t rn n qrr.t tn*

In this fashion do they exist upon their clothing, remaining upon their sand,
as mysteries which Horus has made.
This god calls to their *bas* in their vicinity.
A sound is heard in this cavern like the sound of striking cymbals.
It is their *bas* who call to Re.
“Duat” is the name of this cavern.

¹⁷⁷ Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, p. 29 lists only a single example—Piankoff, *BIAFO* 43 (1945): pl. 115, l. 2—omitting its occurrence in the lower register of the Eighth Hour in the New Kingdom texts (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 627).

¹⁷⁸ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 143.

¹⁷⁹ Identical with the New Kingdom name (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 591).

^a Jenni¹⁸⁰ suggested this reading based on an examination of parallels in the Coffin Texts and the orthography of the signs on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II and the New Kingdom versions. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata also writes the word with two objects that appear to have handles;¹⁸¹ these objects resemble castanets, which were ubiquitous in the Coptic period, but for which at least one pharaonic example can be cited.¹⁸² Unfortunately, the connection between castanets and the Egyptian word *bȝ* must remain speculation, since the ancient Egyptian word for castanets is not known.¹⁸³ For music-making in the Book of Amduat, one might also compare the goddess called *hntt R* “the musician of Re” (no. 644) in the upper register of the Ninth Hour.

THIRD CAVERN

Door Name: *ds ‘hm bȝ(w)* “Knife which extinguishes bas”¹⁸⁴

*wnn-sn m shr pn hr mnḥ.t-sn mn hr ḫc-sn
 m štȝ.w ir.n Hr
 ntr pn dwi=f n bȝ.w-sn r hȝw-sn
 iȝw sdm-tw hrw ht m qrr.t tn mȝ hrw rmȝ i(ȝ)kb-sn
 bȝ.w-sn dwi n R
 is ntr.w rn n qrr.t tn*

They exist upon their clothing, firm upon their sand
 as the mysteries which Horus has made.

¹⁸⁰ *Sarkophag des Nectanebos II.*, pp. 20-22.

¹⁸¹ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, p. 259 falsely copies the determinative on Tjaihorpata as the cloth sign, probably under influence of earlier versions of the text.

¹⁸² H. Hickmann, “Cymbales et crotales dans l’Égypte ancienne,” *ASAE* 49 in *Vies et travaux*, vol. I: *Miscellanea Musicologica* (Cairo, 1980), pp. 105-120 (pharaonic example cited on pp. 117-118).

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 64 (as he notes, *qmqm* refers only to a tambourine).

¹⁸⁴ For the punishing connotations of this name, see also Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, vol. 2, p. 127 n. 2.

This god calls to their *bas* in their vicinity.
A sound is heard in this cavern like people when they mourn.
It is their *bas* who call to Re.
“Tomb of the Gods” is the name of this cavern.

FOURTH CAVERN

Door Name: *ds šsm ntr.w* “Knife of the mineral of the gods”

*wnn=sn m shr pn hr mnḥ.t=sn mn hr šc=sn m št3.w ir.n Hr
ntr pn dwi=f n b3.w=sn r h3w=sn
iわ sdm=tw hrw ht m qrr.t tn mī hrw nim n k3 k3.w^a
b3.w=sn dwi n R^c
i3kby.t rn n qrr.t tn*

Thus do they exist upon their clothing, firm upon their sand
as the mysteries which Horus has made.
This god calls to their *bas* in their vicinity.
A sound is heard in this cavern like the sound of the bull of bulls being pleased.
It is their *bas* who call to Re.
“Mourning” is the name of this cavern.

^a For more on this interesting sound, see *infra*.

FIFTH CAVERN

Door Name: *dm sm3 kkw* “Knife which unites the darkness”¹⁸⁵

*wnn=sn m shr pn hr mnḥ.t=sn mn hr šc=sn
m št3.w ir.n Hr
ntr pn dwi=f n b3.w=sn r h3w=sn
iわ sdm=tw hrw ht m qrr.t tn mī hrw nhw c3 nšn=f
b3.w=sn dwi n R^c
t3w rn n qrr.t tn*

They exist in this fashion upon their clothing, firm upon their sand
as the mysteries which Horus has made.
This god calls to their *bas* in their vicinity.
A sound is heard in this cavern like the sound of a demand, great in its raging,
It is their *bas* who call to Re.
“Wind” is the name of this cavern.

¹⁸⁵ Name not written on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata; most of the text to this cavern on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II is damaged.

MIDDLE REGISTER

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 102

Usermaatre: Not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 261-62

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 606-625

SCENE 1

Depiction: Solar Bark

*sqdd hm n ntr pn m niw.t tn
<m> st3.w ntr.w dw3.tyw
m ssm=f št3 n Mhn
iw ntr pn '3 dwi=f r h3w qrr.t nb.t n.t niw.t tn
n ntr.w dw3.tyw im=s
hrw iry.w pw sdm ntr pn m-ht dwi=f r=sn
iw ssm=sn n d.t=sn mn.(w) hr h3.t=sn hr.t šc=sn
iw sb3.w=sn wn.(w) n hrw ntr pn r' nb
h3p.hr=sn m-ht 'pp=f hr=sn
(Nectanebo II): iw Wsir N dw3=f R' sw3š=f nb Mhn*

The majesty of this god sails in this locale.

by means of the haulings of the Underworldly gods,
in his secret image of Mehen.

This god calls to the vicinity of each cavern of this locale

on behalf of the Underworldly gods who are in each one.

It is the voices thereof that this god hears after he calls to them.

The images of their bodies remain over their corpses which are under their sand.

Their portals open at the voice of this god every day.

Then they hide after he passes over them.

(Nectanebo II): Osiris N adores Re and praises the Lord of Mehen.

SCENE 2

Depiction: Haulers

*ir.t=sn pw m dw3.t st3 R' r w3.wt niw.t tn
'h'=sn m-ht st3=sn r 'rry.t
ir.n sn n^a ntr pn
st3=sn sw
mi r=k n ssm=k ntr=n is.t=k hnt.y-imn.tyw
htp=k ir.w=k m niw.t wr.t
swt is sw3š qrr.tyw
shd kkw šc=sn^b
r spr=k
htp=k R' st3y nb st3.w*

What they do in the Underworld is to haul Re along the roads of this locale.

After they haul to the gateway, they stop.

What they do for this god,

when they haul him:

“Come to your images, our god, (and to) your crew, those foremost of the West,

so that you might occupy your visible forms in the great locale.

Then the cavern-dwellers give adulation,

when the darkness of their sand is illumined,

so that you might arrive

and so that you might rest, Re, hauled one, lord of haulings!”

^a The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, like most New Kingdom versions,¹⁸⁶ omits a verb before the pronoun *-sn*, while the sarcophagus of Ramesses III omits the pronoun and writes *i.n ntr pn*. The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II adds the verb *iri* and correctly writes the remaining parts of the sentence.

^b The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata writes: *shd kkw hr-w* “when the darkness over them is illumined,” and moves directly to the description of the next scene. Thus, both later versions differ from the New Kingdom versions:¹⁸⁷ *shd kkw hry.w-šc-sn* “when the darkness of those who are upon their sand is illumined.” The frequent occurrence of *hry.w-šc* in the Eighth Hour suggests that the New Kingdom texts are closest to the original, and the later variants do not appear to represent meaningful alterations.

SCENE 3

Depiction: Nine *sšm*-signs with heads¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 612.

¹⁸⁷ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 613.

¹⁸⁸ The *sšm*-signs with heads in Scene 3 of the middle register also occur on the back of a Ptolemaic mummy cartonnage (Glyptotheque Ny Carlsberg, AEIN 298), next to a scene of the bark being hauled by human-headed uraei—inside the bark Hu and Sia raise up a scarab pushing

wnn=sn m shr pn hr w3. wt s3 ntr pn hr=s
 mn̄h.t=sn^a m-b3h=sn
 m s̄m n ntr ds=f
 dwi ntr pn '3 r=sn
 'nh imi.t=sn
 pr tp.w m s̄m.w=sn
 ntr pn dwi=f sn m rn.w=sn
 ir.t=sn pw rdī.t ds^b m hft.yw n R^c r h3w niw.t tn iry(t)=sn
 'm.hr=sn tp.w=sn nf=sn
 m-h̄t 'pp ntr pn '3 hr=sn

They exist in this fashion on the roads upon which this god is hauled,
 their clothing before them,
 being images of the god himself.

It is when this great god calls to them,
 that what is within them lives,
 and the heads emerge from their images.

This god calls them by their names.

What they do is put the enemies of Re to the knife in the vicinity of this locale
 to which they pertain.

Then they swallow their heads and their knives,
 after this great god passes over them.

^a The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata writes  in place of  , which may be due to a misplaced *r*-mouth in some earlier versions (Amenhotep II, Tauseret, and Ramesses VI).

The omission of the *mn̄h.t*-sign on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata may be more than a scribal error, because the cloth signs are also omitted before the *s̄m*-signs in the depiction. This is one of the few instances where an iconographic change occurs simultaneously with a textual variant.

a disk (O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens* [Copenhagen, 1951], pl. 90).

^b Oddly, the New Kingdom versions consistently use an otherwise unattested word *nf* for “knife,” while both Nectanebo II and Tjaihorpata replace *nf* with the more expected *ds*, which also appears in all the door names in this hour.

SCENE 4

Depiction: Four rams with different crowns

*wnn=sn m shr pn m dw3.t
mnḥ.t=sn m-b3h=sn
m sšm.w n ntr ḫs=f
ntr pn ḫwī=f r=sn m-ht spr=f r=sn
dwi=sn n ntr pn ḫz m hrw=sn sr.w ḫt3.w
ḥkn=f m hrw=sn
ir m-ht ḫpp=f hr=sn
ḥzp.hr sn kkw
ḥsp=sn ḫc.w n R^c
ḥtp=f m T3-tnn m t3*

They exist in this fashion in the Duat:

their clothing being before them,
as images of the god himself.

This god calls to them after he reaches them.

They call to this great god in their voices of mysterious rams,
so that this god takes pleasure in their voices.

Now after he passes by them,
then the darkness covers them.

As soon as they receive the solar crowns,
he rests in Tatenen, in the earth.

The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II does not end the middle register of the Eighth Hour with the conclusion to the New Kingdom text. Instead, the reception of the solar crowns is extended to the deceased pharaoh. Following the cartouche is a fascinating series of epithets assimilating Nectanebo II to creator deities, in particular the trinity of Re-Ptah-Atum and Tatenen as the father of the Ogdoad. The same additional text appears on Louvre D9 and Berlin 49, Type II sarcophagi, translated *supra*.

LOWER REGISTER

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 102

Usermaatre: Not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 262-264

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 626-642

SIXTH CAVERN

Door Name: *ds rmn tʒ* “Knife which supports the earth.”

*wnn=sn m shr pn hr mnḥ.t=sn
m sṣtʒ ir.n Hr iw' Wsir
ntr ʒ dwi=f n bʒ.w=sn m-h̄t ʃ=q=f m niw.t tn
n ntr.w hry.w ū=sn
iw sdm=tw hrw ht m qrr.t tn m̄l sb̄ n miw tʒi
bʒ.w=sn dwi n R'
htp nb=s rn n qrr.t tn*

They exist in this fashion upon their clothing
as secrets which Horus, heir of Osiris, has made.
The great god calls to their *bas* after he enters this locale
of the gods who are upon their sand.

The sound of something is heard in this cavern like the cry of a tom-cat.
It is their *bas* who call to Re.
“She who pacifies her lord” is the name of this cavern.

Although most of the names of the caverns are tangentially related to the sound heard within them, a strong connection exists between the cry of the tom-cat and the appellation “She who pacified her lord.” Two cats often surmount sistra associated with the goddess Nebethetepet, a personification of the sexual desire of the creator deity.¹⁸⁹ The twin felines can themselves symbolize a number of deities, including the sun god as the tom-cat of Heliopolis.¹⁹⁰ The elaborately decorated sistra of the goddess Nebethetepet suggest that the first cavern of the lower register similarly alludes to the cosmogony of Heliopolis.

SEVENTH CAVERN

¹⁸⁹ J. Vandier, “Iousaas et (Hathor)-Nébet-Hétépet,” *RdE* 18 (1966): 76-84.

¹⁹⁰ J.-P. Corteggiani, “La «butte de la Décollation», à Héliopolis,” *BIAFO* 95 (1995): 145-48.

Door Name: *ds dr hfty.w=f* “Knife which repels his enemies”

*wnn-sn m shr pn hr mnḥ.t-sn mn hr ḫc-sn
m sṣt3 ir.n Hr
ntr c3 dwi=f n b3.w=sn r h3w=sn m itr.ty=sn
iわ sdm-tw hrw ht m qrr.t tn mī hmhm.t n.t cnh.w
b3.w=sn dwi n R^c
htmy.t rn n qrr.t tn*

They exist in this fashion upon their clothing, enduring upon their sand,
as secrets which Horus has made.

The great god calls to their *bas* in their vicinity in their chapels.

The sound of something is heard in this cavern like the war cry of the living.

It is their *bas* who call to Re.

“Place of destruction” is the name of this cavern.

EIGHTH CAVERN

Door Name: *ds shm irw.w* “Knife, powerful of visible forms”

*wnn-sn m shr pn mnḥ.t-sn m-b3ḥ=sn mn hr ḫc-sn
m sṣt3 ir.n Hr iわ Wsir
ntr c3 dwi=f n b3.w=sn r h3w=sn m itr.ty=sn
iわ sdm-tw hrw ht m qrr.t tn mī h3i npr.t m Nwn
b3.w=sn dwi n R^c
h3p-sṣm rn n qrr.t tn*

They exist in this fashion with their clothing before them, enduring upon their sand,
as secrets which Horus, heir of Osiris, has made.

The great god calls to their *bas* in their vicinity in their chapels.

The sound of something is heard in this cavern like banks falling into Nun.

It is their *bas* who call to Re.

“Hidden of form” is the name of this cavern.

NINTH CAVERN

Door Name: *ds spd nsr.t* “Knife, sharp of flame”

*wnn-sn m shr pn mnḥ.t-sn m-b3ḥ=sn mn hr ḫc-sn
m sṣt3 ir.n Hr
ntr c3 dwi=f n b3.w=sn r h3w=sn m itr.ty=sn
iわ sdm-tw hrw ht m qrr.t tn mī hrw ngg n bik ntr.y
b3.w=sn dwi n R^c
shry-b3 rn n qrr.t tn*

They exist in this fashion before their clothing, enduring upon their sand,
as secrets which Horus has made.

The great god calls to their *bas* in their vicinity in their chapels.

The sound of something is heard in this cavern like the screech of a divine falcon.
It is their *bas* who call to Re.
“Far of ba” is the name of this cavern

TENTH CAVERN

Door Name (before cavern):

Nectanebo II: *ds ȝm hftyw* “Knife which grasps enemies”

Tjaihorpata: *ds ȝh.w* “Knife of the spirits.”¹⁹¹

Door Name (after cavern): *ds sȝm mwt im=f* “Knife which burns up the dead within it”

*wnn=sn m sȝr pn hr mnȝ.t=sn hr ȝc=sn
ntr ȝȝ dwi=f n bȝ.w=sn r hȝw=sn
hd.hr=sn kkw=sn m tp.t-rȝ=sn
iwy pr=sn m qrr.t=sn
<iw sdm=tw hrw ht m qrr.t tn> mi sbh n ȝs dmd
dwi=sn R^c
ȝȝ tkȝ rn n qrr.t tn*

They exist in this fashion upon their clothing on their sand.
The great god calls to their *bas* in their vicinity.
Then they illumine their darkness with what is upon their mouths,
without going forth from their caverns.¹⁹²
<A sound of something is heard in this cavern> like the cry of an entire marsh,
when they call to Re.
“Great of flame” is the name of this cavern.

COMMENTARY TO THE EIGHTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

Each of the five caverns in the top and bottom registers of the Eighth Hour are characterized by a peculiar noise that is heard when the *bas* within it call to the sun god as he passes. The Egyptian descriptions of the Netherworld often include the sights and sounds of the twelve hours, indicating which inhabitants move and which are confined to their location. Each time the door slams behind Re in a region of the Underworld, the

¹⁹¹ This is the name given in the New Kingdom versions (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 640).

¹⁹² These two statements are omitted from the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II.

denizens of that cavern let out a great mourning cry.¹⁹³ The most spectacular sound heard in the Netherworld occurs in the egg of Sokar in the Fifth Hour of Amduat, where the noise is compared to “the sound of heaven when it storms.” The sounds in the Eighth Hour can be violent, mournful, or even pleasing. These often poetical descriptions have never been connected to a single theological concept. The added text in the middle register of the Eighth Hour of the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and two Type II sarcophagi offers a unique opportunity to relate the cacophony of the cavern-dwellers to a single divinity.

The buzzing of bees in the first cavern of the top register is not particularly loud, but suggests a constant and penetrating noise, and may allude to the bee as an agent of creation.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, honey is often associated with ithyphallic deities in Ptolemaic offering scenes,¹⁹⁵ so the buzzing of bees is surprisingly apt for the “bull of bulls” in the fourth cavern. The second and fourth caverns contain positive sounds—music making and the cry of sexual satisfaction. In the third and fifth caverns are heard the sounds of mourning and a raging demand. All of these sounds are appropriate to a celebration of the sexually regenerated Osiris. His death is mourned, at the same time as music-making and the post-mortem union of Osiris and Isis. A similar mixing of sounds in the bottom register also revolve around images connected with Osiris and his heir, including further sexual imagery, the destruction of enemies, and the powerful waters of chaos. The rams

¹⁹³ See *supra*.

¹⁹⁴ J. Leclant, “Biene,” in *LÄ I* (1973): 786-789.

¹⁹⁵ M. Zecchi, “On the Offering of Honey in the Graeco-Roman Temples,” *Aegyptus* 77 (1997): 72-77; note especially the title over a scene at Edfu where honey is presented to Banebdjed: “Raising up the vase containing honey which is not known, reviving the phallus of the ejaculating bull” (slightly altered translation of *ibid.*, p. 77).

in the middle register of the Eighth Hour and the hymn which accompanies them on the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II, Djedher, and Tjaihepimu explain the emphasis on the creative power of Osiris—in the Eighth Hour of Amduat Osiris is a manifestation of the creator deity Tatenen.

LITANY OF RE

As on the other sides of the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, the lowest register on Side Three contains addresses from the Litany of Re, in the following order: 30, 28, 26, 24, 38, 36, 34, 16, 20, 18, 22, 8, and 14. Most of these Addresses appear on the Type II sarcophagi, but those present only on Nectanebo II are translated below in the order in which they appear on the sarcophagus: Addresses 28, 16, 20, 18, and 22.

Address 28

Form: Human-headed mummy

Text: pl. 102B

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 33

*hknw n=k R^c q₃ shm
[ptr b₃] m hnyt imnt.t
twt is h₃.t Qrr.ty
iw Wsir N hknw=f n R^c
twt is h₃.t Wsir N h₃.t Qrr.ty*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
[Seeing of *ba*] as the Foremost of the West.
You are indeed the corpse of He of the cavern.
Osiris N always praises Re.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of He of the cavern.

Address 16

Form: Female mummy

Text: pl. 102B

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 21

*hk̄nw n=k R^c qȝ sh̄m
ȝ[ȝ] s[ip.w m imy.t=f]
twt is hȝ.t Nw.t
i[w Wsir] N [hk̄nw]=f
wȝš=f nȝr pn ȝȝ m qrr.t
[twt is hȝ.t] Wsir N hȝ.t Nw.t*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Great of re[ckonings among those who are around him].
You are indeed the corpse of Nut.
Osiris N [praises] and adores this great god in the cavern.
[You are indeed the corpse] of Osiris N, the corpse of Nut.

Address 20

Form: Bull-headed mummy
Text: pl. 102B
Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 25

*hk̄nw n=k R^c qȝ sh̄m
imy^a p[sd] m ȝgb
twt [is hȝ.t Nwn]
i[w Wsir N hk̄nw=f [n R^c
twt is] hȝ.t Wsir N hȝ.t Nwn*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Formed one who shines from the flood waters.
You are [indeed the corpse of Nun].
Osiris N always praises [Re].
[You are indeed] the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of Nun.

^a For the word *imy* “formed one,” see above, Chapter 2, *supra*

Address 18

Form: Female mummy
Text: pl. 102B
Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 23

*hk̄nw n=k R^c qȝ sh̄m
psd-tp r imy.wt hȝt=f
twt is hȝ.t Nb.t-ȝhw.t
i[w Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R^c
twt is hȝ.t Wsir N hȝ.t Nb.t-ȝhw.t*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Shining of head for those who are in front of him.
You are indeed the corpse of Nephthys.

Osiris N always praises Re.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of Nephthys.

Address 22

Form: Human-headed mummy
Text: pl. 102B
Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 27

*hk̄nw n=k R̄ qȝ shm
iȝr.ty ȝs.w(?) gȝsp(?)^a ȝw.ty
twt is hȝ.t hwȝy
iȝ Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R̄
dwȝ=f ntr ȝ m qrs.t=f
twt is hȝ.t Wsir N hȝ.t hwȝy*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
He of the uraeus, provided with(?) two shades.
You are indeed the corpse of the Rotting One.
Osiris N always praises Re,
and adores the great god in his burial.
You are indeed the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Rotting One.

^a The New Kingdom versions of Address 22 read: *iȝr.ty gsp mȝȝ.ty*. The word *gsp/gȝsp* is not otherwise attested.¹⁹⁶ Unfortunately, the unusual text on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II does not clarify this otherwise obscure Address.

SIDE FOUR

The foot end of the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II contains the Ninth Hour of Amduat and several addresses from the Litany of Re. On the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, the Ninth Hour begins at the foot end of the interior of Side Two; the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer likewise has the Ninth Hour on the interior of the foot end, with the Fourth and Fifth Hours on the exterior of Side Four.

¹⁹⁶ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 106 n. 63.

The Ninth Hour is also significant from the perspective of textual transmission, since it, along with the Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth hours, occurs frequently on Amduat Papyri. Although a detailed examination of the textual variants is not within the scope of this work, substantial differences with the Amduat Papyri are noted in order to demonstrate that the versions of the text on the sarcophagi represent a tradition distinct from the earlier papyri. In the annotation to the first scene of the upper and lower registers, the first few phrases are omitted in the extant Amduat Papyri.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, the orthographic oddities throughout the Ninth Hour in the Amduat Papyri do not appear on the sarcophagi.

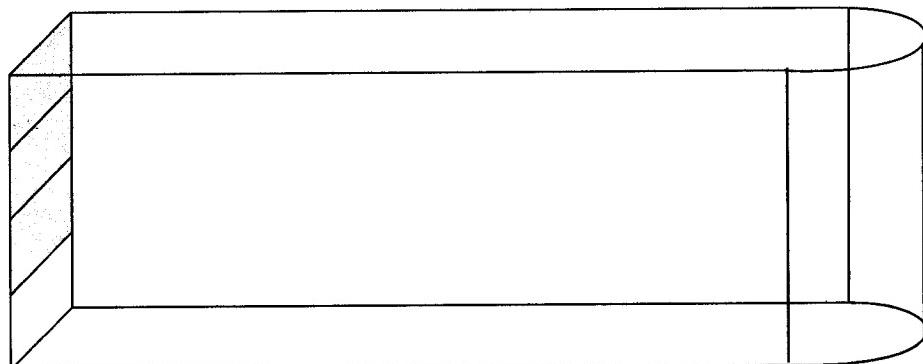
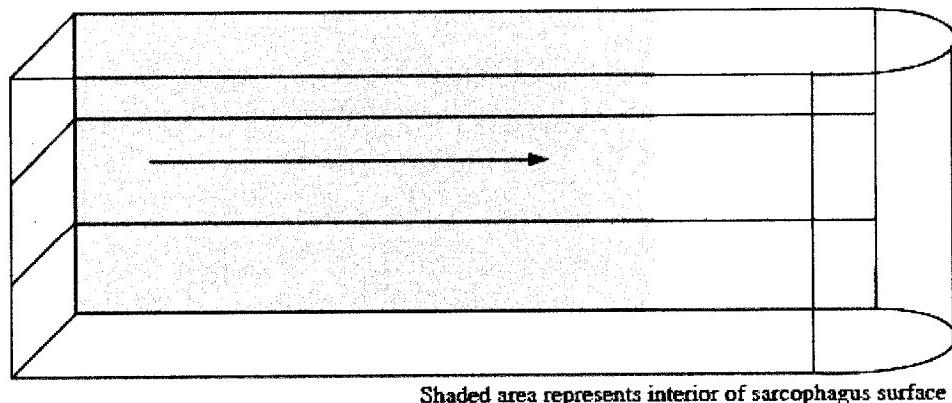


Fig. 62: Sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, Ninth Hour of Amduat



¹⁹⁷ Sadek, *Contribution*, pp. 233, 243.

Fig. 63: Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, Ninth Hour of Amduat

INTRODUCTORY TEXT

Texts: Nectanebo II: None

Usermaatre: Not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 292

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 645-48

*htp in ntr pn Ᵽ m qrr.t tn
wd=f mdt m wi3=f n ntr.w im=s
htp is.t n ntr pn r niw.t tn
rn n sb3 n niw.t tn Ᵽ q ntr pn Ᵽ hr=f
htp=f nt imi niw.t tn
s3w <3> gb
rn n niw.t tn bst ir.w Ᵽ nh hpr
rn n wnw.t n.t grh ss̄m ntr pn Ᵽ
sb3.ty mk.t nb=s R^c
mk=s Wsir N*

Resting by the Majesty of this great god in this cavern,
as he command from his bark to the gods who are in it.

The crew of this god rests at this locale.

The name of the portal of this locale into which this great god enters,
when he occupies the flood-waters which are in this locale is:
“The one who guards the flood.”

The name of this locale is: “The one who inducts the visible forms,
living of manifestations.”

The name of this hour of the night who leads this great god is:
“Starry-one who protects her lord, Re.”

May she protect the Osiris N!

The introductory text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata differs little from the New Kingdom versions. The name of the portal of the Ninth Hour—“The one who guards the flood”—fits well with the oar-wielding deities in the middle register and presages the depiction of the drowned that dominates the lower register of the Tenth Hour. In both the Book of Gates and the Book of the Night, the Ninth Hour is characterized by floodwaters and the presence of individuals who have died by drowning,

considered by the ancient Egyptians to lead directly to the state as blessedness in the afterlife (see *infra*).

UPPER REGISTER

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 103

Usermaatre: Not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 293

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 654-64

SCENE 1

Depiction: Twelve goddesses seated on *mnh.t*-signs

wnn-sn m shr pn m dw3.t

mn.(w) hr mnh.t-sn m ir.w-sn
m ssm ir.n Hr

i n-sn R

db3 n-tn m mnh.t-tn

dsr=tn m hbs.w=tn

db3.n tn Hr im

imn=f it=f m dw3.t imn.t ntr.w

kft n tp.w=tn ntr.w

wn n hr.w=tn

irr=tn irw=tn n Wsir

sw3s=tn nb imnt.t

sm3=t m hrw=f r hfty.w=f r nb

d3d3.t ipn n.t ntr.w nd.t md.t hr Wsir r nb

ir.t-sn pw m dw3.t shr hfty.w n Wsir

They exist in this fashion in the Underworld,
firmly established upon their clothing as their visible forms,
consisting of images which Horus made.

Re says to them:

“Covering be to you, by means of your clothing!

May you be sanctified with your raiments!

Just as he hides his father in the Underworld, which hides the gods,
so did Horus cover you there.

Uncovering be to your heads, gods!

Opening be to your faces!

For Osiris do you carry out your duties!

May you adore the lord of the West!

May you vindicate him against his enemies every day.”

This council of gods investigates on behalf of Osiris every day.

What they do in the Underworld is fell the enemies of Osiris.

The annotation to the twelve goddesses seated on *mnh.t*-signs—an image particularly favored in the Eighth and Ninth Hours of Amduat—describes the value of clothing in the afterlife. The address of Re suggests that the bodies of the goddesses should be properly covered, while their faces are exposed. The raiments of the goddesses not only “sanctify” them, but grant them protection like that which Horus provides for Osiris. Clothing, like food provisions, is a symbol for justification in the Netherworld, as attested by a range of texts.¹⁹⁸

SCENE 2

Depiction: Twelve standing goddesses

wnn=sn m shr pn m d.t=sn n.t dw3.t
m s̄sm īr.n Hr
īw n̄tr pn dwi=f r=sn m-h̄t spr=f r=sn
s̄rq=sn sdm=sn h̄rw=f
īr.t=sn pw m dw3.t
īr.t st̄sw Wsir shn^a b3 št3 m mdw=sn
nts̄n s̄r ‘nh w̄s m h̄c d3.ty
nd.n=f m dw3.t r̄c nb
ntr.wt ipn sb.w m-h̄t Wsir m ‘q m dw3.t
(Nectanebo II): ni h̄ri=sn r Wsir N
s̄r=sn n=f ‘nh w̄s
(Tjaihorpata): sb̄i=sn m-h̄t Wsir N
‘q=f dw3.t
htp=f hr=sn m qrr.t=sn

¹⁹⁸ Two of many examples include: *iry=tn s3 nfr m hbs.w m pr m hrw Wsir N* “May you [Isis and Nephthys] carry out perfect protection by means of clothing, when Osiris N goes forth by day.” (F.-R. Herbin, “Une nouvelle page du Livre des respirations,” *BIFAO* 84 [1984]: 263—on p. 288, no. 39 he suggests that *hbs* may been an error for *‘nh wd3 snb*, since their orthographies are nearly identical in Late Period hieratic; considering the connection between clothing and protection in other texts, this emendation is unnecessary); “These clothes woven by Isis and spun by Nephthys, they fit you, they cover your body, they remove your opponents for you.” (*Edfou VI* 248, 15-249, 1; translation, Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 138). Compare also the protection afforded by Hedjhotep through the clothing he produces, and it is only in conjunction with clothing that he is given a protective function—B. Backes, *Rituelle Wirklichkeit. Über Erscheinung und Wirkungsbereich des Webergottes Hedjhotep und den gedanklichen Umgang mit einer Gotteskonzeption im Alten Ägypten* (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 47-48.

They exist in this fashion in their underworldly bodies,
as images which Horus made.
This god calls to them after he reaches them.
When they hear his voice, they breathe.
What they do in the Underworld,
is raise up Osiris and cause the mysterious *ba* to land by means of their words.
It is they who lift up life and dominion when the Underworldly One appears in glory,
after he has protected the Underworld each day.
These goddesses follow after Osiris when he enters into the Underworld.
(Nectanebo II): They shall not be far from the Osiris N.
They shall lift up for him life and dominion.
(Tjaihorpata): May they follow after the Osiris N,
when he enters the Underworld,
when he rests before them in their cavern.

^a The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II determines the word *shn* with the “embracing arms,” making a reading “embracing the secret *ba* with their words” also possible.¹⁹⁹ In either interpretation, the action is performed by means of the words uttered by the goddess. Earlier in the annotation, the goddesses breathe when the sun god speaks to them (i.e. illuminates them), and the beneficial qualities of their own speech are exercised to join the *ba* of Osiris with his corpse.²⁰⁰ Similar passages appear in the Underworld Books, where mourning, weeping, and screaming all aid the union of Re and Osiris in the night.²⁰¹

The twelve goddesses who accompany this annotation lack attributes, but the annotation assigns them important activities within the Underworld. They are instrumental in the union of *ba* and corpse and are present in the eastern horizon, when *Dz.ty* “appears in glory” at the conclusion of his journey through the Netherworld.

¹⁹⁹ Address 38 of the Litany of Re is recited for *Shn-b3*—for further commentary on the different meanings of *shn*, see *supra*, Chapter 3.

²⁰⁰ Possibly, their speech guides the *ba* to the corpse, much like the roars of Apep reveal his location to Re in the Seventh Hour of Amduat (see *infra*, Chapter 5).

²⁰¹ See *supra*, Chapter 2.

Interestingly, the goddesses do not follow Re, but Osiris, the normally sedentary god, who in this text “enters” the Underworld. Osiris enters the Underworld as the “secret *ba*,” who is Re.²⁰² In the additional text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, the goddesses also follow the deceased, just as they do Osiris. The number twelve and the description of tasks throughout the night suggests that these goddesses are part of the *Stundenwachen* for Osiris.

MIDDLE REGISTER

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 103

Usermaatre: Not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 294-95

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 668-680

SCENE 3

Depiction: Solar Bark

*htp in ntr pn ‘3 m hnw=f r niw.t tn
is.t=f htp=sn m wi3=f
m ssm=f št3 n Mhn
iw ntr pn ‘3 dwi n ntr.w im(y).w niw.t tn*

Resting by this great god alongside his rowers at this locale.
His crew rests with his bark,

alongside his secret image of Mehen.
This great god speaks to the gods who are in this locale.

SCENE 4

Depiction: Twelve Rowers

*ntr.w ipw is.t wi3 n R‘ hny.w imy 3h.t
r htp=f m ‘rry.t i3bt.t n.t p.t
ir.t=sn pw m dw3.t hnw R‘ r niw.t tn r‘ nb
‘h‘=sn r n.t wi3 imy niw.t tn
ntsn dd mw m mwḥ n 3h.w imy.w niw.t tn
hkny=sn n nb itn
ntsn h‘ b3 m irw=f m md.wt=sn št3 r‘ nb
(Nectanebo II): iw Wsir N hn̄k=f n R‘
sh‘=f b3 m irw=f*

²⁰² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 155.

dit=f hy n nb itn

These gods are the crew of the bark of Re who row the One within the horizon,
so that he might rest at the eastern gateway of heaven.

What they do in the Underworld is row Re at this locale every day.

They stand at the flood waters of the bark within this locale.

It is they who tread water with their oars for the *akh*-spirits who are in this locale.
while they praise the Lord of the disk.

It is they who cause the *ba* to appear within his visible form,
by means of their mysterious speech, every day.

(Nectanebo II): Osiris N praises Re,
he causes his *ba* to appear within his visible form,
he gives adulation to the Lord of the disk.

The twelve rowers who precede the solar bark have tasks quite similar to the twelve goddesses at the end of the first register.²⁰³ In addition to their rowing, they cause the *ba*, obviously the *ba* of Re-Osiris, to appear within his visible form, the sun disk, by means of their speech, not any physical activity. The identity of the *irw*-form with the disk is suggested by the interesting epithet *nb itn*,²⁰⁴ to whom the rowers give praise. The *ba*-corpse dichotomy in the first register is complementary to the *ba*-disk pairing in the second register. The equation between disk and corpse, probably through the comparison of both as a uterine space,²⁰⁵ although not overtly stated in the Ninth Hour of Amduat, is nonetheless present. The functional equivalency of disk and corpse appears again in the

²⁰³ Their names indicate that they may be hypostases of the sun god himself—Sadek, *Contribution*, p. 241.

²⁰⁴ The identification of the disk with the visible form of the sun is made explicit in the Fourth Address of the Litany of Re (Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 9):

*shd inn.tyw
pn nty irw.w=f hprw.w=f
ir=f hprw.w m itn=f*^{‘3}
Who illuminates the Westerners,
this one whose visible forms are his manifestations,
when he makes manifestation into his great disk.

²⁰⁵ See Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 20-21 for the “uterine” disk and W. Barta, “Osiris als Mutterleib des unterweltlichen Sonnengottes in den Jenseitsbüchern des Neuen Reiches,” *JEOL* 29 (1985-86): 98-105 for the female properties of the corpse.

First Hour of the Division of Caverns (see *infra*, Chapter 5). Iconographical evidence further supports the interpretation presented here, since the *ba* of the sun god, a ram-headed bird, often appears within a solar disk in the Underworld Books, particularly in the Litany of Re²⁰⁶ and the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun.²⁰⁷

SCENE 5

Depiction: Three mummiform gods atop baskets

*wnn-sn m shr pn m niw.t tn
ntsn dd 3w.t n ntr.w lmy.w dw3.t
wd n-sn R^c t3 hnq.t
‘p ntr.w m-ht ntr pn ‘3 r 3h.t i3bt.t n.t p.t
m-ht r=f htp ntr.w dw3.t
(Nectanebo II): di-sn t3 hnq.t n Wsir N hr ntr ‘3
(Tjaihorpata): dd-sn t3 hnq.t n Wsir N
‘p=f m-ht ntr pn ‘3 r 3h.t i3bt.t n.t p.t
m-ht <r> -f htp=f m dw3.t hn^c ntr.w dw3.tyw*

They exist in this fashion in this locale.

It is they who dispense offerings to the gods who are within the Underworld,
when Re commends bread and beer to them.

It is in the following of this great god that the gods go to the eastern horizon of heaven,
after the Underworldly gods are pacified.

(Nectanebo II): May they give bread and beer to the Osiris N before the great god.
(Tjaihorpata): May they give bread and beer to the Osiris N.

May he follow this great god to the eastern horizon of heaven,
after he rests in the Underworld together with the Underworldly gods.

The middle register ends with the gods being provided with foodstuffs, which complements their endowment with cloth products in the upper register. The three gods described in this text are mummiform creatures atop *nb*-baskets, but despite their

²⁰⁶ The ram-headed bird within a disk accompanies the address to Djeba-demid and also appears on the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (see *infra*).

²⁰⁷ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pls. 4 and 6. The sun disk containing the ram-headed bird in Side One, Scene 6 appears within the belly of the unified Re-Osiris, combining the *ba*-corpse and *ba*-disk images in a single depiction, since the corpse is pregnant with both the disk and the *ba*.

wrapped state, they have the ability to travel behind the sun god, just like the mobile Osiris mentioned in the upper register.

LOWER REGISTER

Texts: Nectanebo II: pl. 103

Usermaatre: Not preserved

Tjaihorpata: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 296

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 681-93

SCENE 6

Depiction: Twelve uraei atop *mnh.t*-signs

*wnn=sn m shr pn m dw3.t
mn.(w) hr mnh.t=sn
sn m iwf=sn ds=sn
ntsn shd kkw m c.t hr.t Wsir
in^a ns tpy-r3=sn shpr hry m dw3.t
ntsn hsf hf3.wt nb.t imy.t t3
ihm D3.ty ir.w=s
c nh=sn m snfw n hsq.w=sn r^c nb^b
<ni> p=sn zh.t m-h^c R^c
iw h3.t=sn mn m s.t=sn^c
ir.t=sn pw m dw3.t zm=sn sbi.w
iw Wsir nswt Nht-hr-hb mry-Hw.t-hr hr-st m irr [...h]fty n R^c*

They exist in this fashion in the Underworld,
firmly established upon their clothing,
being in their own flesh.

It is they who illuminate the darkness of the room which contains Osiris.
It is the flame upon their mouths that ignites sacrifices in the Underworld.
It is they who repel every serpent within the earth,
whose visible form the Underworldly one does not recognize.
It is from the blood of those whom they behead that they live every day.
They cannot cross over the horizon after Re.
Their corpses remain in their places.
What they do in the Underworld is burn up the rebels.
(Nectanebo II): Osiris N is before them as one who [...] the enemies of Re.

^a The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II writes *m ns ...*, which is potentially a significant variant, if the *m* is being written as the Late Egyptian equivalent of *in* introducing a

participial statement.²⁰⁸ However, it is also possible that there is a confusion with the horizontal lines accompanying the serpents in the earlier versions, but not present on the sarcophagi: *rn.w n.w i^rw.t stty n Wsir hnty dw³.t m sn imy r₃=sn* “Names of the uraei who spit fire for Osiris by means of the flame which is in their mouths.”²⁰⁹

^b In this annotation, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata does not just differ in the additional text, but contains several passages which diverges from the copy on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, but follows the New Kingdom versions:

*ni ‘p.n s<n> s³h.w mw.wt n št³ ir.w=sn
iw rh st m m³3 ir.w=sn tm sbi=sn sti=sn*

The *akh*-spirits and the dead cannot pass by them, because their forms are hidden.
The one who knows it is one who sees their visible forms,
and is not one who passes through their flame.

^c This stock sentence as well as the description of the serpents burning up the rebels is unique to the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, since the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata as well as the Amduat Papyri follow the New Kingdom versions. While this “new” text does not add to our knowledge about the uraei in the lower register of the Ninth Hour of Amduat, the grammar and vocabulary suggests that the added phrases derive from a lost New Kingdom copy or that later scribes were meticulous and successful in conforming to the textual style of the Book of Amduat.

SCENE 6

Depiction: Ten gods holding *d^rm*-scepters and two mummiform deities

*wnn=sn m sh.t tn n niw.t tn nb.w ‘nh hr d^rm=sn
wnn=sn m shr pn ‘h^r r niw.t tn hr ‘nh=sn*

²⁰⁸ Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 178-79.

²⁰⁹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 681.

tw₃=sn hr d^cm=sn
 iw ntr pn c₃ dwi=f n=sn
 ntsn wd md.wt^a n ntr.w imy.w dw₃.t r niw.t tn
 ntsn shpr ht nb rdy nb n niw.t tn
 Hr hry š.w ntr.w m s₃ s₃m n sh.t tn
 (Nectanebo II): iw Wsir N dwi=f n ntr.w [...]
 (Tjaihorpata): iw Wsir N rh.(w) st m m₃=sn
 nn sbi=f n stl=sn

They exist in this field of this locale, lords of life who carry their *djam*-scepters.
 They exist in this fashion, standing at this locale holding their life (signs),
 and leaning on their *djam*-scepters.

This great god calls to them.

It is they who command to the gods who are within the Duat at this locale.

It is they who cause all trees and all plants of this locale to grow.

Horus is upon the lakes of the gods, as the guardian of the image of this field.

(Nectanebo II): Osiris N calls to the gods [...]

(Tjaihorpata): The Osiris N knows them, when he sees them,
 without passing through their flames.

^a The odd New Kingdom *snm mdw*²¹⁰ is replaced by *wd-mdw* by Nectanebo II and *sdm mdw* by Tjaihorpata, arguing against Hornung's interpretation of *mdw* as "staffs."²¹¹ The Amduat Papyri contain either *snm mdw* or *s^cm mdw*,²¹² all suggesting that the original meaning of the passage was "to eat/understand the words," which was interpreted as "to command" and "to hear" by later redactors.

The Ninth Hour confirms many of the features noted in the other hours of Amduat present on the Type III sarcophagi. The text used for the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is predominantly a faithful copy of the New Kingdom versions with some important additions involving the deceased individual and a few unique passages. Although both

²¹⁰ *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 691.

²¹¹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 159 n. 2.

²¹² Sadek, *Contribution*, p. 12.

Nectanebo II and Tjaihorpata contain additional text, often the phraseology varies, with the Underworldly gods invoked to perform different actions in the text on each sarcophagus. No evidence in the texts suggests a genetic relationship with the text of the Ninth Hour present on the Amduat Papyri.

LITANY OF RE

The foot end of the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, and presumably Usermaatre, contain Addresses 10, 12, 2, 4, and 6, proceeding from the beginning to the end of the Ninth Hour. The “last” Address on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II—Address 6—is the same Address which accompanies the text from the Twelfth Hour of Amduat and the concluding tableau from the Book of the Night on the Type II sarcophagi (see *supra*). The four Addresses which do not appear on the Type II sarcophagi are translated below.

Address 10

Figure: Hieracocephalic mummy with sun disk

Text: pl. 103B

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 15

*hk̄nw n-k R^c q₃ [shm
shd h₃.t] imy zh.t
pn nty q=f m qrr.t=f
i^w Wsir N hk̄n n R^c [...]]
twt h₃.t Wsir h₃.t shd h₃.t imy zh.t*

Praise to you o Ra, high and mighty!
Who illuminates the corpse who is in the horizon.
This one who enters into his cavern.
Osiris N praises to Re [...].
You are the corpse of Osiris, the corpse of Illuminer of corpse, within the horizon.

The Tenth Address in the New Kingdom versions of the Litany of Re has the odd feature of having two figures before the next attached to it—"Illuminer of corpses," depicted on Nectanebo II, and *b3 R^c*, a criocephalic bird within a disk.²¹³

Address 12

Figure: Scarab (destroyed on Nectanebo II)

Text: pl. 103B

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 17

*hk̄nw n=k R^c qȝ sh̄m
‘ry r ss[tȝ ‘Inpw]
iȝ Wsir N knw=f n R^c
twt hȝ.t Wsir N hȝ.t Hpri*

Praise to you o Ra, high and mighty!
Who approaches [what Anubis has hidden].
You are indeed the corpse of Khepri.
Osiris N praises to Re.
You are the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of Khepri.

The scarab form of Re in Address 12 draws near to the corpse of the solar god, which Anubis has concealed. In several of the Underworld Books, Anubis hides the corpse of Re-Osiris within a chest,²¹⁴ and Address 12 illustrates perfectly the scene in the top register of the Fourth Hour of Amduat where a scarab emerges from just such a chest.

Address 2

Figure: Mummy with a winged scarab for a head

Text: Nectanebo II: pl. 103B

Usermaatre: Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Glasperlenspiel*, p. 140

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 5-6

*hk̄nw n=k R^c qȝ sh̄m
Hpry sh̄n dnhw.y
pn nty htp=f m dwȝ.t
ir=f hpr.w m pr m hȝ.w=f
iȝ Wsir N hk̄nw=f n R^c*

²¹³ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 103 n. 41.

²¹⁴ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 73-74.

twt h3.t Wsir N h3.t Hpri

Praise to you o Ra, high and mighty!
He of Khepri, embracing of wings.
This one who rests in the Underworld,
 with the result that he makes his manifestations
 from what comes forth from his flesh.
Osiris N praises Re.
You are the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of He of Khepri

The first epithet of He of Khepri—"embracing of wings"—is a logical description of the winged scarab figure, but the remaining text of the address is more allusive. The winged scarab sets in the western horizon and then proceeds to create manifestations from the products of his *flesh*, a reference to the efflux of a rotting corpse. The text of this Address provides further evidence for the interpretation of the corpse of Khepri in the Sixth Hour of Amduat (see *supra*).

Address 4

Figure: Scarab within disk
Text: pl. 103B
Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9

*hk̄nw n-k R^c q₃ shm
sm^a t₃ shd Imn.t
pn nty irw.w=f hpr=f
 ir=f hpr.w m itn^c₃
i^w Wsir N knw=f n R^c
twt h3.t Wsir N h3.t Itn^c₃*

Praise to you, o Re, high and mighty!
Who unites the earth and illuminates the West.
This one whose visible forms are his manifestations,
 when he makes his manifestations into the Great Disk.
Osiris N praises Re.
You are the corpse of Osiris N, the corpse of the Great Disk.

^a The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II uses the *sm3*-sign (𓀩), a more expected orthography of the word *sm3* (to unite) than all of the New Kingdom versions (e.g. Ramesses II,



DECORATION OF LID

As with the other sarcophagi types, there does not appear to be a standardized decoration for the lids of Type III sarcophagi. The lid of the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II is not extant, while the lid of the sarcophagus of Usermaatre contains chapters from the Book of the Dead.²¹⁵ One of the most interesting and thus far unique decorative schemes on the lid of any Late Period sarcophagus appears on the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer. This lid contains one of two preserved “maps” of the Egyptian cosmos.²¹⁶ The foot end of the lid contains the solar barks prow to prow, a not uncommon image on Late Period sarcophagi, while the head end of the lid contains an interesting juxtaposition of images. In a solar bark a large god in the center lifts up two gods who praise a solar disk; while not labeled, these three gods are almost certainly the primeval creator deity (Atum, Ptah, or Re) lifting up his two children Shu and Tefnut.²¹⁷ Shu and Tefnut in turn can represent

²¹⁵ Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, p. 101, notes the following chapters: 89, chapter without number, 2, 3, 91, 92, 68, 9, and 71.

²¹⁶ J.J. Clère, “Fragments d’une Nouvelle Représentation Egyptienne du monde,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 30-46; as Clère notes, the closest parallel to the scene on the lid of the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer is a relief fragment in the Yale Peabody Museum (for an updated publication, see G. Scott, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale* [New Haven, 1986], pp. 154-155).

²¹⁷ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 361-62.

the two *tȝ.ty*, who are also the twin bas of Re and Osiris as explained in Book of the Dead Chapter 17.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ The relationship between the *tȝ.ty*, Shu and Tefnut, and the twin-ba of Re and Osiris is made explicit in Late Period versions of Chapter 17, §21 (*Urk. V*, p. 49, ll. 15-50, l. 1):

ir bȝ hri-ib tȝ.wy=f(y)
bȝ pw n Rȝ hnȝ bȝ pw n Wsir
bȝ pw n Šw hnȝ bȝ pw n Tfȝw.t

As for the *ba* who is in his two chicks:

it is the *ba* of Ra together with the *ba* of Osiris,
it is the *ba* of Shu together with the *ba* of Tefnut ...

For this passage, see also Spiegel, in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*, pp. 144-47.

CHAPTER 5

SARCOPHAGUS TYPE IV:

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF TJAIPATRA

The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata represents the zenith of the revival of New Kingdom Underworld books on Late Period sarcophagi. Every available surface is filled with texts and images from the Book of Amduat, the Book of Gates, Litany of Re, Creation of the Solar Disk, and the Book of Caverns, making this sarcophagus uniquely important for understanding how these books relate to one another. Unlike the Type II sarcophagi, though, each of the compositions on the Type IV sarcophagus is assigned to a separate register.

The archaeological context of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is better known than many of the Late Period sarcophagi, since the discovery of the chamber containing his sarcophagus and that of the dwarf Djedher (CG 29301), a Type I sarcophagus, is relatively well recorded.¹ The scenes on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, in particular the large-scale images on the lid and the head end, are beautiful examples of Nectanebid art, like several other sarcophagi treated in this work.² The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is the

¹ In one of the earliest publications of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, Brugsch claimed the sarcophagus was in the collection of Vienna, since he confused the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata with that of Neshutefnut; the separate identity of the two objects was corrected already by H. Gauthier, “Notes et remarques historiques VIII. Ziharpto, fonctionnaire de Nectanébo Ier,” *BIAO* 12 (1912): 53-59.

² The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, again similar to other sarcophagi, contains several areas where the decoration was carved over damage original to the stone, or the images were altered to avoid the damaged areas.

only monument to contain a precise date—Year 15 of the reign of Nectanebo II. Tjaihorpata, like other sarcophagus owners, is attested in a range of other documents.³

Before translating the Underworld Books on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, it is important first to consider the dedicatory text on the foot end of the sarcophagus. This short text offers the only direct evidence for the ancient Egyptian classification of the Underworld Books in the Late Period, and indicates the precise functions of the texts which decorated the black granite monument.⁴

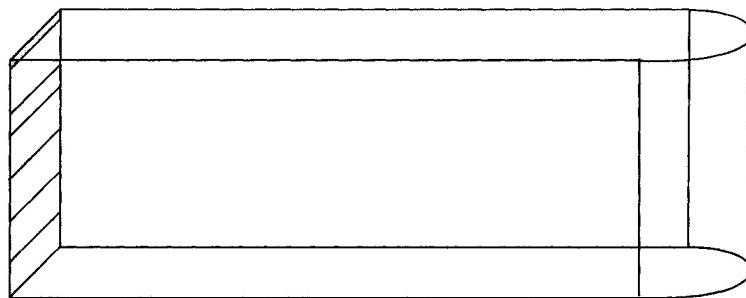


Fig. 64: Dedicatory Text on the Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

*hsb.t 15 zbd 3 zḥ.t hr hm nswt-bity s3 R^c Nht-hr-hb mry-ini-hr.t s3-R^c ḏ.t
sphr sš n ḫ.t imnt.t in smr m p3 hnt n Tʒrt hpr n Hr iʒb.t wr-ȝhnw n Hr imn.t
sš-ntr Hr-(n-t3)-b3.t nb imʒh
r ir(.t) s3 Wsir hʒty-ȝ (im̩)-r3 šmȝ hry wdb (im̩)-r3 zḥ.t Tʒi-hr-p3-t3 nb imʒhy
r ntr iʒ.t=f r hr.t ntr
ir=f hpr nb rdī ib=f ḏ.t nhḥ*

Regnal year 15, month 3 of Akhet under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re, Nectanebo (II), beloved of Onuris, son of Re, living forever!
The copying of the “Book of the Hidden Chamber” by the commander in

Khent-en-Tjaru, *hpr*-priest of the eastern Horus nome wer-tjehenu-priest of the western Horus nome, scribe of the god, Horentabat, possessor of veneration, in order to protect the Osiris, count, overseer of Upper Egypt, chief of the banks, overseer of fields, Tjaihorpata possessor of veneration,

³ For example, he is even mentioned in a graffito from the Wadi Hammamat—for this and other monuments of Tjaihorpata, see Baines, *JEA* 78 (1992): 250, n. 18.

⁴ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 256. For earlier translations, see Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 64 (1929): 76-83; F. von Känel, *Les Prêtes-ouâb de Sekhmet* (Paris, 1984), pp. 114-115; Baines, *JEA* 78 (1992): 247-8; the translations of Tjaihorpata’s titles are drawn from these sources.

so that his corpse might become divine in the necropolis,
so he might make any manifestation which he desires forever and ever!

The title given to the entire decorative scheme of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is the *sš n ḥ.t imnt.t* “The Book of the Hidden Chamber.”⁵ In the New Kingdom royal tombs, this title appears only with the Book of Amduat, although it has a wider application already in the Third Intermediate Period. The use of *sš n ḥ.t imnt.t* to describe the extremely wide range of texts and scenes on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata demonstrates that the title encompassed the entire corpus of Underworld Books during the Late Period and possibly before.

The dedicatory text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is located directly above a scene from the lowest register of the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates, which focuses primarily on the relationship between Horus and Osiris in the Netherworld; in particular, Horus cares for his father and destroys his enemies. Similarly, Horentabat commissions the copying of the “Book of the Hidden Chamber” in order to accomplish the same for Tjaihorpata. The positive results of the decoration are detailed in the line below the dedication:⁶

*qrr.wt št3.wt n.t imnt.t ḥ.p ntr pn ḥ.3 hr-sn
m wi3=f m st3=f ntr.w imy.w dw3.t
ḥ.p Wsir iri-pt h3ty-ḥ hm-ntr hwt-hr... sny T3i-hr-p3-t3 nb im3ḥ
s3 ḥ.ḥp m3ḥ hrw hr-sn
iwr ir=tw nn mi sšm pn m ḥ.t imn.t m dw3.t*

⁵ The term *sš*, here translated “book,” refers to both text and images—for a general examination of “illuminated manuscripts” in ancient Egypt, see H. Brunner, “Illustrierte Bücher im alten Ägypten,” in W. Röllig, ed., *Das hörende Herz* (Freiburg und Göttingen, 1988), pp. 363-384. In secular documents, *sš*, especially in the plural, is a general word denoting all types of documents, including letters (K. Donker van Heel and B.J.J. Haring, *Writing in a Workmen’s Village. Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina* [Leiden, 2003], pp. 110-112).

⁶ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 256.

*r rḥ=sn m rn=sn
ni hsf rd.wy=f hr sbȝ.w štȝ.w*

The mysterious caverns of the West, over which this great god passes,
in his bark during his haulings (by) the Underworldly gods.
The Osiris, prince, count, priest of Hathor ... economic minister⁷ Tjaihorpata,
possessor of veneration, son of Ankhapi, justified, shall pass over them.
This is done according to this template in the hidden chamber of the Underworld,
in order to learn them in their names.
His feet shall not be repulsed from the mysterious portals.

The importance of this short text cannot be underestimated. No similar statements appear in any New Kingdom royal tomb, except in the “instructions” accompanying the individual hours of the Book of Amduat,⁸ which are not present in the other sarcophagi types. All the Underworld Books are based on the template (*sšm*) in the hidden chamber, and the main purpose of the texts is knowledge—“in order to learn them by their names.”⁹ This same emphasis on cosmographic knowledge pervades the Underworld Books and is particularly pronounced in the “Cult-Theological Treatise.”¹⁰ Like the Underworld Books, the Cult-Theological Treatise is confined to royal monuments in the New Kingdom, but both compositions appear in the tomb of Padiamenemope (TT 33), which shares many features with Late Period sarcophagi. The dedicatory text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata may be based on the introduction to the Book of Amduat as well as the Cult-Theological Treatise.

⁷ For the meaning of the title *snty*, see J. Yoyotte, “Le nom égyptien du ‘ministre de l’économie’ de Sais à Méroé,” *CRAIBL* (1989): 73-98.

⁸ This similarity was noted already by Schott, *Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer*, pp. 327-28, 334.

⁹ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 473-79.

¹⁰ Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 56-57; *idem*, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 65-68.

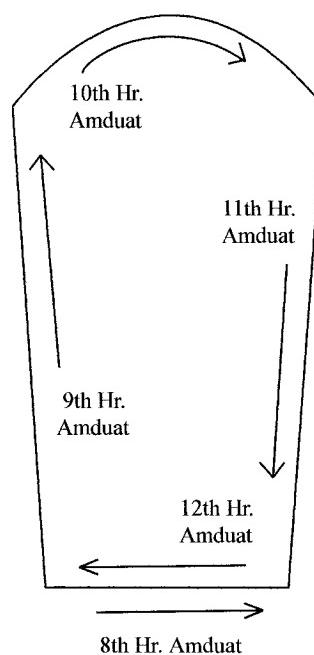
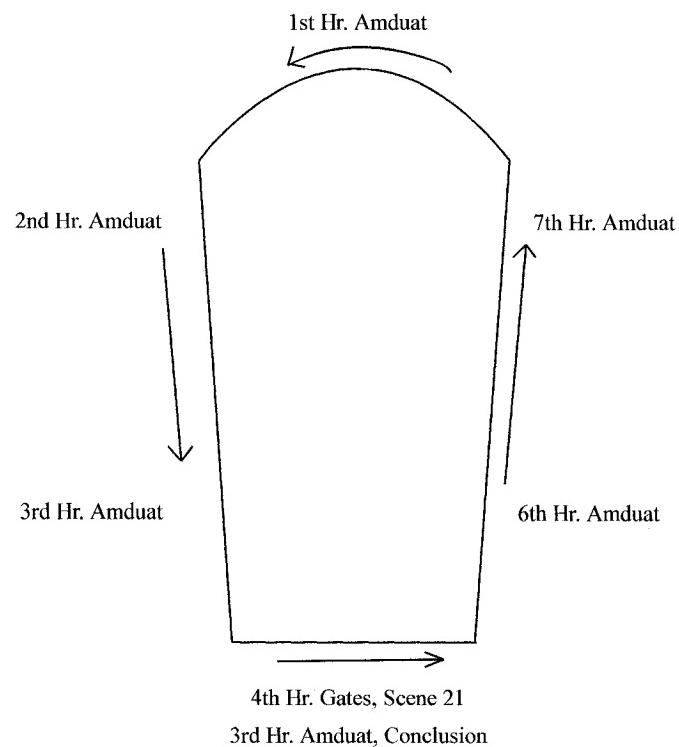
OVERVIEW OF TEXTS

ORIENTATION

Although the Underworld Books in New Kingdom royal tombs are often distributed along lengthy corridors and pillared halls, the direction in which different compositions are read within a particular corridor or chamber often creates a circular pattern.¹¹ The sarcophagus chamber in the tomb of Thutmose III, which follows the directions within the Book of Amduat itself, creates one of the most distinct circular patterns (see *supra*). Nineteenth Dynasty tombs often contain a number of textual units which create a complete loop. For example, the Litany of Re, in the first and second corridors of several tombs, begins on one wall of a corridor, moves onto the ceiling with the climactic address to *Db3-dmd* and then returns up the opposite wall of the corridor. The tomb of Ramesses VI contains several such circular patterns, incorporating one or more Underworld Books.¹² The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata contains no less than four separate circular patterns.

¹¹ Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, pp. 46-49; *idem*, JEOL 21 (1969-1970): 164-68.

¹² Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' VI.*, pp. 82, 139-40, *passim*.



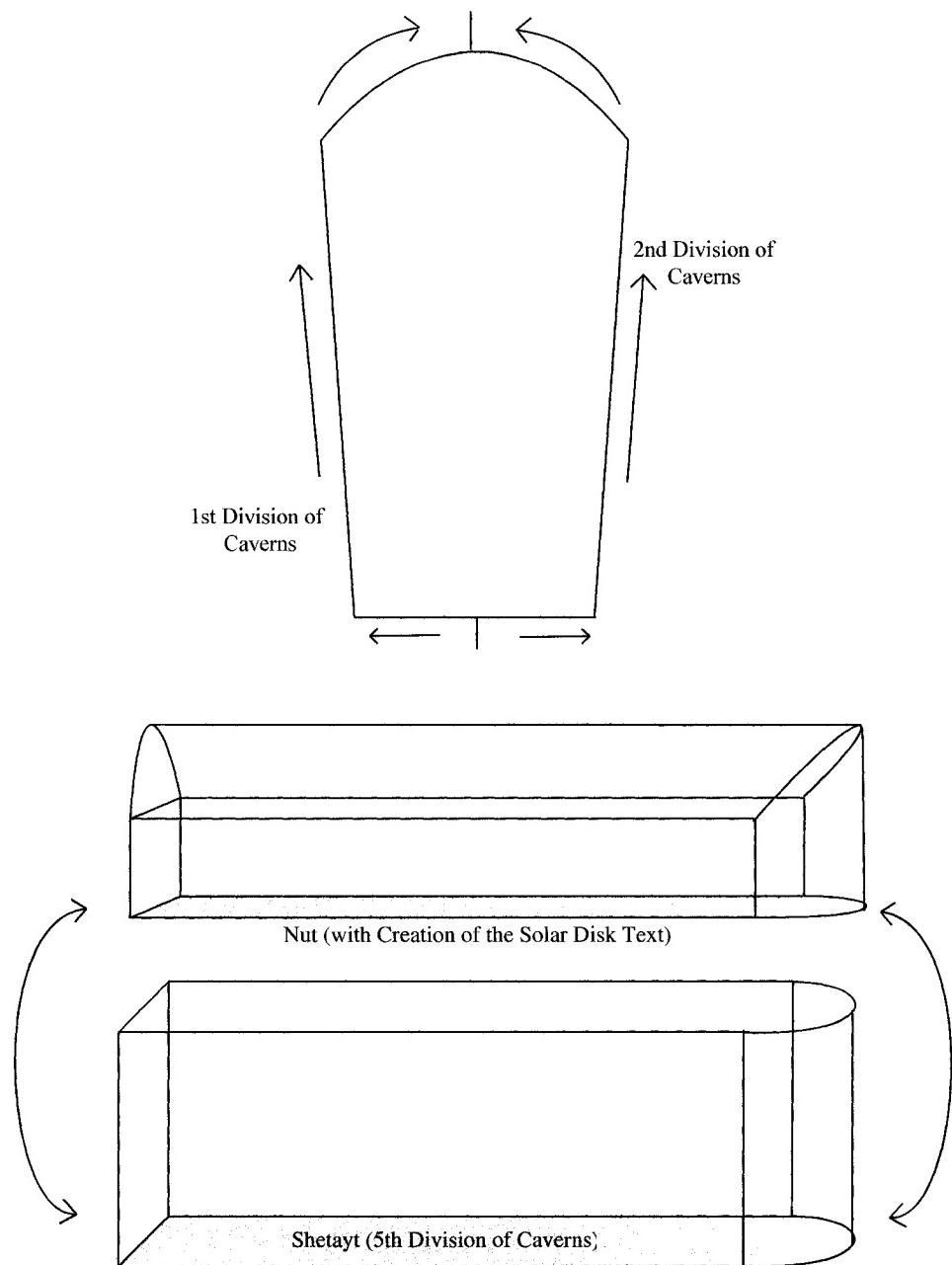


Fig. 65: Four cycles on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

BOOK OF AMDUAT

The carvings of the scenes from the Book of Amduat are truly a magnificent artistic achievement, especially in the larger scale figures from the First Hour on the head end of the sarcophagus. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata contains the First through Third and the Sixth through Twelfth Hours, omitting the “land of Sokar” and mysterious paths

of Rosetau from the Fourth and Fifth Hours. As the above diagrams demonstrate, a counter-clockwise circling motion is made in order to read the First through Third, Sixth, and Seventh Hours, passing through the scene from the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates on the foot end. The Eighth Hour breaks with the pattern, but is the last of the exterior decoration to be read before completing a clockwise loop on the interior of the sarcophagus consisting of hours Nine through Twelve (beginning and ending with the interior corner where Side Two meets Side Four).

BOOK OF GATES

Unlike the Type II sarcophagi, but in keeping with the Type III sarcophagi, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata does not precede the hours of Amduat by *sbh.t*-portals from the Book of Gates. The lower register of the Fourth Hour of Gates, which appears at the top of Side Four (foot end), is the only excerpt from the entire composition to appear on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.¹³ Furthermore, as the translation and commentary below demonstrate, this scene is particularly significant for demonstrating the relationship between Horus and Osiris in the Underworld, as well as that between Re and Osiris.

BOOK OF CAVERNS

The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is the only sarcophagus from the corpus of Late Period sarcophagi to include texts from the Book of Caverns. Textual material and representations from the Book of Caverns are similarly rare in Third Intermediate Period funerary papyri, with the exception of the papyrus of Nodjmet.¹⁴ The only completely

¹³ Recognized already by Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 22.

¹⁴ See *infra*.

preserved Late Period exemplar of the Book of Caverns in the tomb of Padiamenemope (TT 33) remains unpublished.¹⁵ The text of the Book of Caverns on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata has never been examined in detail, which is not surprising, considering that the entire book lacks a published commentary.¹⁶ Previous scholars have noted the appearance of the First and Second Divisions on the sarcophagus,¹⁷ but the litanies from the Sixth Division on the lid as well as the depiction of the goddess Shetayt and annotations from the Fifth Division on the floor have gone entirely unnoticed. The excerpts from the Fifth and Sixth Divisions on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata are particularly significant, since they provide variants and entire segments of texts not extant in any earlier published version. The use of excerpts from the Sixth Division of Caverns as well as the depiction of the goddess Nut on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata also enhance the transformation of the sarcophagus into the cosmos itself (see *infra*, Conclusion).

LITANY OF RE

Excerpts from the Litany of Re appear on the head end of the lid as well as the upper register of Side Three, above the Sixth and Seventh Hours of Amduat. The excerpts correspond to parts of the Third and Fourth of the great litanies following the addresses to each of the seventy-four forms of the sun god. Tjaihorpata does not use any

¹⁵ Fortunately, though, the version in TT 33 was used in Piankoff's publication of the Book of Caverns.

¹⁶ For a concise summary of previous research and translations, see Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, pp. 83-84 and the bibliography on pp. 175-76. The text of the Book of Caverns on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata was compared throughout to the edition presented by Piankoff in *BIFAO* as well as the photographic plates in Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*.

¹⁷ Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, p. 83.

of the addresses, but does depict all seventy-four forms of Re below the Litany text on Side Three. The version of the text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is most closely related to Twentieth Dynasty copies.¹⁸

BOOK OF THE CREATION OF THE SOLAR DISK

The head end and underside of the lid each contain a scene and/or text from the composition known as the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The solar bark atop Aker in the middle of the top register of Section A along with its annotation adorns the head end of the lid of Tjaihorpata, while Text III of Section A appears on the underside of the lid. The depictions of the hours of the day and the night which accompany the text on the underside of the lid are not related to the image with the same annotation in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

SIDE ONE

The head end of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata shares many properties with Side One of the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II, since the vast majority of Side One is covered with texts and images from the First Hour of Amduat. In both cases, the carved baboons and other deities from this hour are excellent examples of Nectanebid sunk relief. Despite these similarities, the two sarcophagi are not based on the same template, since the distribution of texts from the First Hour of Amduat differs on each sarcophagus. Notably, several of the groups of gods from the First Hour on the sarcophagus of

¹⁸ W. Schenkel, *Das Stemma der altägyptischen Sonnenlitanei* (Wiesbaden, 1978), pp. 64-68; see also *idem*, “Weiteres zum Stemma der Sonnenlitanei,” *GM* 37 (1980): 37-39, where he corrects his identification of the source for the text from the Edifice of Taharqa (noting that at times it agrees with Ramesses IV and Ramesses IX and in other place diverges from those two versions).

Tjaihorpata appear not on Side One, but in the upper register on Side Two, above the Second and Third Hours of Amduat. Additionally, the introductory text to the First Hour on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is not confined to a single block of text on one side of the head end, but occurs in vertical columns across the surface. Underneath the First Hour of Amduat, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata contains images and texts from the conclusion of the first two divisions of the Book of Caverns,¹⁹ as opposed to the addresses from the Litany of Re in the bottom register of the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II.

SIDE TWO

The second side of the sarcophagus contains a total of six registers of scenes and texts. The first and fifth register contain groups of deities continued from the First Hour of Amduat on Side One.²⁰ The Second and Third Hours of the Book of Amduat fill the second, third, and fourth registers. However, in both the Second and Third Hours of Amduat, the annotation to the middle register is omitted.²¹ The upper-most bandeau text provides an extensive list of the titles of the deceased who is “honored before Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, great god, lord of Rasetau.”²² A continuation of the First Division of Caverns appears in the lowest register of Side Two.

¹⁹ The passages from the Book of Caverns commence on Side Four, and a running translation appears in that section below.

²⁰ For translations and commentary incorporating the variants on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, see *supra*.

²¹ Since both of these hours appear on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, translations and commentary can be found *supra*.

²² Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 240 (mistakenly labeled “paroi est”).

Amduat, 1st Hour deities	
Amduat, 2nd Hour Concluding Text	
Amduat, 2nd Hour	Amduat, 3rd Hour
Amduat, 1st Hour deities	
Book of Caverns, First Division	

Fig. 66: Decoration of Side Two of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

The decoration of Side Two continues on Side Four, where the concluding text to the Third Hour of Amduat appears. However, the Amduat text is not placed at the top of the foot end of the sarcophagus, which is instead dominated by Scene 21 from the Book of Gates, the lower register of the Fourth Hour. This single scene from the Book of Gates is the only Underworld Book text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata which describes the events of the fourth or fifth hours of the night.

BOOK OF GATES, SCENE 21

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 256-57

Parallel: Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, pp. 125-136

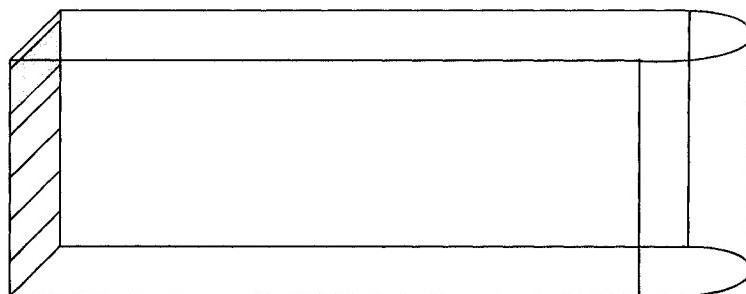


Fig. 67: Placement of Scene 21, Book of Gates on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

The scene is essentially that of the New Kingdom copies, but omits the multi-coiled snake beneath Osiris-Khentyimentiu;²³ interestingly, the scene already enjoyed a certain independence in the New Kingdom.²⁴ At the far left of the scene, a hieracocephalic Horus leans on a long staff, and between him and the shrine of Osiris stand eleven gods. Hieroglyphs spaced between the slightly bowing figures labels them as: *ntr.w iry.w Hr* “gods who pertain to Horus.”²⁵ The twelve gods to the right of the shrine are *ntr.w h3 k3ri* “gods who surround the shrine.” In the center of the scene, the Osiris figure is labeled *Hnty-imnt* “Foremost of the West” and the uraeus is appropriately called *nsr.t* “Flame.” Forty-two columns of retrograde text above this scene closely follow the New Kingdom versions of Scene 21 of the Book of Gates.

Title:

*irt.n Hr n it=f Wsir
s3h=f db3 n=f s3d*

What Horus has done for his father Osiris:

²³ A. Niwinski, “The 21st Dynasty Religious Iconography Project, Exemplified by the Scene with Three Deities Standing on a Serpent,” in S. Schoske, ed., *Akten des vierten internationalen ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985* (Hamburg, 1989), vol. 3, pp. 312-314, based on Third Intermediate Period depictions of deities atop slain snakes has argued that the snake beneath Osiris in the Fourth Hour of Gates represents an ophidian Seth and is the object of the punishment of Horus. However, other parallels suggest that the coiled serpent is a protective figure. In the Book of Caverns, Third Division, fifth scene, Osiris appears in a shrine surrounded by serpents, with coiled serpents below his feet and above his head, clearly serving as guardians of Osiris. The Third Intermediate Period papyri also share elements with the 60th Scene of the Book of Gates, where a “firey” snake protects the gods within its coils (Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, pp. 221-223). On the second papyrus of Herubeni, the coils of a single large snake encompasses the four sons of Horus and the mound upon which the ithyphallic Re-Osiris rests (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 2).

²⁴ Abitz, *König und Gott*, pp. 163-5 and 206.

²⁵ The New Kingdom versions label them as *ntr.w iry.w s3d* “gods who pertain to the fillet” and label the falcon-headed figure separately as Horus; at some point in the process of transmission, the word *s3d* was probably lost and the annotation changed. However, this label accords well with Horus’ statement in the accompanying text: *ipp=tn n=i* “You shall be assigned to me” (for more on this passage, see *infra*).

glorifying him and adorning him with the fillet.

Speech of Horus:

*hnty ib=î hr it=(î)^a
m3' ib=(î) n it=(î)
nd=î tw m-^c irr.w r=k
s3h=(î) tw m hr.t=k
shm n=k Wsîr
bw3 n=k Hnty-imn.tyw
hr.t=k n=k hq3 dw3.t
q3 irw.w m št3y.t
3h.w n snd=k mw.wt n šfšf=k
db3.n=i^b sšd=k
ink s3=k Hr
tw=î ip=î bg.t im*

As my heart travels south to my father,
so is my heart just for my father.

I shall protect you from those who act against you!
I shall transfigure you by means of your necessities!
Power be to you, Osiris!

Loftiness be to you, foremost of the Westerners!
Your provisions be to you, ruler of the Underworld!
O exalted of visible forms in Shetayt!
The blessed spirits belong to fear of you and the dead belong to your awesome power.
I am attaching your fillet,
for I am your son Horus.
I account the weariness therein.

^a Horus' speech begins with the odd statement that his heart sails southwards and concludes with attaching a fillet on the head of Osiris. The connection between these two events may lay in the earlier religious texts, such as Coffin Text Spell 398 (*CT V* 158a), where the deceased wears a *mdh*-fillet while addressing deities of the four cardinal directions in one of the "ferryman" spells. In several other Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts passages, tying on the fillet occurs prior to travel, particularly on water.²⁶ The

²⁶ Willems, *Heqata*, pp. 171-72.

southward direction of travel alludes to the burial place of Osiris, as indicated in the Late Period papyrus of Imouthes:²⁷

... *m-dr m33 Is.t sn=s Wsir*
iw=f h^c m wi³ n mfk³.t
iw=f hnt r p³y=f t³ n nh^h
... while Isis sees her brother Osiris,
when he appears in glory in his bark of turquoise,
when he sails south to his land of eternity.

The nautical imagery continues in the next verb *m3^c* “to be just,” a homophone of *m3^c* “fair wind” (*Wb.* II 23.15), with which one might travel southwards.

^b The verbal form here is most likely a present tense *sdm.n=f*, like that commonly used in offering scenes (*di.n=i n=k ...*),²⁸ an interpretation that fits well with the concluding *iw=f sdm=f* in Horus’ speech.

Speech of the Entourage of Osiris:

i.n nn n ntr.w hnty imntyw
q³ dw³.t(y)
w³s hnty imnty
s³-k Hr db³=f s³d=k
s³h=f tw
n³k=f hfty.w=k^a
nhp=f n=k^b
h^cit ^c.wy=k Wsir hnty imn.tyw

The gods of the one Foremost of the Westerners say:

“Be high, Underwordly one!
Be strong, Foremost of the Westerners!
Your son Horus is attaching your fillet,

²⁷ Goyon, *Le papyrus d'Imouthès*, pl. 3, col. 4, ll. 15-17. Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, p. 103 n. 3 suggests that the burial of Osiris may be Abydos or Memphis, but the island of Biggeh far in the south is a more likely location.

²⁸ For this form see *supra*. None of the New Kingdom versions write the first person suffix pronoun, leading Hornung to translate the passage as “Ersatz gehört deiner Binde” (*Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 116).

as he transfigures you,
and as he punishes your enemies.
He leaps up for you,
so that your arms rejoice, Osiris, foremost of the Westerners.”

^a These three strophes are parallel to a portion of the lower register of the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night, which appears on the Type II sarcophagi. For commentary, especially on the *sšd*-fillet, see *supra*.

^b The addition of the third person suffix pronoun following *nhp* avoids the difficulties of the New Kingdom versions.²⁹ *Nhp* in an Underworldly context can also mean “to emerge,” particularly from a sarcophagus or the Underworld itself.³⁰ Horus, having resurrected his father, adorned him with the fillet, and defeated his enemies, is free to leave the Underworld—to *nhp* from the eastern horizon. This passage does not explicitly mention the eastern horizon, but the verb *ḥi* may itself suggest an action at the end of the Underworld, since it is the location of the *ḥi m ȝh.t*, the sexual union of Re and Osiris.³¹

Speech of Osiris:

i.n hnty imn.tyw
my r=k r=i sȝ=i Hr
nd=k wi m-ȝ ir.t r=i
wd=k st n hry.w-htmw sȝ hȝd.w

The one Foremost of the Westerners says:
“Come to me my son Horus,
so that you might protect me from those who act against me.

²⁹ Cf. Hornung’s translation: “Es schwollen für dich die Muskeln an deinen Armen, Osiris-Chontamenti!” (*Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 116), closely followed by Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, pp. 104-5: “so daß sich dir die Muskeln deiner Arme (wieder) regen, Osiris Chontamenti.”

³⁰ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 120-21, 296-99.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 404-5.

May you commend them to those who are in charge of annihilation,
the guardians of the traps.”

Second Speech of Horus

*i.n Hr n nn n ntr.w h3 k3r
ipp=tn n=i ntr.w nty m-h̄t hnty imntyw
h̄=tn n i hm=tn
shm=tn m mw=tn
drp=tn m t3 n Hw hnq.t n.t M3c.t
n̄h=tn m n̄h it=i im hr.t=tn m št3.t
wn=tn m s3 Wsir sny T3i-hr-p3-t3 pn m3c-hrw w̄ im=tn pw*

Horus says to these gods who surround the shrine:

“To me will you be assigned,³² gods who are in the following of

Foremost of the Westerners.

May you stand fast without retreat!

May you have control over your water;³³

May you be provisioned with the bread of Hu and the beer of Maat.

May you live from what my father lives, your provision in Shetayt.

May you exist as the protection of Osiris, economic minister Tjaihorpata,
this justified one—he is one of you!”³⁴

The motive behind the inclusion of Scene 21 of the Book of Gates is not immediately apparent in the decorative scheme of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. It represents the only material taken from the fourth or fifth hours of any Underworld Book, since the sarcophagus omits those two hours from the otherwise complete version of the Book of Amduat. The text accompanying the shrine of Osiris relates the template of the myth of the avenging son Horus to the solar journey through the Underworld. Although

³² For the prospective-nominal passive *sdm=f/sdmm=f*, see Baumann, *Suffix Conjugation*, pp. 370-381 (the example from the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates is cited on p. 373); Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 2, p. 107.

³³ This differs from the New Kingdom versions: *my tn drp=tn* “Come so that you might be provisioned!”

³⁴ Here the name of Tjaihorpata replaces the statement in the New Kingdom versions (Hornung, *Pforten*, pp. 134-5): *wnn=tn m h3 k3r m wd R̄* “You shall surround the shrine by the command of Re.”

Horus in his multifarious forms appears throughout the Underworld Books,³⁵ this scene bridges the divide between the cosmic-solar Horus as Re and Horus as the son of Osiris and Isis.

The importance of the Horus-Osiris archetype is also apparent on the Type II sarcophagi, particularly in the excerpts from the Seventh and Eighth Hours from the Book of the Night. Strong textual parallels enhance the connection between Scene 21 of Gates on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata and the inclusion of the Book of the Night on the Type II sarcophagi:

Book of the Night, Seventh Hour:

“What Horus does for his father,
making a penetration,
transfiguring god,
providing the fillet.”

Book of Gates, Scene 21:

“Your son Horus is attaching your fillet,
as he transfigures you,
and as he punishes your enemies.”

Both scenes emphasize the transfer of *royal* power from Osiris to Horus. As Barguet has noted, Scene 21 is the clearest indication of this transfer in the Book of Gates, although it is a theme that pervades the composition.³⁶ A further observation by Barguet may also explain the inclusion of this key scene from Gates among the hours of Amduat:³⁷ “Le livre de l’Am-Douat et le Livre des Portes se complètent donc admirablement, le premier présentant le rituel des funérailles royales, et le second la transmission de la fonction

³⁵ Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, pp. 29-30.

³⁶ Barguet, *RdE* 27 (1975): 32-36.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

royale au nouveau souverain. Une différence essentielle est à noter: l'Am-Douat est nettement memphite, alors que le Livre des Portes est nettement héliopolitain.” More specifically, Scene 21 reinforces the father-son archetype alongside the union of *ba* and corpse.³⁸

Dedicatory Text
Gates, 4th Hr., Scene 21
Amduat, 3rd Hr., Concluding Text
Amduat, 8th Hr., Upper Register
Amduat, 8th Hr., Middle Register
Amduat, 8th Hr., Lower Register
Caverns, 1st Div.
Caverns, 2nd Div.

Fig. 68: Decoration of Side Four of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

Immediately below Scene 21 from the Book of Gates appears a large excerpt from the concluding text to the Third Hour of Amduat, a logical placement of the text, since the Third Hour itself appears on Side Two of the sarcophagus and abuts the foot end. Several small textual variations exist between this text and the New Kingdom versions, as noted in Chapter 4, *supra*.

³⁸ For the triad Re, Osiris, and Horus, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 96-97, particularly the passage cited from the Book of Caverns.

SIDE THREE

The third side of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata contains excerpts from three different Underworld Books—the Litany of Re, Book of Amduat, and Book of Caverns.

Litany of Re	
Amduat, 6th Hour	Amduat, 7th Hour
Book of Caverns, Second Division	

Fig. 69: Decoration of Side Three of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

The first register of Side Three contains all seventy-four forms of the sun god from the Litany of Re and an excerpt from the text of the third litany. Above this register are two lines of bandeaу texts; the top line lists the names and titles of the deceased, while the second line provides an otherwise unattested text related to the figures from the Litany of Re.³⁹

³⁹ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 266-267.

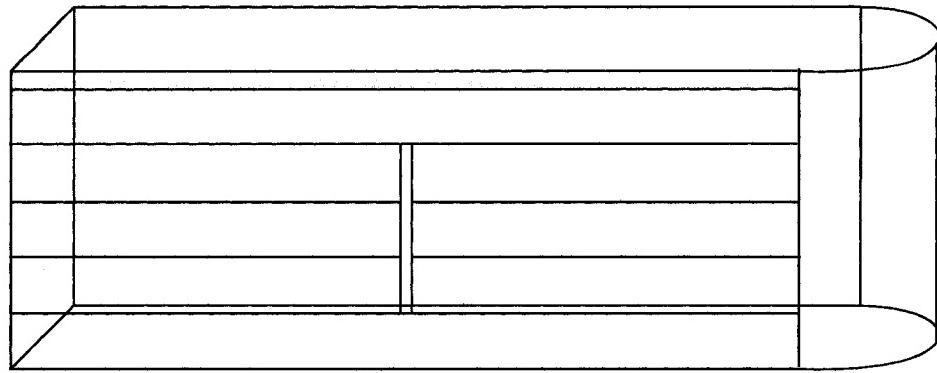


Fig. 70: Introduction to the Litany of Re on the Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

TOP BANDEAU, LINE 2: LATE PERIOD INTRODUCTION TO THE LITANY OF RE

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 266-67

Parallels: None

rn.w n.w ntr.w šzp R^c m dw₃.t
 šzp=sn Wsir N hr ^{c.}wy=sn
 hprw.w=f mi imy.w wi₃=f
 wn=sn n Wsir N ^{c.}w n.w Igr.t
^cp=f qrr.t=sn
^cq=f sb₃.w n.w Imn.t
 hns.n=f w₃.wt št₃.w
 š₃s.n=f ntr.w
 nmi.n=f w₃.t nfr.t m R₃-st₃w
^cq=f m imnt.t hn^c R^c m wi₃=f
 dw₃=f qrr.tyw dw₃.t
 wbn=f hn^c=f m ȝh.t iȝb.(t) mi nb{t} nhh

Names of the gods, who receive Re in the Underworld.
 May they receive the Osiris N with their own arms.
 May his manifestations be like those within his bark.
 May they open for Osiris N the doors of Igeret,
 so that he might traverse their caverns,
 so that he might enter the portals of the West,
 he having trodden the secret roads,
 he having passed by the gods,
 he having traversed the beautiful road of Rosetau.
 May he enter into the West with Re in his bark,
 so that he might adore the cavern-dwellers of the Underworld,
 so that he might rise with him in the eastern horizon like the
 lord of cyclical eternity.

This horizontal bandeau above the Litany of Re, although not directly paralleled in the New Kingdom versions, shares much with the themes expressed in the First Litany, such as the opening of the portals of the Netherworld:⁴⁰

*iw Wsir NN nis=f r-sn m rn.w=sn
iw Wsir NN dwi=f sn m hprw.w=sn
sn r=sn wn=sn n Wsir NN dw3.t
sni=sn sb3.w Št3y.t n b3=f*

Osiris NN addresses them by their names.
Osiris NN calls them by their manifestations.
They open for Osiris NN the Underworld.
and they throw back the portals of Shetayt for his *ba*.

Furthermore, the bandeau text on Tjaihorpata relates the adoration of the “cavern dwellers”—the seventy-four forms of Re—to the deceased’s passage through the Underworld. The geographical emphasis in the bandeau fits well with its association with the Book of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata and the distribution of addresses from the Litany before each hour of Amduat on the Type II sarcophagi. The use of the formula “Names of the gods who ...” in the bandeau text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is also reminiscent of the names of the groups of gods from the First Hour of Amduat who are placed in the same location on Side Two as the figures from the Litany of Re on Side Three. Finally, this is one of the few passages on the sarcophagi not attested on any known earlier copy of the Underworld Books.

LITANY OF RE

The top register of Side Three contains a long excerpt from the Third Litany in the Litany of Re; it continues the text on the head end of the lid (translated *infra*). Below

⁴⁰ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 89-91.

the text are the seventy-four forms of the solar god. The sarcophagus text closely follows the New Kingdom versions, substituting the name of Tjaihorpata where the royal cartouches appeared earlier. However, such substitutions were not made blindly, as indicated by the subtle alterations of specifically royal epithets, such as *hq3 idb.wy*.

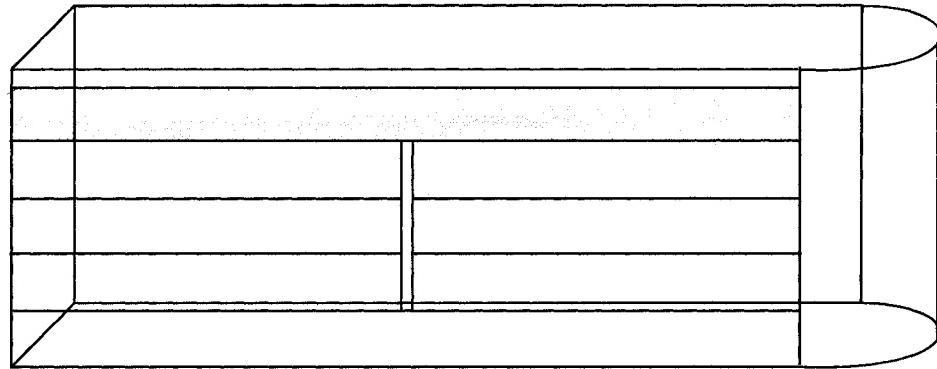


Fig. 71: Litany of Re on the Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

LITANY OF RE, THIRD LITANY

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 269-270

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 114-126

¹*dw3 qrr.tyw* ²*in R^c* *htp=f m* ³*nht.t^a*
³*ind hr=tn* *qrr.tyw* ⁴*ntr.w imy.w Imn* ⁵*t.t*
spd=tn w3^x ⁶*b3=tn*
shtm=tn ⁷*hfty.w n.w R^c*
srq ⁸*tn B3-dmd*
⁹*shd=tn*
hsr(w) ¹⁰*kkw=tn*
¹¹*dwi=tn dw3=tn imy-itn=f*^b
¹²*p=tn* ^c*p R^c*
¹³*m33=tn dsr n Wsir*
¹⁴*nh=tn mi nh=f*
s3m ¹⁵*=tn Wsir N* ¹⁷*htp m nh r w3.t=tn*
p b3 ¹⁸*=f hr st3.w=tn*
Wsir ¹⁹*N w^c im* ²¹*=tn*
wsr Wsir N ²³*wsr R^c r tz q.w^c*
²⁴*nht=f nht R^c*
²⁵*wdi=f dw m 3pp*
²⁶*hwil=f sdb.w=f m Igr.t*
²⁷*wdi Wsir N* ²⁹*sdb.w=f mi nty* ³⁰*R^c*
hwil=f sdb.w=sn ³¹*m Imn.t mi nty R^c*

³²*iw wsr Wsir N m t3 m3 ws³⁵r b3 dw3.ty*
iw m3c-hrw³⁶=k r hfty. w=k ntr c³⁷imy zh.t zp ifdw
iw m3c-hrw=k r³⁸hfty. w=k Wsir-dm³⁹d^d zp ifdw
iw m3c-hrw Wsir N⁴¹r hfty. w=f m p.t⁴²m t3 m d3d3.t⁴³Wsir hnty-imnt.t
⁴⁴*hr nty Wsir N R^c tz phr*
⁴⁷*ntf c³ imy p.t*
⁴⁸*iw=f mdw=f m Imn⁴⁹.t*
m3c-hrw Wsir N⁵²m d3d3.t c³.t
⁵³*w^cb Wsir N w^cb im⁵⁶y. w=f*
nft hq3 M3c.t^e
⁵⁷*m3c-hrw=f r hfty. w=f⁵⁸zp ifdw*
shm zp snw m hnty⁵⁹dw3.t shm R^c m⁶⁰hnty dw3.t
shr⁶¹-f c³pp

Adoring the cavern-dwellers by Re when he sets in Ankhet.

Greetings cavern-dwellers, gods who are in the West.

May you be keen and may your bas be strong,
so you might destroy the enemies of Re.

The United Ba causes you to breath,
with the result that you are illumined,
and your darkness is dispelled.

You call to and praise the one within his disk.

Your traversings are Re's traversings,
so that you might see the sanctification of Osiris,
so that you might live like he lives.

May you conduct the Osiris N, who rests in life, along your roads,
so that his ba might pass over your mysteries.

Osiris N is one among you.

The power of Osiris N is the power of Re, at the sandbank of 'passing over.'
His victory is the victory of Re,

when he places evil in Apep,
when he strikes down his wickedness in Igeret.

May Osiris N strike down the wickedness of his enemies just like Re.

May he strike down their wickedness in the West just like Re.

The power of Osiris N is in the earth like the power of the *ba* of Daty.

You are vindicated against your enemies, great god within the horizon—4 times!

You are vindicated against your enemies, Osiris-Demed.

The Osiris N is justified against his enemies in heaven, in earth, in the council of Osiris,
foremost of the Westerners,
because Osiris N is Re and vice versa!

He is the great one within heaven.

He continually speaks in the West.

Osiris N is vindicated in the great council.

Osiris N is pure and that which is in him is pure.

He is the ruler of Maat.

He is vindicated against his enemies—4 times!

Re is powerful as the one foremost of the Underworld.
Re is powerful as one foremost of the Underworld,
when he fells Apep!

^a The introductory line “adoring the cavern dwellers ...” is only present in the tomb of Ramesses IV and on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata; the adherence of Tjaihorpata’s sarcophagus to the version of the text in the tomb of Ramesses IV is also apparent in the text on the lid of the sarcophagus. However, shortly after this passage, the version in Ramesses IV is damaged, so it is impossible to tell the full extent of the similarity.

^b The reference to the “one within his disk” characterizes the sun disk visible during the day.⁴¹ At the beginning of the text, Re addresses the cavern dwellers, the Netherworldly forms of the sun. Then the cavern dwellers in turn praise the “One-within-his-disk,” the diurnal form of the sun. This litany captures the moment when Re sets in the west and transforms from the hieracocephalic to the ram-headed deity;⁴² the cavern-dwellers address him as being within the disk, yet the sun god depicted at the far left of the register praising his own forms is already ram-headed.

^c The word *tz* is written as the verb *tz*i** “to bind together,” but the reading *tz* “sandbank” is suggested by several of the earlier versions:⁴³ *sprt-f r tz ‘py.w* “when he reaches the sandbank of ‘passing over.’” The sandbank of Apep is also an appropriate interpretation

⁴¹ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 101, n. 25 cites Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 39ff.

⁴² For this transformation, see *supra*.

⁴³ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 118.

for the sarcophagus, since the Seventh Hour of Amduat appears directly below the text from the Litany.

^d Osiris-Demed provides an interesting variant to Djeba-Demed, an important name of the unified Re-Osiris. The occurrence of *B3-dmd* and *Wsir-dmd* suggests that the word *Db3*, a still debated term, is a noun. For more of Djeba-demed, see *infra*, Chapter 6.

^e The New Kingdom versions, all of which derive from royal tombs, read (*Wsir*) *nswt NN hq3 idb.wy* “The Osiris King NN is ruler of the two banks.”⁴⁴ While a private individual in the Late Period can identify himself completely with Re, this epithet was not deemed appropriate and changed to *hq3 M3t.t* “ruler of Maat.” Such subtle changes argue strongly in favor of a careful text editing process.

LITANY OF RE, FOURTH LITANY

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 270-271

Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 126-132

*iw n=k hcc⁶²imy zjh.t
Wsir hq3⁶³Imn.t
iw n=k hcc⁶⁴b3 thy^a
twt is shtm⁶⁶hfty.w=f
iw n=k hcc⁶⁷b3 dsr.t
Rc b3 dsr.t⁶⁹wb3 Imn.t^b
iw=k di⁷⁰=k c=k n Wsir
szp⁷¹tw hnty-Imnt.t
psd b3 Rc⁷³m Dw3.t^c
szp tw⁷⁴Imn.t nfr.t
ntr.w=s⁷⁵hcc-sn im⁷⁶=k
Wsir di=f n=k⁷⁷c=f
szp tw hnty-⁷⁸Imn.t*

⁴⁴ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 125; the variant on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata was noted already by *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 128 n. 294.

⁷⁹*psd* ⁷⁹*b3 R^c* *m Dw3.t*
⁸⁰*shd tw h3.t* ⁸¹*B3-dmd*
r^d ⁸²*m3^c-hrw R^c* *m Dw3.t*
⁸³*shr(w) n=f^czpp*
⁸⁴*iw m3^c hrw B3-d* ⁸⁵*md*
hkn ⁸⁶*=f n b3 zh.ty*
b3 ⁸⁷*zh.ty hkn=f n=f*
r ⁸⁸*m3^c-hrw Wsir N* ⁹⁰*r hfty.w=f m-b3h d3d3.t* ⁹¹*c3.t*
db3^e št3y.t
⁹²*wb3 Dw3.t št3.t*
k⁹³f3 kkw
hsr ⁹⁴*h3ty f*
b3 ⁹⁵*m33=f h3.t=f*
Wsir ⁹⁶*N m33=f h3.t=f*

Jubilation be to you, one who is within the horizon,
Osiris is ruler of Imenet!

Jubilation be to you, Aggressive(?)-*ba*,
you are indeed the one who destroys his enemies.

Jubilation be to you, Red-*ba*,
Re is the red-*ba* who opens the West.
You give your two arms to the Osiris N,
Just as the one foremost of the west receives you,

so does the ba of Re shine in the Underworld.

May the beautiful West receive you.

Her gods rejoice over you.

Osiris gives you his arm,
and the one foremost of Imenet receives you,

so that Re might shine in the Underworld and
so that the corpse of the United Ba might be illumined,
in order to justify Re in the Underworld,
and in order to fell Apes for him.

Ba-demmed is vindicated.

He praises the Ba of Akhty,
just as the Ba of Akhty praises him

so that Osiris N be vindicated against his enemies before the great council.

Cover the mysteries!

Open the mysterious Underworld!

Uncover the darkness!

Drive away the cloudiness!

Then, the ba will always see his corpse,
and Osiris N will always see his corpse!

^a The odd word *thy* is typically read as a variant of *thi* “to trespass, be aggressive.”⁴⁵

Unfortunately, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata does not offer any further solutions.

^b The manifestation of Re as the red-*ba* is specifically linked with his setting in the western horizon—“when he opens the West.” The red color is an obvious allusion to sunset and also presages the red-glow of dawn, the latter of which is a more common metaphor in Egyptian literature.⁴⁶

^c The *Wechselsatz* describing the reception of Re by Foremost of the Westerners and the illumination of the *ba* is only present in the tomb of Ramesses IV and the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. The emphasis on arms and reception in this passage is the textual counterpart to the wealth of representations showing the sun disk being passed between pairs of outstretched arms.⁴⁷

^d The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata here writes <> in place of , present in the New Kingdom versions.⁴⁸ Two explanations are possible—this could be the common Late

⁴⁵ Hornung, vol. 2, p. 129, n. 299; followed without further suggestions by Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter*, vol. II, p. 705 and Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, vol. 2, p. 402 and n. 3.

⁴⁶ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 72, 196-97 (also discussing this passage from the Litany of Re). The red color of Re’s *ba* may have contributed to the interesting epithet: *pri m dšr.t* “who comes forth as the red-fish” in the litany on the 12 names of Re-Horakhty (Gasse, *BIFAO* 84 [1984]: 208, 221, n. 53).

⁴⁷ For these images, with particular reference to scenes in the Underworld Books, see *infra*.

⁴⁸ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 129.

Egyptian interchange of *iw* and *r* attested elsewhere on the sarcophagi, or a reinterpretation of the sentences as purpose clauses introduced by the preposition *r*.

^e The alteration of the passage to *db3 št3y.t* greatly changed the following phrases.

Oddly, though, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata shares with the version of Ramesses IV, a



misspelled writing of *št3y.t* with an *ayin-arm*:

^f The undersky mirrors the heavenly realm in virtually every respect, including cloudiness, as indicated in this passage. A less ambiguous stormy sky determinative () on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata replaced the painted eye determinative () of *h3ti* present in all New Kingdom versions.⁴⁹

The text from the Litany ends suddenly before reaching the conclusion of the Fourth Litany, which continues with similar themes of viewing the corpse. The excerpts from the Litany of Re on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata are some of the clearest associations between the deceased and the solar divinity. Much of the text describes the defeat of Apep and the resurrection of the corpse, the central events of the Sixth and Seventh Hours of Amduat, depicted directly below. For the placement and analysis of the text to the Sixth Hour of Amduat, see *supra*, Chapter 4.

⁴⁹ As Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 130 n. 309, the painted eye determinative for *Wb.* III 35.9-12 is attested as early as the Coffin Texts.

SEVENTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

The solar god reaches the absolute depths of the Underworld in the fifth and sixth hours of the night, but in the seventh hour, on his climb back to the eastern horizon, Re directly faces the chaos-serpent Apep. Reference to the battle and ultimate destruction of Apep appear throughout the Books of Amduat, but the Seventh Hour contains the most explicit description of the defeat of the serpent. A close examination of the Seventh Hour of Amduat suggests many connections with several Late Period texts, including P. Bremner-Rhind and the myth of the 77 genies of Pharbaithos. Magic is the most important instrument for defeating Apep, and the annotations to the Seventh Hour may directly relate to the magical spells spoken during rituals on earth. Furthermore, the sun god adopts a multitude of manifestations in the ultimate battle with chaos, providing a further reason for the placement of the figures from the Litany of Re above the critical Sixth and Seventh Hours of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

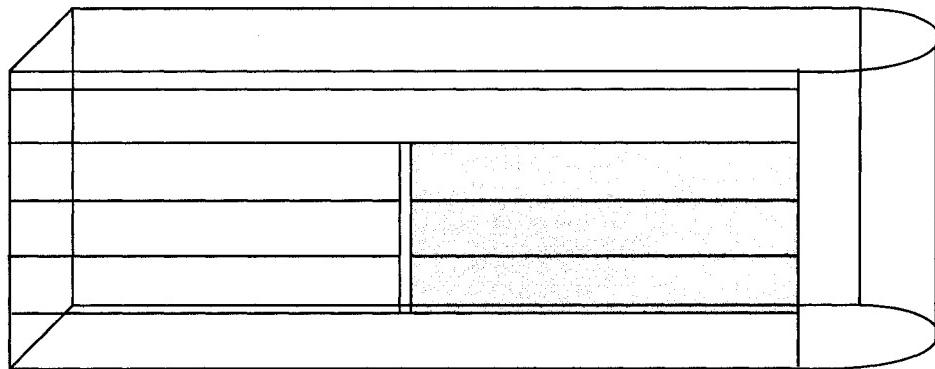


Fig. 72: Seventh Hour of Amduat on the Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

UPPER REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 277-279

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 531-543

The main theme of the first register is the victory of Osiris over his enemies, mirroring Re's victory over Apep in the middle register. The general triumph of order over chaos is further represented in the proper ordering of the hours performed by Horus in the lowest register of this hour. The first register begins with the god Shepsi, who holds a winged falcon in his lap.⁵⁰ Accompanying Shepsi is the lion-headed *Hknyt* and a human-headed serpent who is not labeled.

SCENE 1

Shepsi and Horus

*dd-mdw in ntr pn ⲉ³
Špsi mʒ^a n(-i) ⲉ=k
pr.n Hr m <d>p=k^b
Hkny di n=i hrw=t
mʒ^c n=i
wn qʒb=t
iȝ. n=i
shd=i m hnty kkwy
di=t shn n nty m mhn*

Recitation by this great god:

“O Shepsi, stretch out your hand towards me!

It is from your loins that Horus emerges!

O Praiser, raise up your voice for me!

Lead for me!

Open your coils!

I have come,

so that I might light up as the One foremost of the darkness,
so that I might make a place of repose for the one within Mehen.

⁵⁰ In the early New Kingdom versions, Shepsi holds only a falcon head, while in later New Kingdom versions, no part of a falcon is present (Hornung, *Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 127 [no. 487]).



^a All the New Kingdom versions⁵¹ have  following Shepsi, which Hornung renders as “reiche (mir) deine Hand”⁵². Under this interpretation  is an abbreviated spelling of the imperative *imi*.⁵³ However, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata uses the standard phrase *mʒc c* (*Wb.* II 22.15)—perhaps demonstrating a divergent tradition.⁵⁴ Without further explanation, Piankoff already noted the reinterpretation of this passage in the tomb of Padiamenemope and the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.⁵⁵ Since the text of the Book of Amduat in the tomb of Padiamenemope remains unpublished, the agreement between the late versions is particularly notable.

^b The appearance of the god Shepsi in the Seventh Hour of Amduat is one of the few references to the Hermopolitan Ogdoad in the Underworld Books outside of the twelfth hour of the night and its related depictions of sunrise.⁵⁶ Shepsi appears in the sanctuary

⁵¹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 53—RIII begins with a *di*-arm.

⁵² *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 129.

⁵³ Attested spelling in Old Egyptian, Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, §607.

⁵⁴ The sarcophagus Louvre D9 (Djedher) also writes *mʒc c* (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. 1, pl. 14, l. 2); the two other Type II sarcophagi appear to have a garbled version of the New Kingdom text.

⁵⁵ In *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 246.

⁵⁶ In the Ptolemaic Period Shepsi is the father of the Ogdoad, but the lack of explicit texts prior to this period suggests that Shepsi might have possessed this role much earlier. For a list of attestations, see B. Schmitz, “Ein weiterer Beleg für den Gott Schepsi: Hildesheim Pelizaeus-Museum 5134,” in *Studien zur Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 841–852, to which the example from Amduat should be added.

of the Temple of Hibis with other Hermopolitan gods,⁵⁷ but not directly related to any form of the god Horus.

SCENE 2

Enthroned Osiris beneath serpent

*i.n ntr pn ̣3 Wsir <imy> Mhn n Wsir hnty dw3.t
dd mdw in ntr pn n Wsir imi Mhn
i ntr pwy^a Wsir hnty dw3.t nb ̣nh hq3 n imnt.t
̣nh=k sp snw^b ̣nh
b3=k b3=k b3 m t3
bw3=k n=k r imy.w-ht=k
 ̣hr.n=k hfty.w=k^c ̣hr rd.wy=k
shm=k m irr.w <r>=k irr.wt r=k
bs ̣nh-<irw> r=sn
 3m=f sn
mds=f sn
 ṃq=f sn m rdi n=f
ip=i ̣tw Wsir m ht nb ṛ nb
̣w ̣p=i ̣hr=k m htp*

This great god says <to> Osiris who is within Mehen of Osiris, foremost of the Duat.

Recitation by this god to Osiris within the Mehen:

“O god! Osiris foremost of the Duat! Lord of Life! Ruler of the West!

May you truly live living!

May you be truly *ba*-like within the earth!

May you be exalted over those in your entourage,

 having cast down your enemies beneath your feet!

May you have power over the males and females who act against you!

The flame of One-living-<of-visible-forms> shall be against them,

 so that he might consume them!

He (*Mds-hr*) cuts them,

 so that he might roast them as he is commanded.

I reckon you, Osiris, in all things every day.

I pass by you in peace.

^a After introducing Re's speech twice, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata begins the speech with an address to *ntr pw*, an interesting reinterpretation of earlier *py ntr*.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ D. Kessler, “Hermopolitanische Götterformen im Hibis-Tempel,” in N. Kloth, K. Martin, and E. Pardey, eds., *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück. Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag* (Hamburg, 2003), p. 221.

^b Rather than repeat ‘nh=k, the sarcophagus writes sp snw. In the New Kingdom versions, the texts actually states ‘nh n=k ‘nh=k ‘nh.t, so the omission of the extra n, and the simplification of sp snw demonstrates an active editing of the text.

^c Following the signs  is a small blank space before the preposition hr. The empty space itself serves to determine the concept “enemy.”⁵⁹ Additionally, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata mentions both male and female “doers,” while the New Kingdom copies consistently write only irw.w.

SCENE 3 Punishment of enemies

Each of the bound enemies is appropriately labeled wty “bound one,” the passive equivalent to the goddess in the Third Hour of the Book of the Night, wtt “she who binds.”⁶⁰ A further label to the group of figures indicates that their punishment is directly related to their own evil actions: iriw wtwt r Wsir “those who tie up Osiris.”⁶¹

i.n ntr pn hwi.t^a r Wsir hnty dwȝ.t

⁵⁸ Hornung, *Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 127 notes that no obvious parallel exists for the substantive use of *py*.

⁵⁹ Hornung, in Schabert and Hornung, eds., *Strukturen des Chaos*, pp. 227-228.

⁶⁰ Roulin, *Le livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 110-111.

⁶¹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. II, p. 129; enemies who bind Osiris also appear in the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night (Roulin, *Le livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 227-28); the excerpt in question also appears on the Type II sarcophagi, see *supra*.

nttn pw
ntt.n=(i) ḫ.wy=tn
mr.n=ī q3is=tn
htm.n=ī b3.w=tn
isq.n=(i) šw.wt=tn
ni <pr>.n=tn m s3w=f d.t

Speech of this god, who protects Osiris, foremost of the Duat!

“It is you!

Just I have bound your arms,
so have I tightened your bonds!
Just as I have destroyed your *ba*-souls,
so have I restrained your shades.
You cannot escape his guardianship forever!”

^a Although cryptographic writings in the New Kingdom versions are often correctly transcribed into *Normalschrift* on the Late Period sarcophagi, in the writing of *irw.w wt r Wsir* “those who make bindings against Osiris,” with a cryptographic orthography of *irw.w*, the substitution of the pupil for the entire eye has caused the word to be reinterpreted as *hw.t* “to protect” on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. The label to the enemies on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is written correctly as *irw.w*.

SCENE 4

Three *ba*-birds and deity atop serpent

dd mdw in ntr pn
i b3.w ḫnh.w <nh> št3 hr=tn
<nw> tp.w hpr.w hpr im=i
nw=tn m-h̄t h̄.w=i
irw=tn m s3 m <dw3>.t
nh b3=k Itm
smn tw s3qtw imi t3
di=f sd.t m h3k.w-ib r=k
hw=f Wsir N
s3 nh-hp ms Tfhw.t m3c-hrw
di=f sd.t m h3k.w-ib r=f
iw=f m htp m sms=f
n(n) htm=f d.t

Recitation by this god:

“O living bas, because of whom the Mystery (Osiris) <lives!>
<To whom> heads belong as manifestations which manifest through me.
You shall follow my limbs!
May you make protection for his body within the Duat.
May your *ba* live, Atum!
“He-who-assembles” who is in the earth strengthens you,
so that he might cast his flame into those who rebel against you!
May he protect Osiris N,
May he cast his flame into those who rebel against you!
He (Osiris N) is in peace in his following,
without being destroyed forever!

The serpent is labeled *s3q*, while the god seated upon him is *iwf Itm*,⁶² as they are also called in the annotation. Since the dominating feature of the Seventh Hour of Amduat is the battle with Apes, the presence of Atum here should be understood in conjunction with Scene 13 in the Book of Gates.⁶³ There Atum, leaning upon a staff, slays the serpent Apes, depicted with a large number of coils. In the Seventh Hour of the Book of Amduat, Apes appears only in the middle register, but Atum seated upon a protective serpent in the upper register is perhaps an allusion to his more active role in the destruction of Re’s enemy.

MIDDLE REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 279-80

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 544-562

SCENE 5

⁶² Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1, p. 101 and n. 35 discusses the label to the Atum figure on CG 29306 and 29305. Unfortunately, the copy of CG 29306 (Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 278) is faulty, and what is copied as  is actually ba of Re.

⁶³ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, pp. 92-4; for Atum and snakes, especially a positive relationship, see Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1, pp. 95ff. and vol. 2, pp. 51-56 (the reference to the Book of Gates, should be added to the short discussion in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 124 on Atum’s role against evil serpents).

Solar Bark

*sqd ntr pn ⲉ₃ m niw.t tn m qrr.t n Wsir
hr st(s)w m hk3.wt Is.t hk3{t} smsw^a
r hwi r stnm^b w3.t r Nh3-hr
iw ir-tw hk3.wt Is.t hk3.wt smsw n hsf^cpp
htm.(w)^c <m> imnt.t m imn.t n dw3.t m Mhn
iw ir-tw tp t3 m mitt
iw ir.tw-s imi wi3 n R^c m p.t m t3
nd rh ss̄m pn
iwty rh=f n hsf Nh3-hr*

This great god sails in this locale in this cavern of Osiris,
during the laying low (of the enemy) by means of the magical utterances of Isis
and the eldest magician,
in order to strike down and deflect the path from Nehaher.

The magic of Isis and the eldest magician is performed for the repelling of Apep,
he being sealed up (in) the West, in the hidden part of the Duat
by means of Mehen.

One does this on earth likewise.

One does it within the bark of Re in heaven and in the earth.

It is only the select who can know this image,
without the knowledge of which Nehaher may not be repelled.⁶⁴

^a Hornung identified the “Eldest Magician” with the god Seth,⁶⁵ but as te Velde⁶⁶ and Ritner⁶⁷ have shown, *hk3 smsw* is instead a reference to Heka’s high status in relation to the primordial creator deity.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ For this translation, see Wente, *JNES* 41 (1982): 165 and n. 31.

⁶⁵ *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 131.

⁶⁶ H. Te Velde, “The God Heka in Egyptian Theology,” *JEOL* 21 (1969-1970): 175-186.

⁶⁷ *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 18-20, especially his n. 77 for a refutation of the reading of Seth as *hk3 smsw* on the Sphinx Stela of Tuthmosis IV.

⁶⁸ Heka as the son of Atum and his resulting status as “oldest” deity, see Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, pp. 152-157.

⁶⁹ The New Kingdom versions only use the verb *stnm*⁶⁹ to describe the action of Heka.⁷⁰

The addition of the verb *hwī* on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata might be an allusion to the ancient Egyptian etiology of the name of Heka as *hwī-k3.w=f.*⁷¹

⁷⁰ The sarcophagus clearly writes *htm* “to seal,” as does the version in the tomb of Seti I. All other New Kingdom versions write *hr R*^c “from Re.”⁷² The different versions are the result of the similarity between the *htm*-seal and *hr*-face in hieroglyphic writing. However, the late version also added the means by which Apep is sealed up—the encircling serpent Mehen. Mehen, one of the serpent protectors of Re, here surrounds the ophidian enemy of the sun god.⁷³ The tradition of Isis and the Mehen serpent extends back to the Coffin Texts—in Spell 760, Isis creates the Mehen in order to protect Horus and Re in the solar bark.⁷⁴ The specific mention of Mehen may also relate to the change in the solar bark between the Sixth and Seventh Hours of Amduat. For the first six hours

⁶⁹ This verb is often used with the nouns *w3.wt* or *mtn.w*, and the resulting phrase expresses one of the many ways to protect a given area from an enemy (Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 102-103 and extensive references therein).

⁷⁰ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 545.

⁷¹ Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, p. 154, citing Coffin Text Spell 261 (*CT III* 385c).

⁷² For a similar reinterpretation, compare *ht m* “thing in” in the Fifth Hour of Amduat in the New Kingdom versions becoming *htm* “to seal” in Padiamenope (Piankoff, in Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 246).

⁷³ R.K. Ritner, “A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection,” *JNES* 43 (1984): 219-220.

⁷⁴ *CT VI* 390; Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages*, p. 596. On this spell, see also Piccione, *JARCE* 27 (1990): 44-46.

of the night, Re travels within a shrine on the solar bark, while in the last six he is surrounded by Mehen.⁷⁵

SCENE 6
Destruction of Apep

HORIZONTAL TEXT

*tzt n nh3-hr m dw3.t
mh 440 pw m 3w=f
iw=f mh=f sw m q3b.w=f
ir=t(w) ntw(?)=f r=f
ni ‘p ntr pn ‘3 hr=f
stnm=f w3.t r=f r tph.t Wsir
sqd ntr pn m niw.t tn*

The sandbank of Nehaher in the Duat
(it is 440 cubits in its length).
He fills it with his coils.
His injury(?) is made against him.
This great god does not pass by him.
He diverts the road away from him to the cavern of Osiris.
This great god sails in this locale.

*wnn=f m shr pn
Srq-hyt r tz=f imy dw3.t
r d3i mw r tz pn
mh 440 m 3w=f mh 440 m ws3=f
in mdw=f ssm ntr.w r=f
iw=f nmt=f m-ht ‘p ntr pn ‘3 niw.t tn
‘m.hr iwf ir.t/itn=f m t3 r ‘p=f hr=f
wdi.hr srq ht <sph> m tp
hri-ds.w=f di=f {sph} nik.t m rd.wy=f
m-ht nhm <’ls.t> Hk3 <wr> phty=f m hk3.w=sn
iw rh s(y) tp t3 m iwty swr Nh3-hr mw=f*

In this fashion does he exist,
this Sereq-hety is at his sandbank in the Duat,

⁷⁵ Mehen is also explicitly mentioned in the *Kurzfassung* of the Seventh Hour (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 72): *sqdd ntr pn m niw.t tn m ssm n Mhn* “This god sails in this locale within the image of Mehen.”

in order to traverse the water at this sandbank
(440 cubits in its length and 440 cubits in its width).
It is his voice which lead the gods against him.
He moves when this great god passes by this locale.
Then “Flesh” swallows his eye/disk in the earth so that he might pass by him.
Then She-who-makes-throats-breathe places <the lasso> on the head,
while the one who is upon his knives places the “punisher” into his legs,
after <Isis> and the Eldest Magician seize his power by means of their
magical spells.
The one who knows it on earth is one whose water Nehaher will not drink.

The spells spoken by Isis and the Eldest Magician share a close relationship with Late Period funerary papyri, particularly the “Ritual of Repelling Apep” (see Chapter 6, *infra*). The annotation to Scene 6 is also notable for its dual use of the word “to swallow.” In addition to swallowing the water upon which the sun bark travels, forcing the bark to be hauled by Isis’ magic alone, the sun god, called “Flesh,” swallows his own eye in order to prevent Apep from doing the same.⁷⁶ The resulting darkness forces Re’s assistants to seek the serpent by his bellowing voice.⁷⁷

SCENE 6, CONT.

*ntr.w(t) pn nik.w ‘3pp m dw3.t
hsf(i)h(t) n hft.yw R^c
wnn=sn m sh(r) pn hr nk.w=sn*

⁷⁶ For a juxtaposition of the positive and negative aspects of “swallowing,” see *supra*. In particular, for Apep swallowing the eye of Re, note J.F. Borghouts, “The Victorious Eyes: A Structural Analysis of Two Egyptian Mythologizing Texts of the Middle Kingdom,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* (Göttingen, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 703-16 and especially p. 705: “You have swallowed the eye of Re, you have licked the eye of Baba.” The protection of the eye from Apep in the Book of Amduat stands in contrast to another Egyptian tradition, where the *ʒh.t*-eye of the sun fights against Apep (for a wealth of textual references, see Zandee, *Amunhymnus*, vol. 1, pp. 150-156).

⁷⁷ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 133. For Apep as *hmhm* “the bellower” see L.D. Morenz, “Apophis: On the Origin, Name, and Nature of an Ancient Egyptian Anti-God,” *JNES* 63 (2004): 201-205.

<nik-sn>⁷⁸ c3pp m dw3.t r^c nb

These goddesses who punish Apep in the Underworld,
who repel the actions of the enemies of Re.
Bearing their knives do they exist,
so that they might punish Apep in the Underworld every day.

Although our knowledge of Egyptian idioms is far from complete, the use of the word *iht* for “actions” is odd in the corpus of the Underworld Books.⁷⁹ However, the context of the passage and the topic of the annotation, repelling Apep, suggests a reason for the choice of this word. The noun *iht* has been chosen not for its specific meaning, but rather its sound, since it creates a strong alliteration with *hsf* and *hft.yw*. The aural quality of the text is directly related to the magical speech with which Apep is repelled (for more on alliteration in the Seventh Hour of Amduat, see below).

SCENE 7

Four chests

*ht^a pw št3 n dw3.t
hn.w n tp.w št3.w
wnn-sn m ph t^cz.t tn
pr^b tp.w imyw-sn
sdm-sn hk3.wt Nh3-hr
<c>m.hr-sn ssm-sn
wnn <nb w3s> htm <ib> m ihy.w ssm pn št3
ni stnm-sn rh <st>*

They are the mysterious thing of the Duat,
the chests of the secret heads.
At the end of this sandbank do they exist.
It is when they hear the enchantment of Nehaher,

⁷⁸ Haplography.

⁷⁹ Compare *Wb.* III 336.12, *hsf ih.t n* “jemanden abwehren ...” Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, p. 980 “Kriegsbestrebungen abwehren” (citing Urk I 101, l. 9). Compare particularly Book of the Dead, Chapter 17 §24 = *Urk.* V, p. 60, l. 6 (Middle Kingdom) and p. 61, ll. 8-9 (New Kingdom): *d3d3.t tn pw hsf.t ih.t n hfty.w n.w R^c* “It is this council which repels the actions of the enemies of Re.”

that the heads come out from them.
Then they swallow their images.
<Lord of the *was*-scepter> and the One-equipped-with-a-<heart> are the guardians of this secret image.
They do not lead astray the one who knows <it>.

^a Again, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata reinterprets the earlier cryptographic writings of *irw* and writes *ht* “thing” (see *supra*), which creates a reasonable variant and not simply a nonsensical mistake. Furthermore, the use of the word *ht* links this scene with earlier scene—these gods protect the mysterious *ht* of the sun god, while repelling the *ht* of the enemies.

^b The verb *pr* is written as , one of the few “Ptolemaic” style writings present on the sarcophagi.

An extensive discussion of these chests and relevant parallels by Darnell precludes further commentary here.⁸⁰

LOWER REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 281-82
Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 563-580

SCENE 8

Horus addresses the Hour-gods

wnn s̄sm pn m shr pn
irt=f pw m dwȝt snhp sbȝ.y
irt ḥȝ.w wnw.t m dwȝ.t
i.n hm n Hr dwȝ.ty n ntr.w sbȝ.w
mȝȝ n iwf-ȝn hpr n ir.w-ȝn
ȝtp-ȝn m sbȝ.w-ȝn
ȝȝ-ȝn r-ȝn n Rȝ pw n ȝȝ.t imy dwȝ.t rȝ nb

⁸⁰ *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 290-293.

$\underline{tn} \ m \ ht=f$
 $sb3.w=\underline{tn} \ tp \ ^c.wy=f$
 $r \ ^c p=\dot{i} \ imnt.t \ nfr.(t) \ m \ htp$
 $nttn \ imy.w \ t3$
 $\underline{tn} \ r=\underline{tn} \ n=\dot{i}$
 $sb3.w=\underline{tn} \ n \ imy-p.t$
 $swt \ is \ htp.(w) \ nb \ \dot{z}h.t$

In this fashion does this image exist.

What he does in the Underworld is cause the stars to rise,
and set the positions of the hours in the Underworld.

Speech by the Majesty of the Underworldly Horus to the gods and the stars:
“Order be to your flesh and realization to your visible forms,
so that you might rest in your stars.

Stand for this Re of the horizon who is within the Duat every day.

You are in his following,
while your stars are before him,
so that I might pass by the beautiful west in peace.

You are those within the earth.

You belong to me, and
your stars belong to the one within heaven.

Thus he is at peace, namely the lord of the horizon.

The Datian Horus commands the personifications of the hours and their stars.

The ability of gods and their star-attributes to act in different ways also appears in the Creation of the Solar Disk (see *infra*). By setting the proper positions of the stars, the Datian Horus averts cosmic catastrophe.⁸¹

SCENE 9

Horus addresses the Hour-goddesses

$< i >.n \ Hr \ dw3.ty \ n \ wnw.t \ imy.(t) \ niw.t$
 $i^a \ wnw.t \ hpyr.t$
 $i \ wnw.t \ sb3y.t$
 $i \ wnw.t \ ndt.t \ R^c$
 $\ ^ch3.wt \ n \ imy-\dot{z}h.t$
 $\check{s}zp=\underline{tn} \ ir.w=f^b$
 $rmn=tu \ < n > \ ssm.w=f$
 $< f > \ \dot{z}i \ n=tu \ tp.w=\underline{tn}$

⁸¹ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 431-32, discussing this passage and the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX.

sšm.w R^c pw imi ʒḥ.t r imnt.t nfr m htp
i.n nn n ntr.w ntr.wt sšm ntr pn ՚3 r w3.t št3.t n.t niw.t tn

The Underworldly Horus <speaks> to the hours who are within the locale:

“O Hours who have already passed!

O Stellar hours!

O Hours who protect Re,

 who fight on behalf of the one within the horizon!

May you receive his visible forms!

May you bow <to> his images!

Lift up your heads!

They are the ones who lead Re, the one within the horizon,

 to the beautiful West in peace.

Speech of these gods and goddesses who lead this great god along the secret path
of this locale.

^a The particle *i* is written as *iw* (𓉢) on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. The sarcophagus of Ramesses III uses the exact same orthography, shared by no other New Kingdom version.

^b All New Kingdom versions write *irw.w=tn* and *sšm=tn*, with the exception of the sarcophagus of Ramesses III, which omits the pronoun following the two nouns. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata uses the third person masculine singular pronoun, which alters the meaning of the passage.

SCENE 10

Crocodile

wnn=f m shr pn hr <idb> n šc
ntf s3w sšm n niw.t tn
sdm=f hrw n is.t wi3 n R^c
 pr <ir.t> m bqs=f
pr.hr imi idb=f
՚m.hr=f sšm=f m-h̄t ՚p ntr p <n> ՚3 hr=f
ir rh s(y) m tm ՚m b3=f

He exists in this fashion upon the <bank> of sand.
It is he who guards the images of this locale.

When he hears the voice of the crew of the bark of Re,
the eye emerges from his vertebrae.
Then the one within his bank emerges.
Then he swallows his image after this great god posses by him.
As for the one who knows it, his ba will not be swallowed.

The crocodile upon the sandbank concludes the Seventh Hour and exists as the protector of the gods within this section of the Underworld. A close look at the iconography of the Seventh Hour, including the crocodile, offers a potential solution to a previously obscure description from Chapter 65 of the Book of the Dead:⁸²

*i hms hr q3b=f hnty wsr b3
di=k hms-i hr s.t R^c ...
rswt nswt rswt msh št3 hr hnt [pr] bity.w*
O one seated upon his coils, foremost one, powerful of *ba*—
may you cause that I sit upon the throne of Re! ...
O watcher, king of the watchers, crocodile, hidden of face,
who is before the domain of the *bity*-kings ...

The god seated upon the coils is strongly reminiscent of Atum upon the serpent in the first register, while the watchful crocodile is an apt description of the figure in the bottom register. The “domain of the *bity*-kings” is also obscure, but the Sixth Hour is filled with royal imagery. The sources of imagery for the Book of the Dead are wide-ranging, but in this particular excerpt, an allusion to scenes from the Underworld Books should be considered.

COMMENTARY TO THE SEVENTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

The defeat of Apes is undeniably the central event of the Seventh Hour of Amduat. Although physical punishment is both depicted and textually described, the sun god possesses two effective weapons against the chaos serpent: the magical powers of

⁸² Lapp, *Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 42, ll. 4-6.

Isis and Heka-semsu and Re's power to alter his physical manifestations. The emphasis on magical utterance is maintained in the Late Period, where text added to the introduction of the Seventh Hour on the Type II sarcophagi explicitly attribute knowledge of secret magical words to the deceased. While the speeches of Isis and Heka-semsu are not recorded, it is likely that they were quite similar to the extensive spells recorded in the “Book of Overthrowing Apep” in P. Bremner-Rhind.⁸³ Several sources throughout Egyptian history describe the battle with Apep, but the destruction of Apep in the Books of Amduat and Gates as well as the spells in the “Book of Overthrowing Apep” clearly derive from a single template. Re fights Apep deep in the Underworld, while priests recite the same spells on earth to aid in that most important of cosmic battles. This link is further secured by proof of the performative qualities of the texts in the Underworld Books, since the ritual use of P. Bremner-Rhind is self-evident.

As in many parts of the Book of Amduat and other Underworld Books, the introductory text of the Seventh Hour asserts its effectiveness upon earth. Although the destruction of Apep is described in general terms in Amduat, the label to the goddesses who pierce the body of the serpent suggests an intentional use of alliteration (see *supra*). While this is only one part of the annotation of the Seventh Hour, the common use of alliteration in religious texts⁸⁴ and its specific application to the destruction of Apep⁸⁵

⁸³ In addition to P. Bremner-Rhind being copies of spells against Apep, the text also mentions magical practice in general; two of many examples, include 22,12: *mi r=k R^c m ʒh.w=k* “Come, Re, by means of your akhu-powers” and 23, 13: *hk3.w=k m s3 n h^c.w=k* “Your magic is the protection of your limbs.”

⁸⁴ This observation has not been previously made with regard to the text of the Book of Amduat. Other discussions of alliteration focus exclusively on Ptolemaic period texts: B. Watterson, “The Use of Alliteration in Ptolemaic,” in J. Ruffle, G.A. Gaballa, and K. Kitchen, eds., *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt, Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), pp. 167-169; note also a description of the goddess Sakhmet at Edfu, which uses a repetition of *s*-sounds—D. Kurth

suggest that the appearance of alliteration in the Seventh Hour is not coincidental. The repetition of sounds reflects the magical qualities of the utterances of Isis and Hekasemsu. A repetition of the *s*-sound also appears in Scene 13 from the Book of Gates, where Atum combats Apep with magic:⁸⁶

irt.n ḥtm n R^c
sʒḥ.t ntr.w
ṣḥr.t sbi
shd.(w)=k iwty ḥ^c=k
hkʒ.(w)=k iwty gm=k tw

What Atum has done for Re,
making the gods magically efficacious,
felling the rebel.
You go upside down, so that you cannot stand!
You become charmed so that you cannot find yourself!⁸⁷

In addition to the magical spells recited by members of Re's entourage, Re himself combats Apep in a notable fashion—changing his physical shape. As stated in the introduction to the Seventh Hour:⁸⁸ *iw ntr pn ir=f ky irw r tph.t tm* “This gods takes on another form at this cavern.” The need of the sun god to *hpr hpr.w* “manifest

suggests the alliteration alludes to the hissing of the serpent (“Stilistik und Syntax,” in D. Kurth, ed., *Edu: Studien zu Vokabular, Ikonographie und Grammatik* [Wiesbaden, 1994], pp. 84-5).

⁸⁵ Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens*, vol. 1, p. 144 and n. 3. In the Book of Caverns, the very name of the sun god can defeat Apep: “Your name has cut asunder that vertebra” (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 364 and n. 388).

⁸⁶ Hornung, *Pfortenbuch*, vol. 1, pp. 74-75. The way in which such alliteration would work in a ritual context (particularly involving serpents) may also be compared with the aria of Envy in the “Indian Queen” by Henry Purcell: “What flattering noise is this, at which my snakes all hisssss” (J.A. Westrup, rev. N. Fortune, *Purcell* [Oxford, 1995], pp. 143-44).

⁸⁷ Note the parallel from P. Bremner-Rhind, 22,18: *im=k rh ir.n=k ‘pp* “May you not know what is done to you, o Apep!”

⁸⁸ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 524.

manifestations” during his confrontation with Apep provides an explanation for the location of the 74 forms of the Litany of Re above the Sixth and Seventh Hours of Amduat.

SIDE FOUR

The foot end of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata concludes the decoration of the exterior surfaces of the sarcophagus. The top bandeau text, however, opened this chapter, since it contains a dedicatory text and even the title of all the texts on the monument—“the book of the Hidden Chamber.” The remainder of Side Four contains five registers of text, with excerpts from three different compositions—the Book of Gates (Scene 20), Amduat (concluding text of the Third Hour and entire Eighth Hour), and the Caverns (initial scenes of the First and Second Divisions). Scene 20 from the Book of Gates was translated *supra*; the concluding text to the Third Hour and the Eighth Hour of Amduat were treated alongside the version on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II (*supra*). Both the First and Second Divisions of the Book of Caverns begin on the foot end of the sarcophagus—the entirety of the text of these two divisions on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is translated and commented upon below.

Dedicatory Text	
Gates, 4th Hr., Scene 20	
Amduat, 3rd Hr., Concluding Text	
Amduat, 8th Hr., Upper Register	
Amduat, 8th Hr., Middle Register	
Amduat, 8th Hr., Lower Register	
Caverns, 1st Div.	Caverns, 2nd Div.

BOOK OF CAVERNS

The telescoping of four registers from the Book of Caverns into a single register on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata confirms the reading of the registers from top to bottom. The lengthy texts preceding each hour in the earlier versions indicate the order of deities addressed, preceding along each register, working downwards. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata maintains this order, but omits the lowest registers of both divisions, which portray the punishment of enemies.

Although the figures from the Book of Caverns are well-carved, the size and quality of the hieroglyphs leaves much to be desired. For the most part, they are shallowly carved and malformed. The beginning of the First Division also appears to derive from a corrupted original, since several signs are omitted. The transliteration reflects an attempt to make sense of the text based on other parallels, working with the readable signs that match earlier versions.

FIRST DIVISION OF CAVERNS

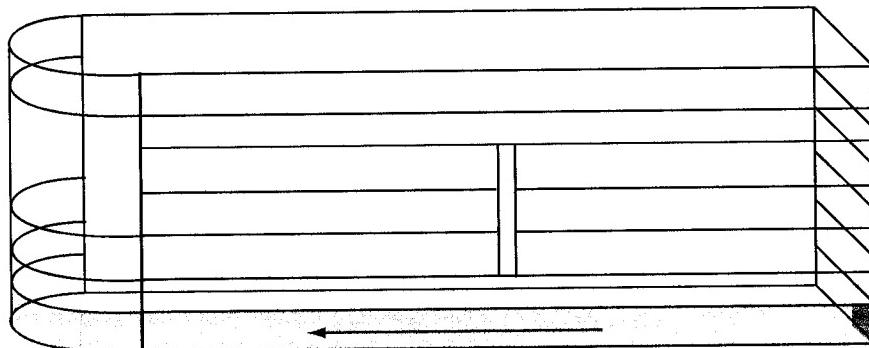


Fig. 73: First Division of Caverns on the Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

Re's Introductory Speech

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 264-65, 254⁸⁹

Parallel: similar to Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942): pl. 3, ll. 1-5

The portion of Re's speech on the foot end of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is damaged in several places, making it difficult to detect textual variants. Furthermore, the carving of the signs is of a particularly poor quality and the preserved signs appear to derive in part from a corrupt original, since few of the recognizable variants represent coherent statements.

¹ < q > rr.t tp.t n 'Imn.t

¹ The first cavern of the West

i ntr.w imi.w dw3.t ²imn.t
 ink R' zp(?) sn m 'Igrt
³sm3 m hrt [...]ntr.w hq3 ⁴t3
 [iw] 'q=(i) m kkw
⁵šzp.n (wi) p.t m 'Imn.t ^a

⁸⁹ The line numbers in the transliteration differ from those in Maspero's copy, because he assumes the first four lines of text are damaged; close examination suggests only one line was carved into the damaged corner of the sarcophagus. The text copy of this section of the Book of Caverns is one of the least accurate published in the first volume of *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*. Admittedly, several of the signs are indistinct, and the text often diverges from the other known copies.

$di.n=i^6tn$
 $iw^b <^c> q=i m t3 imn.t$
 $7 <m>t <n> wi rh.kw <s.t?_t>^8 n hnty dw3.t$
 $iw=i <rh> ^9 rn=tn tph.t=t^10 n \check{st}3.w=tn$
 $<iw=i> ^{11} rh.kw ^{nh=tn} im$
 $^{12} m wd n=tn dw3.(ty)$
 $iw^{13} mdw dw3.ty$
 $^{nh=tn} sr <q htwt=tn>$
 $^{14}(m)-ht is http(?) hc.w=tn$
 $htp.^{15} n=i dw3.t$
 $htp.(w) Wsir$
 $htp.^{16} n=i w3.wt Imn.t$
 $htp.(w)= <tn>$
Side 2, 1 [...] $^2=tn w3[\check{s}^3 b3.w=tn sh^4 m]=tn$
 $m hnty ^5 qrr.wt=tn$
 $^6 ist sdm=tn ^7 hrw=(i)$
 $nis. ^8 n=i n=tn ^9 m rn.w=tn$
 $^{10} nis Wsir N ^{14} m rn.w=tn^b$
 $i. ^{15} n R^c n ntr.w imy q^{16} rr.t dw3t$

“O gods who are in the hidden ²Underworld!

I am Re, I am Re in Igeret,

³the one who unites with heaven, [...]⁹⁰ of the gods, ruler of the ⁵earth.

[I] enter into the darkness,

⁵the sky having received me in the West,

I having placed(?) ⁶you.

I enter into the western land.

⁷Behold, I know your <places> ⁸foremost of the Underworld.

<I know> ⁹your names, your caverns, and ¹⁰your secret places.

I ¹¹know your means of life,

¹²consisting of what the Underworldly one commanded for you.

The Underworldly one ¹³speaks,

so that you might live, so that <your throats might brea>the

¹⁴after your limbs have [...].

I have ¹⁵set in the Duat,

so that Osiris might be pacified.

I have ¹⁶set upon the roads of the West,

so that <you> might be pacified.

Side 2, 1 [...] 2 your [...] ³your bas and] ⁴your [scepters are po]werful,

foremost of ⁵your caverns.

⁶Now, you hear ⁷my voice,

when I ⁸have called to you ⁹by your names,

¹⁰when Osiris N calls (you)¹⁴by your names.”

⁹⁰ The signs immediately before *ntr.w* are illegible.

So says ¹⁵Re to the gods within the ¹⁶caverns of the Underworld.

^a The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata offers a variant to the text in the tomb of Ramesses VII:⁹¹

*wb3=i sb3 n p.t m 'Imn.t
mtn wi 'q m t3*
I open the portal of heaven in the West.
Behold, I have entered into the earth.

^b Throughout this passage, the particle *iw* is spelled with an *r*-mouth.

^c This sentence, which does not appear in the earlier versions of the text, suggests that the deceased is elevated to the level of Re, since he can address the gods by the same names. The addition here is quite different from the alterations made in the Sixth Division of Caverns, where the deceased gives the entire speech to the Underworldly gods in the place of Re (see *infra*).

Despite the difficulties of the text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, a close examination with New Kingdom parallels reveals several important aspects of this text never before recognized. Unlike several of the other Underworld Books, the Book of Caverns lacks an introductory text or title. However, this initial speech to the “gods of the Underworld” shares elements with the title of Amduat, particularly its emphasis on *rhw*-knowledge, and does establish the fundamental events and ultimate purpose of the solar journey. The “Underworldly one,” the chthonic disk-form taken by Re in the Book

⁹¹ Piankoff, *BIAFO* 41 (1942): pl. 3, ll. 1-2.

of Caverns, “speaks” to the gods, a reference to the light emanating from the disk,⁹² with the result that the gods breathe. The reason for the solar journey is not just the rejuvenation of the bodies and souls of the Underworldly inhabitants, but the visitation of the corpse of Osiris, the physical remains of the solar god himself. The interpretation of this initial speech as a title for the entire Book of Caverns is better suited to the copy on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, which precedes the speech only by the label “First cavern of the West.” In the other versions, however, the speech is explicitly addressed to the “gods who are within the Underworld, the first cavern of the West.”⁹³

Re addresses the gods of the First Cavern

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 254

Parallel: Piankoff, *BIAFO* 41 (1942): pls. 3, l. 5-5, l. 4 (Tjaihorpata closely follows the New Kingdom texts, but omits most of the epithets as well as most of the commands to the groups of gods)

i H¹⁷nwty hnty qr¹⁸rt=f
 ‘¹⁹ hryt¹⁹tpy dw²⁰t
 i Nh²⁰hr hnty qrrt²¹-f
 s^{ip} n=f imyw dw²⁰t b²¹.w²²htmy.t
 i S²³t²³p²³f q²³(b)y²⁴ Imn.t
 hq²⁵ dw²³.t
 i psd.t²⁶tw nt i²⁷r.wt
 ²⁷wnn sd.t=s²⁸n tp-r²⁹=sn
 ²⁹sm hftyw³⁰n Wsir
 i psd.t³¹n.t ntr.w imyw-ht³²k³² Imn.t
 i ntr.w³³imy.w št³³z.w hnty dw³⁴t
 i psd.t nt ntr.w htp³⁵hr db³⁶z.w št³⁷
 ³⁶nb sb.t <‘³⁸>
 sdr³⁷htp hr kkw-sm³⁹z.w
 i psd.t³⁸n.t ntr.w ‘³⁹sgr m Imn.t
 ³⁹wnn.w m s³⁹w b³⁹ nb⁴⁰.w hrt m Imn.t

⁹² For light as speech, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 106-7, 364-68. The connection between speech and breath is discussed by Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 60-61, without the further equation of light with these two life-giving elements.

⁹³ Piankoff, *BIAFO* 41 (1942): pl. 3, l. 1.

< q > *mʒ⁴¹ hr-sn m tzm r nsb⁴² iwʒ.t*

“O¹⁷ Henuty, foremost of¹⁸ his cavern,
great of terror,¹⁹ first of the Duat.
O²⁰ Nehaher, foremost of his²¹ cavern,
to whom is assigned those within the Duat
and the bas of²² the Place of Destruction.
O that Sa-²³ ta, who encircles²⁴ the West,
ruler of²⁵ the Underworld.
O this Ennead²⁶ of uraei,
²⁷ whose flames are at their²⁸ mouths,
²⁹ who burn up the enemies³⁰ of Osiris.
O Ennead³¹ of gods who are in the following of the³² Bull of the West.
O gods³³ within the secret place, foremost of the Underworld.
³⁴ O Ennead of gods who rest³⁵ in their secret sarcophagi,
³⁶ possessors of <great> hair locks,
sleeping ones³⁷ who rest in the unbroken darkness.
O Ennead³⁸ of gods, great of silence in the West,
³⁹ who exist as guardians of bas, possessors of⁴⁰ necessities in the West
whose faces are⁴¹ seen as dogs in order to lap up⁴² putrefaction.

Each address corresponds to a group of divinities at the beginning of the First Division of Caverns—three multi-coiled snakes, nine uraei, ten bull-headed deities, nine gods in oval sarcophagi, and nine jackal-headed deities. In comparison to the earlier versions of the text in which the sun god repeats a further speech to each god, the sarcophagus version is much abridged and repetitive phrases are omitted.

God and Goddess holding aloft disks

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 254

Parallel: Piankoff, *BIAAO* 41 (1942): pl. 5, ll. 4-6

*i ntr pf cʒ⁴³ ir.w
nty sṣtʒ^a m-c-f n⁴⁴ Wsir
cʒq^b irw nt⁴⁵ Dwʒ.t(y)
i ntr.t tw cʒ štʒ
ntt s⁴⁶ nt tp=s n Wsir
sip n=s⁴⁷ ssm hqʒ 'Imn.t*

O this god, great of⁴³ visible forms,
in whose grasp is the secret of⁴⁴ Osiris,
namely the efflux of the visible form of⁴⁵ He-of-the-Underworld.

O this great goddess, great of secrets,
over whom is⁴⁶ the flesh of Osiris
to whom is entrusted⁴⁷ the image of the ruler of the West.

^a The odd writing *sš.w* in the Ramesses VII version of the text is replaced by a full spelling of the word *sšt3* on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, making Hornung's reading "disk" based on *Wb.* IV 280.1 quite unlikely.⁹⁴ Rather, the "secret" of Osiris is an unusual, but not impossible, reference to the solar disk. The disk is normally identified with the *ba*-element of the unified Solar-Osiris,⁹⁵ but its designation as *sšt3* represents an interesting reversal of the normal use of the word *št3.t* for corpse.⁹⁶ Perhaps this shift in meaning is possible since the solar-Osirian corpse can be pregnant with the solar disk, as on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun.⁹⁷ The text from the First Division of Caverns is not the only description of the disk as *št3*. A disk-shaped object held by Aker on the Type I sarcophagi is called *št3* in the annotation. In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, a falcon head also emerges from a disk, with the following annotation:⁹⁸

šzp-sn Hr-dw3.ty pr=f m št3.t=f imy dw3.t
They receive the Underworldly Horus,
as he emerges from his mystery which is in the Underworld.

⁹⁴ *Die Unterweltsbücher*, p. 506 n. 2.

⁹⁵ For one of many examples, compare the ram-headed bird within disk labeled with the creed of the Solar-Osirian unity on the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (see *supra*).

⁹⁶ See the references collected by Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 384 n. 54.

⁹⁷ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 382-385.

⁹⁸ Piankoff, *Le création du disque solaire*, pl. 17, l. 2 (text 11).

^b As Hornung notes⁹⁹ the word ‘*ȝgy.t/ȝqi*’ can refer to a hoof (*Wb.* I 168.5-6) or resin (*Wb.* I 168.10-11), suggesting him to creatively translate “Extremität.” However, neither of these terms fits well with the parallelism to *snt* “flesh, corpse,” held by the goddess. In P. Ebers, ‘*ȝgy.t*’ is specifically the excretion of a wound,¹⁰⁰ which fits perfectly with the imagery of Osiris. The efflux of Osiris is one of the parts of the divinity contained within sacred receptacles as the “relics” of Osiris;¹⁰¹ here the sun disk serves the same function as those vessels.¹⁰²

These two short descriptions of the god and goddess who hold aloft disks are some of the most significant passages in the entire First Division of the Book of Caverns. In an astonishing comparison of sun disk and corpse, the disk becomes the *rotting flesh* of Osiris! The disk holds the putrefaction of Osiris, like other solarized receptacles of the Osirian relics, such as the *bnbn*-stone. The equation of corpse and disk is a further extension of the description of Osiris as the chthonic sun.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ *Die Unterweltbücher*, p. 316.

¹⁰⁰ H. von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, vol. 1, p. 134.

¹⁰¹ For the specific importance of the relics of Middle Egypt, the humors of Osiris, see Goyon, in Kamstra, Milde, Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, pp. 34-44. See also the treatment of the humors of Osiris by Kettel, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. 3, pp. 315-330, showing their connection with the common Greco-Roman “canopic” form of Osiris.

¹⁰² The solar imagery of the receptacle is paralleled in the use of a *bnbn*-shape to contain some of the Osirian relics (see *supra*, Chapter 3).

¹⁰³ On this concept, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 353-54. For the sun disk as the *physical* manifestation of the sun, compare sun disk as the *ḥw* or *d.t* of the solar divinity (Assmann, *New Kingdom Solar Religion*, p. 69) and the description of the disk as *shm n p.t* “powerful (image) in heaven” for the sun disk in solar hymns (*idem*, *MDAIK* 27 [1971]: 25-26).

Re speaks to the denizens of the First Division

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 254-255

Parallel: Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942): pl. 5, l. 6-6, l. 1

*ntr.w q⁴⁸ h n=i ḡ.wy=tn
hn n=i⁴⁹ ḡ.w=tn
mt< n > wi ḡ⁵⁰=i m Imn.t
r irt shr n⁵¹ Wsir
r nd-mdt hr imyw=f
⁵²di=i hftyw=f r nm.t=sn
⁵³mdw=(i) n imyw-ht< =f>
shd=i n nb⁵⁴.w št3y.t^a
ntn⁵⁵hpr.w hnty db3. wt=sn
⁵⁶h3.wt w3š b3⁵⁷sdm Wsir
i m.t< n > wi⁵⁸p=i hr=tn
p Wsir N⁶⁰ hr=tn
sw(t) is srq⁶¹-tn n m33 sw
hkn=i⁶²n m irw=i*

O gods,⁴⁸ bend for me your arms,
bow for me⁴⁹ your limbs!

Behold, I enter⁵⁰ the West
in order to care for⁵¹ Osiris,
in order to greet those within it.

⁵²I give his enemies over to their place of slaughter,

⁵³I speak to those in <his> following.

I illumine for the lords⁵⁴ of Shetayt.

You are the⁵⁵ manifestations inside their sarcophagi,
⁵⁶honored corpses, *bas* who⁵⁷ hear Osiris.

Behold, I⁵⁸ traverse over you,
and Osiris N⁶⁰ traverses over you.

Indeed, may you⁶¹ breathe at the sight of him,
may you⁶² exult over my visible form.

^a The text in the tomb of Ramesses VI does not refer to the “lords of Shetayt,” but rather to the darkness which Re illuminates:¹⁰⁴ *shd=i kkw Št3y.t* “I illumine the darkness of Shetayt.”

¹⁰⁴ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942): pl. 5, ln. 7.

^b In this portion of the address, several signs are omitted, such as *n* (^~~~~) in the particle *mtn*. Reduced spellings of the particle *swt* led to the reinterpretation of the last lines of the address. On the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, Re claims that the gods breathe “at the sight of him (the deceased);” the dependent pronoun *sw* is actually the particle *swt* in the earlier versions:¹⁰⁵

swt is srq m33 (wi)
swt is srq hkn m irw=i
hkn=i m nswt NN
 Indeed, the one who sees (me) breathes.
 Indeed, the one who exalts over my visible form breathes.
 I exalt over the King NN.

Re speaks to Osiris and deities within sarcophagi

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 255

Parallel: Piankoff, *BIAFO* 41 (1942): pl. 6, l. 2-pl. 7, l. 3

$i\ Wsir\ ^{63}hnty\ dw3.t\ ink\ R^c$
 $di.n=i\ ^cp=k$
 $di=^{64}k\ ^c=k\ n\ Wsir\ N$
 $i\ psd.t\ nt\ ^{66}Wsir\ wd^c-mdw\ hr\ dw3t\ Wsir\ hnty\ ^{67}Imn.t$
 $imi\ ht=f$
 $^{68}htp\ m\ k3r$
 $s3-t3\ ^{69}c3\ m\ s3w\ sw$
 $^{70}iw\ hnw=f\ ^{71}htp\ m\ db3.w\ ^{72}=sn$
 $h3.wt=sn\ ^{73}st3\ shr.w\ imi.w\ ^{74}< s3 >-t3$
 $hnm=sn\ i\{m\}$
 $^{75}ntr.w\ dd\ n=i\ ^c=t_n$
 $^{76}psd.t\ imi\ Wsir$
 $s3m\ ^{77}=tn\ wi\ r\ w3.wt\ dw3.t\ ^{78}r\ tph.(t)\ s3t3$
 $n\ ^{79}is=i\ imi.w\ st3.\ ^{80}t$
 $nd=(i)\ \{s\}t$
 $iry=i\ ^{81}shr=sn$
 $shd\ ^{82}=i\ sn$
 $hsr\ ^{83}=i\ kkw=sn$
 $i\ ^{84}psd.t\ nt\ ntr.wt\ ^{85}$
 $h^c\ hr\ h3s.tyw\ ntyw\ ^{86}=s$
 $s3m\ st3\ hr=s\ ^{87}n$

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 6, ln. 1.

i ntr.w hnty dbȝ.wt
⁸⁸*wȝ <š.w> imi.w-ht* ⁸⁹*hnty Imn.t*
i [...] 90 htp [...]]

O Osiris,⁶³ foremost of the Duat, I am Re!
I have caused that you move,
so that you might⁶⁴ give your arm to the Osiris N!
O Ennead of⁶⁶ Osiris, who judges in the Duat of Osiris, foremost of⁶⁷ the West,
those who are in his following.
⁶⁸who rest in the shrine,
and the great⁶⁹ Sa-ta serpent as the one who protects him.
⁷⁰The companions⁷¹ rest in their⁷² sarcophagi,
their corpses,⁷³ secret of manner, those within the⁷⁴ Sa-ta serpent
who unites them therein
⁷⁵O gods, who give to me your arms!
⁷⁶Ennead in whom is Osiris,
may you lead⁷⁷ me along the Underworldly roads⁷⁸ to the secret cavern.
so that I might⁷⁹ call to those within Sheta⁸⁰ yt,
so that I might protect them.
so that I might⁸¹ care for them,
so that I might⁸² illumine them,
so that I might⁸³ drive away their darkness.
O⁸⁴ Ennead of goddesses,
who⁸⁵ stand respectfully for the desert dwellers and those who are within⁸⁶ it,
who conduct the secrets before⁸⁷ them.
O gods within their sarcophagi,
⁸⁸strong ones in following of the⁸⁹ foremost of the West,
O [...] 90 I rest [...]

Re speaks to the guardians of the flesh of Osiris

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 291-92

Parallel: Piankoff, *BIAFO* 41 (1942): pl. 7, l. 1-3-pl. 8, l. 5

<*i štȝ cȝ* > *imn shr*
sȝw sȝm štȝ n Wsir nb Imn.t
i Is.t Nb.t-ȝwt ntr.t cȝ.t
tȝ sȝ=tñ hr sȝm cȝ nty m-c=tñ
i cȝy štȝ hpr.w hnty qrr.t tn Wsir
i wr tȝ cȝ pȝty
i sd.ty cȝ nsb.t
i ȝfȝ imi tȝ hr
<*i wty*> *gmȝ=f ntr cȝ*
i nn n ȝfȝ.w hr w dwȝ.t hr Wsir
iri-cȝ štȝ shr
i wty pr m qrr.t=sn
<*n*> *is=i rn=tñ*

*mn=tn m st=tn
ir=tn s3w hfty.w n.w Wsir
iwty pr hr db'.w=tn d.t sp sn*

<O great secret one,> hidden of manner,
 who guards the secret image of Osiris, lord of the West.
O Isis and Nephthys, the great goddesses,
Tie together your protection over the great image which is in your hands!
O Adji, hidden of manifestations, foremost of this cavern of Osiris
O Eldest one of the earth, great of strength!
O Flaming one, great of fire!
O serpent who is in the lower earth,
 <who cannot> see the great god.
O these serpents who are in the lowest regions of the Underworld, beneath Osiris,
 guardians of the portals of the One secret of manner.
 who do not go forth from their cavern.
I call your names,
 while you remain in your places,
 so you might guard the enemies Osiris
 (from) those who do not escape from your grasp forever!

SECOND DIVISION OF CAVERNS

The Second Division of the Book of Caverns exists in a number of copies, several postdating the New Kingdom and still unpublished. Each version contains small variations in the depiction of the figures, as described by Piankoff.¹⁰⁶ The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata shares with the tomb of Ramesses IX the addition of a standing criocephalic figure to the beginning of the Second Division. On the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, the dual figures of the nocturnal sun create symmetry between the First and Second Divisions, since they both begin at the middle of the foot end of the sarcophagus. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata enhances this symmetry by including only three of the four coiled snakes expected in the beginning of the Second Division of Caverns.

¹⁰⁶ *BIAFO* 42 (1944): 2-3.

The version of the text from the Second Division of Caverns on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is remarkably free from errors.¹⁰⁷ It diverges from the New Kingdom version in some important details (see below) and omits sections that are mostly repetitive.¹⁰⁸ The sarcophagus omits the depictions of the enemies from the lowest register of the Second Division and likewise leaves off Re's harsh speech to the damned.

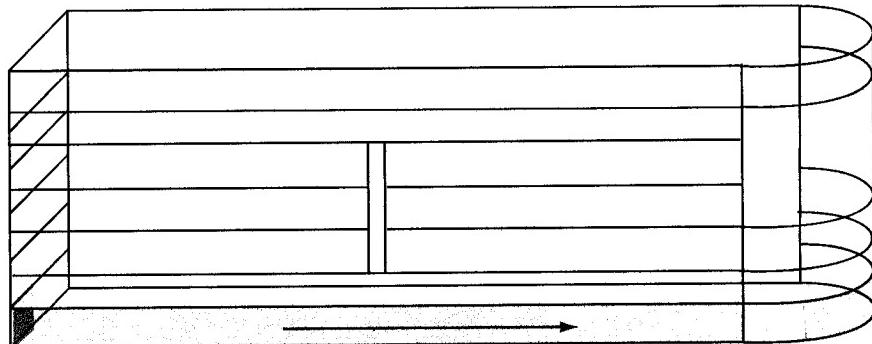


Fig. 74: Second Division of Caverns on the Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

Re addresses the guardian serpents

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 265, 283
Parallel: Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pl. 11, ll. 1-8¹⁰⁹

Side 4,¹ *qrrt tn nt tp.t^a*
dd²ntr pn c³ hft spr=f r³imi.w=s
i hf⁽³⁾ hnty⁴ tph.(t)=f
iry-c³ n imi.⁵w=f
tm pr m⁶s³w=f
pn nty tp=f m⁷kkw
sd=f m st⁸n qrr.t nt(y)=f im=s^b
k⁹kw-tp
iw c¹⁰p=l qrr.t=k
r m¹¹33 pn Imn-rn-f

¹⁰⁷ This does not apply to Maspero's copy of the text, which is less reliable for the Book of Caverns than other parts of the sarcophagus.

¹⁰⁸ For example, Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pl. 11, l. 8-pl. 12, l. 1, which is nearly identical to an earlier segment of the text. The omissions are mentioned in text notes and the parallel text listed for each section.

¹⁰⁹ One short section of the earlier text is omitted—see text note *b* below.

r ir.(t) shr ¹²n Imnt
 r hns dw³t ¹³št³(yt)
 imn.kw r=ī^c
¹⁴cp=ī
 di=k tp=k
 i^w=(ī) ¹⁵š³s=ī
 ntk ¹⁶pn hf[3w] kkw- ¹⁷tp
 iwty pr=k m- ¹⁸<h>nw n qrr.t=k
 tm ¹⁹pr imi^w=s
 ī št³ ²⁰č.wy imn rd.wy ^d
²¹pn hf³ snw n kkw-tp
 Side 3, 1 ī š³y ^e htm ²ir.ty
 nr dw³.tyw m³³=sn ³sw
 ī ssy shm ⁴ns.t
 di sd.t m c^r.w ⁵r=f
 ī nn n hf³.w ⁶iry.w-č³ n Imn-rn=f
⁷spr=ī tph.t=tⁿ
 itn=ī ⁸čq.(w) m št³ r shd hnty kkw ⁹=sn
 ir=ī shr n nty m db³ ¹⁰=sn ^f

Side 4, ¹ This cavern of the first.

What this ²great god says when he reaches ³those who are within it:

“O serpent, foremost of ⁴his cavern,

doorkeeper of those among whom he ⁵is,

from whose ⁶guard there is no going forth!

O this one, whose head is in ⁷darkness,

whose tail is in the mystery ⁸of the cavern in which he is!

O one dark ⁹of head!

I am passing ¹⁰over your cavern,

in order to see ¹¹He-who-is-hidden-of-name,

in order to care ¹²for the west,

in order to traverse the ¹³Underworld, namely Shetayt,

I am hidden even from myself,

¹⁴so that I might pass over.

It is only when I have ¹⁵proceeded,

that you should show yourselves.

You are ¹⁶this snake of the darkness,

¹⁷having no egress ¹⁸from your cavern,

the inhabitants of which ¹⁹do not come forth.

O hidden ²⁰of arms, concealed of legs,

this second serpent, namely Dark of head.

Side 3, 1 O Shay, whose ²eyes are destructive,

of whom the Underworldly ones are afraid, when they see ³him.

O Burning one, powerful of ⁴flame,

who places fire in those who ascend ⁵against him.

O these serpents, ⁶doorkeepers of He-who-is-hidden-of-name!

⁷I have reached your cavern.
My sun disk ⁸has entered into the secret place
in order to illumine those foremost of ⁹their darkness,
so I might care for those within ¹⁰their sarcophagi.”

^a The Second Division of Caverns is said in the other versions of the book to be the *qṛrt snw nt tp.t* “twin cavern of the first (cavern).”¹¹⁰ Although the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata writes simply “this cavern,” the pairing of the first two divisions of the Book of Caverns in the bottom register around the entire circumference of the sarcophagus demonstrates the parallel nature of the two caverns. The texts of the Book of Caverns on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata surround the very shape, a *dbȝ.t*, that has given the book its modern name.

^b The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata omits the following interesting description of the serpent:¹¹¹

ir s.t=f ds=f m Imn.t
n-ȝ.t=n štȝ iryw=f r hnty.w tpȝ.t=f
Who makes his own place in the West,
because his forms are more mysterious than those who are in his cavern.

^c This odd statement is the translation demanded by the unambiguous stative ending written on the sarcophagus. In this case, the text in the New Kingdom versions creates a more logical progression of events:¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 11, ln. 1. Hornung, *Die Unterweltsbücher*, p. 322 translates “Zweite Höhle der *Uräus-Schlange* (?),” but the lack of a determinative to *tp.t* argues against this reading.

¹¹¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 11, ll. 2-3.

¹¹² Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): p. 11, ll. 3-4. The subordinate use of *iw=i ššs-i* is an unusual, but not unattested Middle Egyptian form (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, §463; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, p. 885; Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte* (Berlin, 1962), p. 167,

$\dot{i}mn=k$ tw $r=\dot{i}$
 $\dot{c}py=\dot{i}$
 $dd=k$ $tp=k$
 $\dot{i}w=\dot{i}$ $\dot{s}3s=\dot{i}$
 May you hide yourself from me,
 so that I might pass by.
 It is only when I have proceeded that
 you should show your head.

^d One of the snakes guarding the entrance to the second cavern of the Netherworld is here said to have two arms and two legs, albeit “hidden” and “secret,” and thus invisible. This is only one of several textual references to snakes possessing limbs, and in the Books of Amduat and Gates, several snakes are shown walking on legs.¹¹³ In the Fifth Hour of Amduat, a double-headed snake, depicted without legs is addressed in the following manner:¹¹⁴

i dsr dsr $n=\dot{i}$ $\dot{c}.wy=k$
 wn $n=\dot{i}$ $q3b.w=k$
 O holy snake, make holy for me your two limbs!
 Open for me your coils!

T.G.H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York, 1962), p. 102; references courtesy of Prof. John Darnell).

¹¹³ Book of Amduat: Fourth Hour, top register, two snakes (one with a human head), Tenth Hour, middle register, double headed snake, Eleventh Hour, top register, snake with two wings. Book of Gates: Tenth Hour, upper register, multi-headed snake with a pair of legs for each head and bottom register, a single snake. Compare also the snake with arms and legs in the Brooklyn Magical Papyrus (Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*, fig. 3 and p. 13).

¹¹⁴ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 406. For the reading of the bent arm () as $\dot{c}.wy$, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 126 n. 402.

The snake's "limbs" are described as naturally as the coils of the serpent. An interesting passage in the Harris Magical Papyrus suggests that originally snakes had limbs, but were punished with their removal:¹¹⁵

*ir tm=t_n rdit 'm=t_n r t₃ m h^c.t n nt_ry.t tn
hsq ht m ^c.wy=sn rd.wy=sn
hpr mitt hr-^c m hf₃w.w nb hf₃y.w nb*

If you do not communicate to the earth concerning the flesh of this goddess,
then things shall be cut from their arms and their legs.
The like happened thereof immediately to every male and female snake.

^e The serpent addressed here as Š₃y appears as Nš₃y in the Ramesses VI version of the Book of Caverns copied by Piankoff.¹¹⁶ However, two other Late Period texts cited by Quaegebeur¹¹⁷ suggest a reinterpretation of the fiercest serpent as the god Shay rather than a simple omission of *n*.

^f A primarily repetitive speech by the sun god to the serpents is omitted on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.¹¹⁸

Re addresses the gods within sarcophagi

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 283-84

Parallel: similar to Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 12, ll. 1-7, but Tjaihorpata omits several sections and contains notable variants

*i ntr 12 hnty št₃
imy ¹¹db₃.w(t)
shm m h₃.wt=sn*

¹¹⁵ C. Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*, p. 7 = BM EA 9997, II 14-15, emending his translation "If you do not set your throats (?) on the earth out of the body of this goddess ..."

¹¹⁶ *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 11, ln. 5.

¹¹⁷ *Le dieu Shay*, pp. 150-151.

¹¹⁸ Corresponding to Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 11, l. 8 – pl. 12, l. 1.

¹²*i Nr.w nb hr.w(t)*
¹³*hpr.w^a hpr m Wsir*
¹⁴*i wnw Mhnty-n-ir.ty*
¹⁵*ntr.w hpr m Hr*
nb.w hr.w(t) m ¹⁶*hnty dw3.t*
w3š.w hr h3.wt=sn
¹⁷*i imyw-ht hnty dw3t*
hss.w ¹⁸*c3 hr.w(t)*
i nn n ¹⁹*ntr.w c3 imyw db3.wt* ²⁰*=sn*
*m.tw sbh=*²¹*n=tn*
*b3.w=t*_n <w> ²²*s*_n *m Imn.t^b*
h3.t=tn ²³*htp.(w) m db3.wt =sn*
²⁴*nd=i tn ink nd-b3=f^c*

O these 12 gods, foremost of Shetayt, within ¹¹sarcophagi,
 who have power over their corpses!

¹²O Catfish, lords of provisions,
¹³manifesting ones, who become/come from Osiris!

¹⁴O those who exist as Mekhentyenirity
¹⁵gods who become/come from Horus,
 lords of the provisions ¹⁶in the forepart of the Duat,
 powerful upon their corpses.

¹⁷O those in the following of the one foremost of the Duat,
 Catfish, ¹⁸great of provisions!

O these ¹⁹great gods within their ²⁰sarcophagi,
 Behold, I call ²¹to you,
 with the result that your bas ²²might be powerful in the west,
 and your corpses ²³rest in their sarcophagi.

²⁴I protect you,
 for I am the one ²⁵who protects his *ba*.

^a Ramesses VI writes only *hpr.w m Wsir* “those who become/come from Osiris.” The addition of *hpr* on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata may also allude to the important concept of *hpr hpr.w* in the Underworld Books (see *supra*).

^b The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata differs from the Ramesses VI and Osireion versions:¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 12, l. 6.

*b3.w=tн w3š=sn im
mn.tiwmу m tph.wt=tн*
As for your bas, may they be powerful therein!
May you remain in your caverns!

^c The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata not only omits parts of the earlier versions, but cleverly composes new statements to create a meaningful continuous text. The statement “I protect you” is a replacement of a longer statement in the version of Ramesses VI:¹²⁰

*mtn wi hd=i tn
hr=tн n=i hr=i n=tн
ink nd b3=f*
Look, I illumine you.
Your faces belong to me, as my face belongs to you.
I am the one who protects his *ba*.

The four catfish and eight ichneumon-headed beings within the twelve sarcophagi are manifestations of Osiris and Horus respectively, but the use of the idiom *hpr* allows for two interpretations: “who become Osiris/Horus” or “who came about from Osiris/Horus.”¹²¹ Catfish-headed gods appear alongside Aker and near an Osirian corpse on the Type I sarcophagi. The relationship between Horus and Mekhentyirty is also well attested. The joint appearance of manifestations of Osiride-catfish and Horus-Mekhentyirty beings is a transposition of the myth of Horus and Osiris into purely eyeless beings.¹²²

Again, the sarcophagus text breaks off before the New Kingdom version, omitting epithets of Re and another description of his passing over the present cavern of the Underworld.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 12, l. 7.

¹²¹ Both are mentioned by Hornung, *Die Unterweltsbücher*, p. 324 and n. 8.

¹²² For a brief survey of eyeless beings in the Underworld Books, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 171-73.

Re addresses the goddesses within sarcophagi

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 284

Parallel: Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 13, l. 1-pl. 14, ll. 1-2, 8 (omitting ll. 2-7 as well as parts of pl. 13 and the remainder of the address on pls. 14-15)

*i nn²⁶ ntr.w imy.w št3(y).t
 š²⁷3s=ī hr tph.(t)²⁸=tn r m3 pn²⁹Imn-rn=f
 r ir.(t) shr n Imn.t*
*³⁰sšm=tn wi
 ³¹nttn imy.w Wsir
 ³²nb.w b3.w
 ‘3 hr. <t>
 ³³nty(w) Hr m³⁴s3w=sn
i dw3.t(yt)³⁵hnty dw3.t
 ‘Imnt.(y)t³⁶nd dt=s
³⁷i md.t b3=s nd.t³⁸h3.t=s
 hnt.y(t) dw3.t št3.t
³⁹i b3 ‘nh shm šw.t
 nd⁴⁰imy.w ‘Imn.t
i hn-⁴¹hr ‘3 št3
 wsr-⁴²ib h<n>t qrr.t=s
i h3.⁴³t nb sti
 tm(-tw)⁴⁴‘r n sti⁴⁵=s
i md.t b3=s
 sdm⁴⁶imyw htm(y).t
i nd⁴⁷shr imy.w=s
i sn⁴⁸t nb h3w3.w
⁴⁹i 7.tw ntrw(t)
 ⁵⁰‘3 shr imy.w št3(y).t
⁵¹iw š3s⁵²=ī hr tph.t=tn
 ⁵³r m33 pn ‘Imn-rn=f*

O these²⁶ gods within Shetay!

I pass²⁷ over your cavern

²⁸in order to see this one, He-whose-²⁹name-is-hidden,
in order to take care of the west

³⁰May you guide me,

³¹for it is you among whom Osiris is,

³²possessors of bas,
great of provisions,
³³whose guardian³⁴is Horus.

O She of the³⁵Duat, foremost of the Duat,

³⁶She of the hidden place, who protects her body.

³⁷O She whose ba speaks, who inquires after the³⁸corpse,
foremost of the mysterious Underworld.

³⁹O Living ba, powerful of shade,
 who protects ⁴⁰those who are within the West.
 O Cheerful-⁴¹faced one, great of secrets,
 courageous ⁴²within her cavern.
 O Female corpse, ⁴³mistress of putrefaction,
 to whose ⁴⁴putrefaction (one) does not approach.
⁴⁵O She whose ba speaks,
 so that those ⁴⁶within the place of destruction hear.
 O She who cares ⁴⁷for those amongst whom she is.
 O He-of-the-corpse, ⁴⁸Lord of decay!
⁴⁹O seven goddesses, ⁵⁰great of form within Shetayt.
⁵¹I pass ⁵²over your cavern
⁵³in order to see this one, He-who-is-hidden-of-name.

The abridged nature of the text on the sarcophagus causes the omission of the major duties of the goddesses, which are to protect Osiris and lead the *ba* of the sun god to his corpse.

Re addresses the mourners

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 284

Parallel: Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 15, l. 3-16, l. 4 (Tjaihorpata omits most of the epithets of the mourning gods and the remainder of the address on pls. 16-17)

⁵⁴*i Hr Mhnty-*⁵⁵*n-irty*
⁵⁶*hnty tph.(t)* ⁵⁷*i(z)kb ntr* ⁵⁸*z*
⁵⁷*i i3kb.(w)* ⁵⁹*sb.t*
i rmi ⁶⁰*shm irw*^a
*i n*⁶¹*fty hry i3kb* ⁶¹*ntr* ⁶³*z*
*i smn-*⁶²*nty m-ht=f*
i <sd>m ⁶³*wrd-ib hrw=f*
⁶⁴*i .wy=f m rk* ⁶⁵*hr=f*
i s3q sw ⁶⁶*m rmi=f*
⁶⁷*i sn(y)t hry* ⁶⁸*s(z)mt=f*
*i <s>nk*⁶⁹*-hr hnty dsr.t*
i ntr.w ⁷⁰*psd.t pw i3kb*⁷¹*.w hr Wsir*
rmi hr hnty ⁷²*dw3.t*
*p=i hr=t*⁷³*n*

⁵⁴O Horus, Mekhenty⁵⁵enirty,
 foremost of the cavern of ⁵⁶“Mourning the great god.”
⁵⁷O mourner, great of ⁵⁸hairlocks!
 O weeper, ⁵⁹powerful of forms!
 O ⁶⁰sniveller, chief of the mourners of ⁶¹the great god!

O one who makes the arm firm for⁶² those who are in his following!
 O one whose voice is heard by the⁶³ Weary-hearted!
⁶⁴O one whose arms are before⁶⁵ his face!
 O one who (re)assembles him⁶⁶ with his crying!
⁶⁷O one with a wig, chief of⁶⁸ his mourners!
 O dark⁶⁹ of face, foremost of the sanctified region!
 O nine⁷⁰ gods who mourn⁷¹ over Osiris,
 who cry over the one foremost of⁷² the Underworld,
 I am passing over⁷³ you.

^a The epithet of the “weeper” on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata does not allude to the mourning activity of the god. The term *irw* “visible form” is an interpretation of the

oddly spelled word that follows *shm* in the Ramesses VI and Osireion versions:  and



 respectively. The presence of five strokes suggests that the weeping god is *shm diw* “powerful of shrieks.”¹²³

This impressive list of mourning contains interesting aspects of the act of mourning and its beneficial effects. The position of the weeping deities is indicated by the name of the sixth deity, “whose arms are before his face,” which is an apt description of the *nwn*-gesture, alluded to in the numerous terms for hair and wigs.¹²⁴ The seventh god of this ennead of mourners is said to “reassemble” Osiris through his weeping, which is part of a large constellation of images attached to the *nwn*-gesture.¹²⁵

¹²³ For this spelling of the word *diw*, shrieks, see Edgerton and Wilson, p. 12 n. 11a and G. Posener, “*Urk.* IV, 139, 2-7,” *RdE* 10 (1955): 93-94. I would like to thank Prof. Darnell for this reading and references.

¹²⁴ See *supra*.

¹²⁵ On the *nwn*-gesture, Chapter 2, *supra*.

Female mourners in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses IX weep over the “mysterious mound of Osiris, Djebat-Demed.”¹²⁶ The ennead of weeping deities in the Second Division of Caverns is also within close proximity to a mysterious container that holds the corpse of Osiris, the *hn Wsir* “chest of Osiris.” In the address to these mourning gods (not present on the sarcophagus), the sun god states: “May you cry out for me and the Underworldly one (*dw3.ty*), so that he might be pacified through your voice.”¹²⁷ “The Underworldly one” is a reference to the unified Re-Osiris¹²⁸—his union is aided by the mourning cries of these gods; perhaps their weeping is instrumental in the reassembly of the divine corpse within the chest.

Re addresses the gods within sarcophagi

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 284-85

Parallel: similar to Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 18, l. 2-19, ll. 1, 3-4

As with Re’s earlier addresses to groups of deities in the Second Cavern of the Underworld, the following address omits most of his speech to the gods, except for the names of the deities addressed and a few epithets. In this section, though, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata presents the addresses in a different order. The numbers given in parentheses after each line of translation represent the order of the deities in the Ramesses VI version.

i nb tk3 c3⁷⁴ bs (7)
i dw3.ty⁷⁵ hnty dw3.t (2)
i^a nb sbyt⁷⁶ q3 c3n (3)
i⁷⁷ nb d3d3 m hnty dw3.t (4)
⁷⁸*i c3 wsh nb⁷⁹ (m) c3nh.t* (5)

¹²⁶ For a translation of the entire annotation, see Chapter 2, *supra*.

¹²⁷ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1943): pl. 16, l. 5.

¹²⁸ Hornung, *Die Unterweltsbücher*, p. 506 n. 9.

$i\ Mhn^b\ m\ c.^{80}t\ inn$ (variant of 6)
 $i\ bnw^c\ ^{81}b3\ dw3ty$ (8)
 $i\ hn^{82}hnw\ f3i-c=f$ (9)
 $^{83}i\ nb\ htp\ c3\ h3yt$ (10)
 $i\ ^{84}fn.(t)\ c3\ h3rt\ ^d$ (11)
 $^{85}i\ s3d\ c3\ ^{86}s(s)f$ (12)
 $i\ psd.t\ pw\ ^{87}db3.wt\ irw.t\ ^{88}Wsir^e$

O lord of flame, great ⁷⁴of fire!
 O he of the Duat, ⁷⁵foremost of the Duat!
 O possessor of hairlocks, ⁷⁶high of moans!
 O ⁷⁷possessor of a head in the forepart of the Underworld!
⁷⁸O great of broad-collar, possessor ⁷⁹of a counterweight!
 O Mehen in the ⁸⁰hidden chamber!
 O Benu, ⁸¹ba of the Datian!
 O ⁸²acclaiming one, who has raised his arm!
⁸³O lord of offerings, great of altar!
 O ⁸⁴one with a head-cloth, great of clothing!
⁸⁵O one with a fillet, great of ⁸⁶ribbons!
 O this ennead ⁸⁷who clothe the visible forms of ⁸⁸Osiris.

^a One of the few orthographic errors in this section of the text occurs here. Rather than the reed-leaf followed by the A2 sign, the sarcophagus has  Considering the great number of addresses written correctly, this confusion is odd. The writing of an *s*-cloth for the reed-leaf is notable, because it suggests a mistake from an originally hieroglyphic source.¹²⁹

^b In the Ramesses VI version, it is simply a snake (*hf3w*) that is in the “hidden chamber.”¹³⁰ The sarcophagus specifies Mehen, the serpent *par excellence* in the Netherworld, who protects Re within his bark as he traverses the twelve hours of the night.

¹²⁹ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 140.

¹³⁰ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1943): pl. 18, l. 5.

^c The benu-bird, the solar phoenix, is the ba of the Underworldly Osiris, for which, see *supra*.

^d The word *ḥṣr.t*, used in the Osireion version and Tjaihorpata, does not appear in the *Wb.* as such and is questionably translated by Piankoff¹³¹ and Hornung¹³² as a word for “headcloth.” While this translation approximates the more precise meaning “veil,” it is important to recognize that *ḥṣr.t* is an early attestation of the otherwise Ptolemaic word *šr.t* for an item of clothing, particularly one belonging to Horus and found in the phrase *šr.t n.t mʒc-ḥrw* “triumphal clothing” (*Wb.* IV 524.8-11). P. Wilson connects *šr.t* with *ḥrd* (*Wb.* III 331.2) known from post-Ramesside sources,¹³³ so *ḥṣr.t* in the Book of Caverns may be the original term from which both *šr.t* and *ḥrd* derive. The initial *ḥ*-sound reappears in demotic, where this word is spelled *ḥrt*¹³⁴ and survives into Coptic ψορτ, “veil, awning.”¹³⁵ The relationship between the *ḥṣr.t* cloth and justification fit well with the *sšd*-band worn by the next deity,¹³⁶ as well as the variant in the tomb of Ramesses VI, *nb fn.t*.

¹³¹ *BIFAO* 42 (1943): 9.

¹³² *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 331.

¹³³ *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 1026-27.

¹³⁴ Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 367.

¹³⁵ Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, p. 252; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 326.

¹³⁶ For the significance of the *sšd*-band, see *supra*.

^e Each of the gods within their sarcophagi (*db3.t*) have the task of clothing (*db3*) Osiris.

In the Ramesses VI version, the address to each god is followed by the words *db3y irw.w Wsir nswt RVI* ... “who clothes the visible forms of the Osiris king Ramesses VI ...”¹³⁷ A god within his sarcophagus is *db3y* “he of the sarcophagus,” which can equally be read as an active participle “he who clothes.”

Re addresses the guardians of the chest of Osiris

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 285, 290

Parallel: similar to Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 20, ll. 1-2, 5-9 (Tjaihorpata omits the epithets of the four gods)

*i nn n ntr.w c. ⁸⁹wy=tn hr hn Wsir
nn ⁹⁰n tp.w m s3 št3. ⁹¹t=f^a
i r.ty
⁹²i št3 hr
i snk ⁹³hr
i fn
⁹⁴i ntr.w ifdw pw ir.n c. wy=sn ^{Side 1, 1}hr hn n Wsir
m².tn c p=i tph.t=tn*

O these gods, may yours ⁸⁹hands be over the chest of Osiris!

These ⁹⁰heads are protection for his ⁹¹mystery.

O Ascending one!

⁹²O Secret of face!

O Dark-⁹³faced one!

O He with a headcloth!

⁹⁴O these four gods whose arms are ^{Side 1, 1}over the chest of Osiris.

²Behold, I am passing over your cavern.

^a This sentence is an abbreviated version of a statement in Ramesses VI describing both the ram-headed poles and the *wsr*-poles:¹³⁸ *nn n tp.w=i št3.w hr.t wsr.wt=i m s3 sšt3.w[=f]* “whose mystery these my heads, mysterious of needs, and my necks are as protection.”

¹³⁷ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1943): pls. 18-19.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 20, ll. 1-2.

Much of the text describing the chest of Osiris in the other versions of the text does not appear on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. The chest contains the *hnt pn n hnty dw3.t* “the corporeal remains of the one foremost of the Underworld,” but is closely associated with several manifestations of the solar eye—*ntr.t nty hnty dw3.t wd3.t [n] Itm m tph.t n.t hn n s̄t3* “the divine eye which is foremost of the Underworld and the udjat-eye of Atum are in the cavern of the chest of the Mystery.”¹³⁹ The round boss-like addition to the chest in the tomb of Ramesses VI should be interpreted as a sun disk, the solar eye resting together with the flesh of Osiris.¹⁴⁰ In the middle register of the Third Division of Caverns, an uroboros encircles three sarcophagi, containing the body of Osiris, an eye, and a ram head. The annotation elucidates the role of the solar eye vis-à-vis the chest of Osiris in the Second Division:¹⁴¹

i Wsir št3 n s.wt ḏnh b3 hnty db3.t=
i tp=ī ir.t=ī
s̄t3.w=ī tw.wt=ī
h3.t=ī hpr.w=ī
 O Osiris, mysterious of place, living of ba, foremost of his sarcophagus!
 O my head and my eye,
 my mysteries and my statue forms,
 my corpse and my manifestations!

The eye, as well as the heads and necks of Re, in the Second Division all combine with the body of Osiris to create not only the hidden form of Re (*št3*), but the outward form in which he is worshipped (*twt*). Osiris is the corpse (*h3.t*), while the eye, head and

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 20, ll. 2-3.

¹⁴⁰ The juxtaposition of eye and chest is reminiscent of the scenes in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses VII, where four gods guarding the sarcophagus of Osiris occur opposite another four gods bent protectively over a fiery eye (for more on this scene, see Chapter 2, *supra*).

¹⁴¹ Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1943): pl. 32.

neck are his manifestations (*hprw*). The contrasting pairs in the Third Division explain the constellation of images in the Second Division.

Re addresses the Osiris figures within sarcophagi

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 290-91

Parallel: similar to Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pl. 22, ll. 1-9 (Tjaihorpata uses only the names of the deities, but no additional text)

³*i Wsir hnty imnt.t*
⁴*i Wsir <hq₃> dw₃.t*
⁵*i Wsir T₃t_{nn}*
i Wsir n t₃ imn.t
⁶*i Wsir htm hfty.w*
i ⁷Wsir nb d₃d₃.t
i ⁸Wsir nswt imnt.t
i Wsir ⁹nb wrr.t
i Wsir hnty dw₃.t
i ¹⁰Wsir m₃^c w₃.wt
i Wsir ¹¹dr hfty.w=f
i Wsir nb ¹²psd.t

O Osiris, foremost of the West!
O ⁴Osiris, <ruler> of the Underworld!
O Osiris, lord ⁵of the emerging land (Tatenen)!
O Osiris, lord of the hidden land!
⁶O Osiris, who destroys the enemies!
O ⁷Osiris, lord of the council!
O ⁸Osiris, king of the West!
O Osiris, ⁹lord of the double-crown!
O Osiris, foremost of the Underworld!
O ¹⁰Osiris who straightens roads!
O Osiris, ¹¹who repels his enemies!
O Osiris, lord of the ¹²Ennead!

Re addresses the ram-headed figures within sarcophagi

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 291

Parallel: Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pl. 23, ll. 2-9, pl. 24, ll. 2-3 (partly damaged in other versions)

i csm^a m ¹³db₃.t=f
i h₃.ty
i hm¹⁴y
i imn-h₃.t
¹⁵*i twt hpr*

$i^{16} \text{ʒ}^{cc} hpr^{17} im$
 $i wtt hpr^{18} im$
 $i nb b3 hr h3.t$
 $^{19} i ntr.w hpr.(w) pr^{20} m h^c.w=i$
 $ink R^c ir shr^{21}=tn$
 $\epsilon q=i hr=tn^{22} r m33 pn Imn-rn=f^b$

O divine image in ¹³his sarcophagus!

O corpse-like one!

O retreating one!

¹⁴O hidden of corpse!

¹⁵O perfect of manifestations!

O ¹⁶one who engenders manifestations ¹⁷therein!

O one who begets manifestations ¹⁸therein!

O lord of the ba upon the corpse!

¹⁹O gods whose manifestations came forth ²⁰from my limbs!

I am Re who cares ²¹for you.

It is so that I might ²²see He-whose-name-is-hidden that I have come to you!

^a In the Book of Caverns and other religious texts, *ḥm* has Underworldly connotations and

appears in similar contexts as *h3.t*.¹⁴²

^b The text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata allows for the proper restorations of pl. 24, l. 2 following *ink*. Furthermore, the omission of the remainder of Re's speech on the sarcophagus version, but the inclusion of the statement "It is so that I might see He-whose-name-is-hidden that I have come to you!" indicates that it is the single most important goal of the solar journey.

In the Second Division of Caverns, each of the addresses to the various denizens of that part of the Underworld emphasizes the visit to *Imn-rn=f* "He-who-is-hidden-of-name," a quintessential description of the unified Re-Osiris. The mysterious rebirth that

¹⁴² Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 73 (discussing this passage in the Book of Caverns) and 88-89.

appears when the sun views its own corpse is described in the concluding lines of the
Second Division:¹⁴³

*m.k itn=i ḫq=f m-h̄t=i
ms=f w̄i swt ms=i sw*

Behold, my disk enters after me,
so that it might give birth to me, and in turn¹⁴⁴ I give birth to it!

This phrase should be elevated as a concise statement that goes to the very core of Egyptian religion. Fortuitously, a representation of this very statement survives on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun—the unified Re-Osiris is pregnant with his sun disk, which in turn holds the ram-headed ba of the sun god, the offspring of the disk-womb.¹⁴⁵ The sun god is literally nested within himself through his various manifestations.

INTERIOR

The interior of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata contains the Ninth through the Twelfth Hours of the Book of Amduat. No other compositions appear on the interior of the walls of the sarcophagus, but images of the goddess Nut adorn the interior of the lid and the floor of the sarcophagus. The Nut on the lid is accompanied by text from the Creation of the Solar Disk (see below). The goddess on the floor of the sarcophagus is even more unusual, since she is actually the goddess Shetayt-Nut from the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns, accompanied by enigmatic texts.

¹⁴³ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1943): pl. 25, l. 6 (note variant from the Osireion on p. 13 n. 3).

¹⁴⁴ For *swt* expressing continuation, see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, §841, citing examples from the Pyramid Texts. It is this use of *swt* that Gardiner confuses with examples where “*swt* has little or no force, merely introducing a main clause” (*GEG* §252).

¹⁴⁵ For the sun disk replacing the body of the goddess as the womb which gives birth to Re, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 382-85; Westendorf, *ZÄS* 100 (1974): 138-39.

The Ninth Hour of Amduat was treated in detail above, in conjunction with the version on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II. The Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Hours are translated and commented upon below. Due to the difficulty of accessing the interior of the sarcophagus, not all of the texts have been collated, and one must rely on Maspero's edition.

TENTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

The version of the Tenth Hour of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata¹⁴⁶ differs significantly from the New Kingdom version in several places where the earlier text is obscure. Additionally, in at least one case, an enigmatic writing in all preserved New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Amduat papyri versions is “translated” for the first time into *Normalschrift* on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

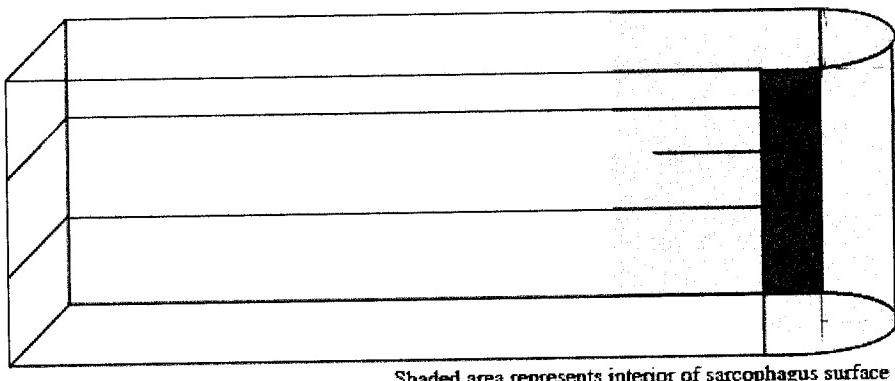


Fig. 75: Placement of the Tenth Hour of Amduat on the Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

INTRODUCTORY TEXT

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 296-97

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 697-700

¹⁴⁶ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 296-302.

htp in hm n ntr pn ՚ 3 m qrr.t tn
 wd=f mdw n ntr.w imy.w=s
 rn n sb3 niw.t tn ՚ q ntr pn ՚ 3 hr=f
 ՚ 3 hpr ms irw
 rn n niw.t mdt mw q3 wdb
 rn n wnw.t n.t grh ssm ntr pn ՚ 3 r w3.wt št3.w n.t niw.t tn
 dndn.t hsq h3k-ib.w
 hsq=s h3k-ib.w n Wsir imi-r3 3h.t T3i-hr-p3-t3 m3c-hrw m dw3.t hr Wsir

Resting by the Majesty of this great god in this cavern,
 while he commands to the gods who are within it.

The name of the portal of this locale into which this great god enters is:
 “Great of manifestations, engendered of visible forms.”

The name of the locale is “Deep of water, high of banks.”

The name of the hour of the night which leads this great god on the roads of this locale is:
 “Raging one who beheads the rebels”

May she behead the rebels for the Osiris, overseer of fields, Tjaihorpata,
 vindicated in the Underworld before Osiris.

UPPER REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 297, 299-300
 Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 704-717

SCENE 1

Standing god and scarab lifting an oval

wnn-sn m shr pn m dw3.t m ir.w ms.wt Hpri
 f3i=f nw.t=f r niw.t tn
 r pr.(t) m-ht r 3h.t i3bt.t n.t p.t

They exist in this fashion in the Duat as visible forms which Khepri bore.
 He is lifting his oval at this locale,
 in order to go forth in the following (of Re) to the eastern horizon of heaven.

The deities of the Eighth Hour of Amduat are those “whom Horus has created,”
 while here in the Tenth Hour, the scarab and his oval are children of Khepri. As with so
 many images from the First Hour onward, this scene presages the conclusion of the
 nightly journey of the sun. The oval lifted by the scarab in the Tenth Hour is a
 representation of the entire Underworld, the rounded edge of which is represented in the

Twelfth Hour. The oval is also reminiscent of the oval of Sokar in the Fifth Hour;¹⁴⁷ the first scene of the Tenth Hour thus links the middle of the night with the conclusion of the solar journey through the Underworld.

SCENE 2

Two pairs of Goddesses with entwined serpents and solar eyes

*wnn nn n ntr.w m shr pn
iʒb.t pr=s m ‘nnw
wnm.t pr=s m sdfy.t
sšm ntr {i}n=sn bʒ.w m tʒ^a
stʒ=f n=sn ʒh.w r htp m dwʒ.t^b
hr sšm štʒ imy
‘m.hr=sn ir.w=sn
m-ht ‘p ntr pn ‘ʒ hr=sn*

These gods exist in this fashion.
The left eye emerges from the double snake.
The right eye emerging from the fettered-serpent.
The god leads for them the bas within the earth.
He ushers in for them the akhu-spirits in order to rest in the Duat,
upon the secret image therein.
Then they swallow their visible forms,
after this great god passes over them.

^a This passage demonstrates a complete reworking of the New Kingdom versions; the *ntr*-sign, a determinative of *sdfy.t* in the earlier copies, has become the subject of the verb *sšm* on the sarcophagi. The verb *sšm* is itself altered from the verb *kni* in the earlier versions.¹⁴⁸ Compact spacings of *kni n=sn*, such as those in the tombs of Amenhotep II and Seti I, may have led to the presence of a reed leaf before the dative *n=sn* on the sarcophagi.

¹⁴⁷ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. II, p. 163.

¹⁴⁸ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 706; compare a different reinterpretation of the verb *kni* in the introductory text to the Tenth Hour.

^b The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata replaces the odd text of the earlier versions, which employ the obscure words *sdf* and *tr.t.*¹⁴⁹

The entwined serpent supporting the left eye of the sun is called *‘nn*, reminiscent of the twisted rope *m‘nn* emerging from the mouth of Aken in the Book of Gates.¹⁵⁰ In the latter, each twist of the rope represents an hour of time. The twisted serpents in the Tenth Hour of Amduat produce the solar and lunar eyes, means by which the Egyptians measured time, just as Aken creates the hours. In the Khonsu cosmogony at Karnak,¹⁵¹ the entwined serpents can represent the two primordial serpents, Irita and Kematef. In combination with the twisted serpents who produce the Nile,¹⁵² these occurrences all suggest the creative symbolism of entwined serpents.

SCENE 3

Eight goddesses and baboon holding solar eye

*ntr.w pw ipt ir.t-Hr n=f m dw3.t
i n-sn R^c
shm n ir.w=tn shm.wt
ip=tn ir.t-Hr n=f
smn=tn ir.t-Hr n=f
shtp=tn hr m ti.t=f
sw3s=tn Hr m ir.t=f
smn.n=tn n=f tp=f ir.t=f^a imi ‘.wy iw^c-ir.t=f^b
nttn nd-hr hpr.w hpry.w hpr.w*

¹⁴⁹ On these words, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 163.

¹⁵⁰ See translation of the text on *supra*.

¹⁵¹ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inscriften*, pl. 4, 1. 17; on pp. 54-55 she discusses the different occurrences of *m‘nn*, but does not directly identify the two serpents with Irita and Kematef.

¹⁵² L. Kákosy, “The Astral Snakes of the Nile,” *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 255-260,

*ir.t-sn pw m dw3.t nd ir.t-Hr n=f
rdit ʒh swdʒ=s m r^c nb*

They are the gods who inspect the eye of Horus for him in the Duat.
Re says to them:

“Power be to your visible forms, Powerful ones!
May you inspect the eye of Horus for him!
May you establish the eye of Horus for him!
May you pacify Horus by means of his *tit*-image.
May you adore Horus by means of his eye,

you having established for him his head and his eye,
which is within the arms of the “Heir of the eye”

It is they who greet the manifestations of “He-who-manifests-manifestations.”
What they do in the Underworld is greet the eye of Horus for him,
and cause that the *ʒh.t*-eye be whole every day.

^a The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata replaces the rare term *tpy.t* “eye”¹⁵³ with coordinate objects—his head and his eye.



^b The name of the seated baboon god holding the *wdʒ.t*-eye is written as  in all New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period copies of the Book of Amduat.¹⁵⁴ Hornung reads this cryptographic label as “Fleisch, welches sein Auge trägt.”¹⁵⁵ Since the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata often substitutes correct *Normalschrift* values for cryptographic New Kingdom writings,¹⁵⁶ the late edition of the text on the sarcophagus suggests that the name of the baboon-headed deity is “Heir of the eye.” The flesh sign () in the New Kingdom is a substitution of kind for the *iw*-sign (, and the bent arm () is a similar substitution of kind for the *c*-arm.

¹⁵³ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 710.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 710, 713; Sadek, *Contribution*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁵⁵ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 164.

¹⁵⁶ Compare the writing of  on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata in place of New Kingdom  throughout the annotation to this scene.

The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata offers an entirely new reading of an important figure in the Tenth Hour of Amduat and demonstrates a *Normalschrift* version of the text not attested in any other tomb or papyrus.

SCENE 4

Four deities with various attributes and four Osiris figures

*wnn-sn m shr pn m ssm ir.n Hr
iw ntr pn '3 dwi=f r=sn m rn=sn
htp=sn
srq=sn m t3w imi r3 n ntr pn '3
b3.w=sn 'p=sn m-h3t r zh.t
ntsn h3p h3.wt=sn m dw3.t
ir.t sc.t^a n hfty.w
wd nikw=sn m dw3.t*

They exist in this fashion as images which Horus has made.
This great god calls to them in their names,
so that they might rest,
so that they might breathe the breath which is in the mouth of this great god.
Their bas pass by afterwards to the horizon.
It is they who hide their corpses in the Duat,
making the slaughter of the enemies,
commanding their punishment in the Duat.

^a Again, an odd passage in the New Kingdom text is replaced with an easily understandable statement. Here *ir.t sc.t n hftyw* “making slaughter of the enemies” replaces the earlier *swš wt n hfty.w* “tearing off the wrappings of the enemies.”¹⁵⁷

MIDDLE REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 298, 300-301
Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 717-731

¹⁵⁷ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 716.

SCENE 5
Solar Bark

*sqd ntr pn ɔ m niw.t tn m shr pn m wiʒ=f
<is.t=f> n.t ntr.w hn=sn sw
htp ntr.w imy.w niw.t tn m mw m mwiḥ=sn
srq=sn m hrw ih n is.t tn n.t ntr.w*

This great god sails in this locale in this fashion in his bark,
his divine crew transports him.
The gods who are in this locale rest in the water with their oars.
They breathe by means of the sound of the splashing of this divine crew.

SCENE 6
Two goddesses and double-headed serpent with falcon

*wnn=sn m shr pn m rmnw.ty tz-hr.w
sšm pw n Skr hnty dwʒ.t
sšm pn m i qd=f m-ht ntr pn ɔ r zh.t
‘q=f hr=f m tʒ r‘ nb*

They exist in this fashion as supporters of (the serpent) “Linked-of-faces”
He is the image of Sokar, foremost of the Underworld.
This entire image is in the following of this great god towards the horizon.
He enters before him in the earth every day.

SCENE 7
Falcon-headed serpent within bark

*wnn=f m shr pn m wiʒ=f
‘h=f r kkw-smʒw r ‘rry.t n.t zh.t iʒbt.t
htp.hr=f s.t=f r‘ nb
‘h‘w pw n dwʒ.t bʒ dsr hnty imnty.w*

He exists in this fashion in his bark.
He stands at the unbroken darkness at this gateway of the eastern horizon.
Then he occupies his place every day.
He is the “Stander” of the Duat, holy ba of the foremost of the Westerners.

SCENE 8
Armed crew of Re

*wnn=sn m shr pn hr sšr.w=sn hr ‘bb.wt=sn hr pd.wt=sn m hʒ.t ntr pn ɔ
pr=sn hr=f r zh.t iʒbt.t n.t p.t
i.n n=sn ntr pn ɔ
hʒh n šsr=tn*

spd n *‘bb.wt=tn*
 pd n *šmr.wt*
nik=tn n=i hfty.w=i imy.w kkw rwty zh.t
tn n=i m-ht=i
htp=i nnt
w3<š> iwf=i m m^cnd.(t)
ntsn hsf sbi n Nh3-hr m kkw-sm3w
‘p ntr pn ‘3 r ‘<rr>.t i3bt.t n(t) zh.t
‘p=sn hr ntr pn m-ht

These gods exist in this fashion holding their arrows, their spears, and their bows
before this great god.

They precede him to the eastern horizon of heaven.

This great god says to them:

“Swiftness be to your arrows!

Sharpness be to your spears!

Breadth be to (your) bows!

(all) so you might punish for me my enemies who are within the darkness,
at the gateway of the horizon.

You belong to me, in my following,

when I occupy the nethersky,

when my flesh is strong in the day bark.

It is they who repel the rebels belonging to Nehaher in the unbroken darkness,

so that this great god shall pass by the eastern doorway of the sky,

and so that they shall pass by before this god afterwards.

LOWER REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 298-99, 301-302

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 732-42

SCENE 9

The Drowned

dd-mdw in Hr n mhy.w igy.w st3sy.w
n.(yw) mw d3.tyw
i mhw snk m nwn
‘.wy=sn m rk hr=sn
i igy.w hr m dw3.t
bqs.w=sn n n.t
i hn.w nwn m st3sy
hr.w=sn m-ht b3.w=sn
t3w n b3.w=tn iwyty.w sn
hnn n ‘.wy=tn
m3‘ n rd.wy=tn ‘p=sn
ntn mhy.w imy.w Nwn

ni hn̄hn m̄s.wt=tn
pr=tn h̄3=tn m hn̄hn.w
m̄hi=tn n h̄pi wr
m̄ni=tn n wdb.w=f
<ni> hw̄3 h̄c.w=tn
<ni> imk wt=tn wd=tn
srq=tn m wd.n=i n=t̄n
nt̄n nn n ihy.w Nwn
mhy.w m-ht=f
igr ‘n̄b n b̄3.w=tn

Recitation by Horus to the drowned, the capsized, the overturned ones,
 those of the water, namely the Underworld dwellers.
 O drowned ones, who are dark in Nun,
 whose arms are in front of their faces!
 O ones capsized of face in the Duat,
 whose vertebrae belong to the surface of the water!
 O those who swim through Nun while overturned,
 whose faces are in the following of their bas.
 Breath be to your bas, you who are lacking!
 May your arms tread water!
 Straightness be to your feet, so they might traverse (the distance)!
 It is you who are the drowned ones within Nun.
 Your knees will not be repelled,
 rather you shall go forth and you shall descend into the flowing water.
 May you be immersed in the Great Flood!
 May you moor at the banks!
 Your flesh shall <not> rot!
 Your mummies, which you command, shall <not> putrefy!
 May you breathe that which I have commanded for you!
 You are those who are within Nun,
 the drowned who are in his following.
 May life belong to your bas!

The depiction of the drowned fills nearly the entire lower register of the Tenth Hour of Amduat,¹⁵⁸ and is closely paralleled by depictions of the drowned in the Scene 58 in Ninth Hour of the Book of Gates.¹⁵⁹ The annotation to the drowned in Amduat and

¹⁵⁸ For more on the drowned, see Hornung, *Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 172-3.

¹⁵⁹ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, pp. 214-219.

Gates, as well as a wealth of other textual sources, indicate that death by drowning leads to a blessed state in the afterlife. The frontality of some of the depictions of the drowned is another allusion to their blessedness.¹⁶⁰

SCENE 10

Four goddess and Seth-headed *hq3*-staff

*wnn=sn m shr pn
sšm.w=sn ‘nh m tp.w=sn
ntsn shd w3.t n R‘ m kkw-sm3w
pr=f r ‘rry.t i3bt.t
z.t Nhs ‘p=f hr=f
shd=sn w3.t n Wsir N (m) kkw sm3w*

They exist in this fashion.

their living images as their heads.

It is they who illumine the road for Re in the uniform darkness,
when he goes forth to the eastern forecourt.

The staff of Nehes goes behind him.

May they illumine the road for Osiris N (in) the uniform darkness.

ELEVENTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

The penultimate hour of the Book of Amduat is located on the interior of Side Three, thus sharing the same wall as the Sixth and Seventh Hours of the night. Nearly the entire text is preserved, with the exception of the horizontal line of the introductory text, present in the New Kingdom versions¹⁶¹ and the Third Intermediate Period Amduat papyri.¹⁶² The Eleventh Hour is notable for its significant iconographic repertoire. Unlike other hours, such as the Second the Third Hours of Amduat, where deities troop

¹⁶⁰ Volokhine, *La frontalité dans l'iconographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, pp. 83-86.

¹⁶¹ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 746-750.

¹⁶² Sadek, *Contribution*, p. 32.

one after another, the Eleventh Hour contains distinct tableaux which allude to a range of religious concepts.

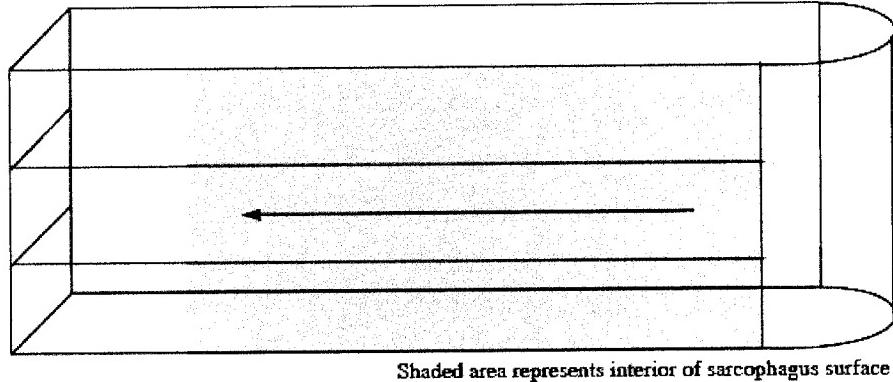


Fig. 76: Placement of the Eleventh Hour of Amduat on the Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

INTRODUCTORY TEXT

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 302

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 743-746

htp in hm n ntr pn '3 m qrr.t tn
 wd=f mdw n ntr.w imy.w=s
 rn n sb3 n.t niw.t tn 'q ntr pn '3 hr=f
 shnn dw3ty.w
 rn n niw.t tn
 r3 qrr.t ip.t h3.wt
 rn n wnw.t n grh ssm ntr pn '3
 sb3y.t nb.t wi3 hsf sby.w m pr=f
 dw3 R^c r^c nb
 hw=sn Wsir N dw3 R^c <r^c> nb(?)

Resting by the Majesty of this great god in this cavern,
while he commands the gods who are in it.

The name of the portal of the locale in which this god enters is:
“Alighting place of the Underworldly gods.”

The name of this locale:

“Entrance of the cavern that reckons corpses”

The name of the hour of the night which leads this great god:

“Starry one, mistress of the bark who repels the rebels when he goes forth”

Adoring¹⁶³ Re every day,

¹⁶³ The star determinative of the name of the hour has been transformed into the verb *dw3* “to adore.”

may they protect Osiris N who adores Ra every day(?).

UPPER REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 303-304

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 750-764

SCENE 1

Double-headed being: *'pr hr nb d.t* “Equipped of face, lord of eternity”¹⁶⁴

wnn=f m shr pn

'h=f n R' iwty sqd.n=f r s.t=f n.t dw3.t

He exists in this fashion:

standing for Re, without moving from his place in the Underworld.

The laconic text to this figure hides a deeper symbolism that exists in several of the figures in the Eleventh Hour of Amduat. In numerous hours of the Book of Amduat, deities are said to “stand in place” for Re, but for this figure the term *'h'* had an added significance. In New Kingdom representations of this scene, a sun disk appears between the two heads, and the motionless figure may allude to the sun at *'h'*, “standstill,” a crucial moment in the solar cycle.¹⁶⁵ Additionally, the sun disk hovers between the two heads of the deity, one wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, the other wearing the crown of Lower Egypt; these two crowns symbolize the north-south motion of the sun, while the sun between two contrasting elements simultaneously alludes to the east-west trek of the disk.¹⁶⁶ This single figure represents virtually every aspect of solar motion, including

¹⁶⁴ Unlike the New Kingdom versions, where each head wears its crown separately, the figure on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata has the double crown set atop both heads together.

¹⁶⁵ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 287-88.

¹⁶⁶ The astronomical symbolism of the two crowns also appears carved onto the hands of the block statue of Teti—the left hand has the white crown and the sun disk, which the right hand has the red crown and a lunar crescent (R. Parkinson, *Cracking Codes* [Berkeley, 1999], p. 120 with bibliography).

making a veiled reference to the dangerous moment in the solar journey when the sun stands still.¹⁶⁷

SCENE 2

Atum and the Winged Serpent

*wnn=f m shr pn
dw̄i n̄tr pn r=f
pr s̄sm n Tm m psd=f
‘m.hr=f s̄smw=f m-ht
‘nḥ=f m šw.wt mw.wt ḥz.t=f tp.w*

He exists in this fashion:
When this god calls to him,
 the image of Atum comes forth from his back.
Then he swallows his image afterwards.
He lives from the shadows of the dead, and his corpse (lives from) the heads.

The entire image of Atum springs forth from the serpent when Re calls to this interesting figure. Rather than holding the wings of the serpent, Atum on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata holds udjat-eyes in each hand;¹⁶⁸ normally the eyes float to either side of the figure.¹⁶⁹ As noted above, the pair of udjat-eyes with Atum suggest that the couchant lion with a pair of udjat-eyes in the Sixth Hour of Amduat is also a hypostasis of Atum (see *supra*). In the scene from the Eleventh Hour, Atum and the

¹⁶⁷ For a similar iconic representation of the solar journey, with hieroglyphic signs rather than a symbolic deity, compare the signs on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Second Side, Scene 4 (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pl. 10B and pp. 126-127).

¹⁶⁸ Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1, p. 103 n. 41 notes the sarcophagus version of the figure, but mistakenly describes it as replacing the figure of Atum with a head and sun-disk, provided with two arms holding the eyes (apparently misunderstanding Maspero's description in *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 303).

¹⁶⁹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 175 notes that the eyes are an abbreviation of the name *Ptri* given in the introduction to the Eleventh Hour (this name appears at *prt-irw* on the Type II sarcophagi, see *supra*).

winged serpent suggest the deity Neheb-kau.¹⁷⁰ Finally, Atum and the serpent have been compared with Sokar grasping the wings of a serpent in the bottom register of the Fifth Hour of Amduat.¹⁷¹ A Ptolemaic period coffin, where the depiction of Atum from the Eleventh Hour occurs directly below the egg of Sokar, demonstrates that the Egyptians themselves made such a connection.¹⁷²

SCENE 3

Diagonally oriented snake with goddess on his back next to 9 stars

*d.t=s ds=s wnn=s m tp.t n šd-wnw.wt
ir.t=s pw s'nh r' r' nb
'm=s s'sm=s r niw.t tn
wnw.t 11 pw w'.t ht ntr*

She who (controls) her own body—she exists in this fashion atop (the snake)

“He who rescues the hours”

What she does is cause Re to live every day.

She swallows her image at this locale.

She is the eleventh hour, one of the entourage of the god.

In the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates, twelve goddesses ascend two ramps between which is a snake with numerous coils. The accompanying annotation describes how the snake and the goddesses alternately destroy and re-create time, making ample use of the word *htm*, which can mean either “supply” or “destroy.”¹⁷³ The same constellation of images and word-play appears in the Eleventh Hour of Amduat. The seated goddess represents the eleventh hour of the night, who rides atop the serpent *šd-*

¹⁷⁰ Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1, p. 101-103.

¹⁷¹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 175.

¹⁷² The coffin of Horendotes, BM 6678—for an image, see I. Shaw, ed., *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2002), color plate facing p. 417.

¹⁷³ A discussion of this scene and select translations from the text appear above, Chapter 2.

wnw.t. The verb *šd* can have two radically different meanings, either of which is appropriate to the context; the serpent either rescues the hours (like *htm* “to supply”) or snatches them away (like *htm* “to destroy”), and the ascending motion of the serpent’s body fits either action. The solution to the passage rests in scenes where similar serpents appear, most notably in the Judgment Hall of Osiris depicted in Third Intermediate Period tombs and papyri.¹⁷⁴ In these images, a large serpent in the same posture as in the Eleventh Hour of Amduat traverses the throne of Osiris in an overt protective role, suggesting that *šd-wnw.t* also protects the hours that surround him.

SCENE 4 Twelve gods

wnn=sn m shr pn
īw n̄tr pn ḡz dwi=f r=sn m rn=sn
pr n=ī Imnw
hȝy.n=ī štȝ.w
di=ī^a ḡnḥ bȝ.w=tñ
shn=sn hr ſw.wt=tñ
nttn štȝ.w^b imn.wt
rđw sȝm r bw=f dsr
tȝw=tñ tp-rȝ=ī
srq fndw=tñ im
htp.w n=tñ tp wiȝ=ī
ḡnḥ bȝ.w=tñ im=f
mw n=tñ n ḡc.t Nwn
nttn dd mw n dwȝ.tyw r=s

¹⁷⁴ Niwinski, *Illustrated Papyri*, p. 40; Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri*, pp. 58-61. The double staircase also occurs in the papyrus of Nesitanebatheru and the tomb of Osorkon II (for a discussion of the scene in this tomb, see G. Roulin, “Les tombes royales de Tanis: analyse du programme décoratif,” in Brissaud and C. Zivie-Coché, eds., *Tanis : travaux récents sur le tell Sân el Hagar* (Paris, 1998), pp. 218-221). Compare also the Wadjet-serpent upon a staircase, called the place of judgment, in the Book of the Fayum (Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, vol. 1, p. 116). On one mythological papyrus in Kansas City, the scene from the Eleventh Hour of Amduat appears with an interesting addition—the serpent on which the goddess sits is supported by a serpent-headed goddess named Hepetethor, a rare goddess who is mostly associated with the Judgment Hall of Osiris (M. Heerma van Voss, “Zur Göttin Hepetethor,” in U. Luft, ed., *Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* [Budapest, 1992], pp. 265-66).

*ihy m3^c irw=tn
b3.w=tн m-ht hprw=i
irt=sn pw m dw3.t s'r ss̄t3 n ntr pn '3 r 'c.t imn.t r'c nb
pr=sn hr ntr pn '3 r hr*

They exist in this fashion.
This great god calls to them by name:
“Come forth to me, o Hidden One,
since I have already illumined the mysteries.
I cause your bas to live,
so that they might alight upon your shades.
You are the ones hidden of mysteries,
who set the image at its sanctified place.
Your breath is in my mouth,
so that your noses might breathe therein.
The offerings which are in my bark be to you,
so that your bas might live therefrom.
Water be to you from the high point of Nun.
You are the ones who give water to the Underworld dwellers from it.
Hail, may your actions be proper,
when your bas are in the following of my manifestations.
What they do in the Underworld is to cause the mysteries of this great god
to approach the hidden chamber every day.
They shall follow this great god to heaven.

^a The New Kingdom versions and the Amduat papyri both have *ss̄t3.w^c* “those mysterious of arm,”¹⁷⁵ which has been reinterpreted as *di=i* on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

^b In this epithet, Tjaihorpata agrees with the Amduat papyri, which both differ from the majority of New Kingdom versions, which write *ss̄.w* (,¹⁷⁶ with determinatives that do not fit a meaning “to open,” as Hornung translates.¹⁷⁷ Amenhotep III alone has

¹⁷⁵ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 755; Sadek, *Contribution*, p. 35—one papyrus, C17, writes *dit.n=i*.

¹⁷⁶ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 755; Sadek, *Contribution*, p. 35.

¹⁷⁷ *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 176.

št3.w like the later versions. The sum of the evidence suggests that the original text was indeed *št3.w*, but that the *t3*-land sign was falsely omitted from most of the New Kingdom copies.

The twelve gods, with various attributes and forms, described in this annotation all have a single overriding purpose, to convey the mysteries of the solar deity to the appropriate sacred place, described as the *bw-dsr* and *‘t-imn.t*. These deities find their closest parallel in another group of twelve gods who appear in the middle register of the Sixth Hour of the Book of Gates, who are described as follows:¹⁷⁸

*wnn-sn hr sšt3 n ntr ‘3
iwty m33 sw imy dw3.t ...*

i.n n-sn R‘

*šzp n-tn sšm.w=ī
inq n-tn št3.w=ī ...*

They exist carrying the mysteries of the great god,
without seeing him in the Underworld ...

Re says to them:

“Receive to yourselves my images!
Embrace to yourselves my mysteries! ...

Although not all twelve deities in the Eleventh Hour of Amduat have their arms hidden,¹⁷⁹ like their compatriots in the Book of Gates, both groups of gods are charged with carrying the mysteries of the sun god.

SCENE 5

Four goddesses riding on serpents

¹⁷⁸ Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, pp. 224-226.

¹⁷⁹ However, compare the names of deities no. 762 “He whose two arms are in him” and no. 765 “Whose two arms are hidden.” (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 759-760, *idem, Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 177).

wnn=sn m shr pn
 mn.ty=sn m tʒ rd.wy=sn m kkw
 iわ ntr pn ɔ dwi=f r=sn m d.t=sn ds=sn
 hw.hr=sn nn iwt=sn m s.t=sn
 ɔnh bʒ.w=sn m hrw ssm pr m rd.wy=sn rnb
 pr sby.t shʒ n tʒw m hr n nn ntry.t
 di=sn tʒw n Wsir N

They exist in this fashion:
 their thighs are in the earth, their feet are in the darkness.
 This great god calls to them in their own bodies.
 Then they mourn, without leaving their places.
 Their bas live from the voice of the image which comes forth from their feet every day.
 The counter-wind and uproar of the wind come from the faces of these goddesses.
 May they give wind to Osiris N.

These four goddesses, seated upon double snakes, are described in a fashion similar to the depictions of the goddess Nut in the Creation of the Solar Disk and Book of Caverns,¹⁸⁰ and Westendorf has proposed that they are hypostases of the sky goddess.¹⁸¹ The quartet represents the four pillars of heaven from which the four winds blow forth.¹⁸²

MIDDLE REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 304-305
 Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 764-779

SCENE 6

Solar Bark

sqdd ntr pn ɔ m niw.t tn m shr pn
 iṣw.t=f n.t ntr.w hnnw=sn sw r ʒh.t iʒbt.t n.t p.t
 psd.t dwʒ.t tp wiʒ=s
 ssm ntr pn ɔ r wʒ.wt kkw m (i)m=s
 shd imy.w tʒ

¹⁸⁰ See *infra*.

¹⁸¹ W. Westendorf, “Verbogene Gottheiten in den Unterweltsbüchern. Eine Göttinnen-Gruppe im Amduat,” in N. Kloth, K. Martin, and E. Pardey, eds., *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück. Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag* (Hamburg, 2003), pp. 471-476.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 474 and n. 8.

The great god sails in this locale in this fashion:
the divine crew transports him to the eastern horizon of the sky.
“She who illumines the Duat” is atop her bark,
the leader of this great god along the roads of darkness through what is in her,
the one who illumines those within the earth.

SCENE 7

Twelve gods carrying Mehen

*wnn-sn m shr pn m h3.t ntr pn '3
f3i-sn mh3n r tp-sn r niw.t tn
'p-sn m-h3t R' r zh.t i3bt.t n.t p.t
i3w ntr pn dwi=f r=sn m rn.w=sn
wd=f n=sn irw=sn
i n-sn (i)n R'
s33 n=t3n ssm=tn f3i n=t3n tp=t3n
rd n 'wy=t3n mn n rd.wy=t3n
m3' n sm.t=t3n pd n nmt.wt=t3n
htp=t3n m htp.w=t3n
r 'rry.t n.t zh.t i3bt.t n.t p.t
ir.t=sn pw rdi Mhn r sm.t=f r 'rry.t i3bt.t n zh.t
htp.hr=sn ns.wt=sn m-h3t sbi ntr pn '3 kkw
htp=f m zh.t*

They exist in this fashion in front of this great god,
carrying the Mehen-serpent upon their heads at this locale,
following Re to the eastern horizon of the sky.

This god calls them by their names,
and issues their duties to them.

Re says to them:
“Watch over your images and lift up your heads!
Firmness be to your arms and steadfastness to your legs!
May your goings be proper and your steps be wide!
May you be content with your offerings
at this approach to the eastern horizon of the sky.”

What they do is set Mehen on his course along the approach of the eastern horizon.
Then they occupy their thrones after this great god passes through the darkness
and rests in the horizon.

The emphasis on the eastern horizon in this annotation suggests that the giant Mehen serpent carried by the twelve gods before the solar bark is identical to the 'nh-ntr.w serpent of the Twelfth Hour, a previously unexplored connection. In three separate places, the eastern horizon is the stated destination of these gods and the giant serpent.

Their current location is described as the *‘rry.t*-approach of the eastern horizon, which apparently extends back to the Eleventh Hour of the night. Just as the First Hour of the Amduat is the *‘rry.t* of the western horizon, the Eleventh and Twelfth Hours are the *‘rry.t* of the eastern horizon. Another indication of these two liminal areas appears in the Book of Nut, where the western approach is described textually,¹⁸³ while the eastern approach is represented by the space between the large sun disk at the tip of her toes and the smaller one a short distance beyond her feet.¹⁸⁴

SCENE 8

Isis and Nephthys as serpents with crowns on their backs

*sšm.w pw št3.n Hr
wnn=sn r sb3 snw n kkw sm3w
w3.t dsr.t n S3y.t
iわ ntr pn dwi=f r=sn
pr. <h>r tp=sn št3
‘m.hr=sn sšm.w=sn m-h̄t*

They are the images which Horus has concealed.
They exist at the second portal of the unbroken darkness,
the sacred road of Sais.
This god calls to them,
then their secret head comes forth.
Then they swallow their visible image afterwards.

¹⁸³ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. I, pl. 48, text Aa:

*‘q hm.n ntr pn r wnwt sp=s n h3.w
zh=f ‘n=f m-hnw ‘.wy it=f Wsir
w‘b.t(w)=f im
htp hm n ntr pn m ‘nh m dw3t r wnwt=s 2 m b3kt
It is at the hour of her time of night that the majesty of this god enters ,
he becoming effective and he becoming beautiful in the arms of his father
Osiris, he being purified therein.
That the majesty of this god rests in life in the Duat is at her second hour of
pregnancy.*

¹⁸⁴ See Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. I, pp. 39-40 for line drawings of the scenes from Seti I and Ramesses IV.

SCENE 9

Four hypostases of Neith¹⁸⁵

*wnn-sn m shr pn m sb3.t tn m s̄sm ir.n Hr
iわ ntr pn dwi=f r=sn m rn.w=sn
sr<q>=sn m sdm hrw=f
ntsn s3 sb3{t} dsr n S3y.t
iwty rh=f iwty m33=f iwty ptr ir.n=f dt nh̄*

They exist in this fashion at this gate as images which Horus fashioned.

This god calls to them by name,

with the result that they breathe when hearing his voice.

It is they who protect the sacred portal of Sais,

unknowable, imperceptible, invisible, which he made everlasting.

These two annotations, although describing radically different images, both share a common element—their link with the city of Sais. The most prominent toponyms in the Underworld Books are the Heliopolitan and Memphite locations which define the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Hours of the Book of Amduat. In the Book of Gates, the Sixth Hour also locates the solar-Osirian corpse in Heliopolis. The equation between the Eleventh Hour of the night and the Delta city of Sais is crucial for understanding the transposition of geographical designations into the Underworld, since little evidence outside the Book of Amduat attest to this equation.

Unfortunately, little systematic archaeological work has been carried out at Sais, so knowledge of the site rests primarily on inscriptional evidence and descriptions of classical authors.¹⁸⁶ Both of these sources attest to a cult of Osiris-Hemag and ritual performances for him in the city.¹⁸⁷ In the Book of Traversing Eternity, Sais is

¹⁸⁵ See Chapter 2, *supra*.

¹⁸⁶ J. Malek, “Sais,” *LÄ* 5 (1983): 355-357.

¹⁸⁷ El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais et ses divinités*, pp. 208-213. For “Osiris” burials in Sais related to Underworld Book material, compare “Osiris in *mhn.t*” attested in a Late Period title, reminiscent of Osiris *imi-mhn.t* in the Sixth Hour of Amduat and thus a burial place of the god;

mentioned prominently alongside Memphis and Heliopolis directly following a description of descent into the Netherworld.¹⁸⁸ Sais is also among the three cities ritually visited in the Burial Ritual.¹⁸⁹ The sum of the evidence, albeit sparse, suggests that Heliopolis is not unique in its status as counterpart to a Netherworldly place or even as a model of the Underworld itself. Rather Heliopolis was probably the focal point of a much larger transposition of earthly toponyms to the Underworld.

LOWER REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 306-307¹⁹⁰

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 779-792

SCENE 10

Punishment of the damned

*wd-mdw in hm n ntr pn
irt ſc hwit it=f Wsir h3.wt hftyw
h̄w mwt.w shd.w <i>nty šm.t ir shtm
pr.n=i im=f h̄wi(w) it=i m-ht b3g3=f
ník n h3.wt=tн m níky.t=s
ník.t n b3.w=tн
hb.t n šw.wt=tн
isq n tp=tн
nn h̄pr=tн b3=tн
nt <t>n shd=tн
ní ts=tн hr=tн m h̄3d=tн
nn hb=tн nn d3=tн*

the *mhn.t* might also be related to the burial of Osiris in the *hwt-Nt* and the *hwt-bit* (P. Kaplony, “Eine Spätzeit-Inschrift in Zürich,” in W. Müller, ed., *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* [Berlin, 1974], pp. 135-41). Sais also figures prominently in the text on the sarcophagus of Merneptah (Assmann, *MDAIK* 28:1 [1973]: 69, citing the references in Amduat).

¹⁸⁸ P. Leiden T 32, I 21ff.; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l’éternité*, pp. 293-95.

¹⁸⁹ H. Altenmüller, “Bestattungsritual,” *LÄ* I (1973): 753-755.

¹⁹⁰ Due to the difficulties of accessing the bottom register of the interior of the sarcophagus, this text was not collated, so small adjustments were made to the reading if the copy errors seem to be confusions of sign shape.

<3> m.t imy sti-*hh* r=tn
 w33.t n hry tk3.w=s r=tn
 sti hry.t h3d=s r=tn
 b*hh* imy r3 n hr.t nm.t=s r=tn
 ds im=tn hry-sf.wt=s ir.t Šd=tn
 nn m33=tn 'nh.w tp <t3>
 wnn=sn m shr pn m dw3.t
 iw wd.t ds=sn in hm n Hr-d3.ty

Commanding by the Majesty of this god,
 making the slaughter of those who smote his father Osiris, the corpses of the
 enemies, the flesh of the damned, those who go upside down,
 those who are hindered from movement, and those who make destruction.
 (Horus says): "It was after he was smitten in the wake of his weariness,
 that I came forth from him."

Punishment be to your corpses with her punishing knives!

Punishment be to your bas!

Trampling be to your shades!

Severing be to your heads!

You and your bas shall not exist.

You are the one who go upside down!

You shall not rise up, but rather fall into your slaughtering pits.

You shall not move, you shall not travel!

The consuming fire of the (snake) "She who burns millions" is against you!

The flame of the (snake) "She who is upon her taper" is against you!

The shooting flame of "She who is upon her slaughtering pit" is against you!

The blaze in the mouth of "She who is upon her slaughtering block" is against you!

The knife of "She who is upon her swords" is among you, making your slaughter!

Never shall you see the living on <earth.>

They exist in this fashion in the Underworld.

Their knives are commanded by the majesty of the Netherworldly Horus.

^a The beginning of Horus' speech reaffirms his posthumous conception, and the "emergence" may allude to his birth directly from the corpse of his father.¹⁹¹ The verb *hw*i is taken as a passive *sdm(w)=f* form,¹⁹² emphasized by the nominal *pr.n=f*, indicating that Osiris was indeed dead when Horus came into being.

¹⁹¹ See *supra*.

¹⁹² Pace Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 181: "Ich bin aus ihm hervorgegangen, und (nun) schlägt mein Vater (zurück) ..." He does not explain why Horus performs this violent action on his father.

SCENE 11

Four goddess crowned with *ḥṣs.t*-signs

*wnn=sn m shr pn hr ḫm(s) m ḥfty.w n.w Wsir m dwṣ.t
ḥry whz.w=f m s33 qrr.t tn
‘nḥ=sn m ḥrw ḥfty.w m sbḥ n b3.w šw.wt
ddw=sn r ḥzd=sn
nn ḥzi Wsir N r ḥzd=sn*

They exist in this fashion near the execration¹⁹³
among the enemies of Osiris in the Underworld.
The chief of the cauldrons is the guardian of this cavern.
They live from the voices of the enemies, consisting of the cries of the bas and shades.
It is to their slaughtering pits that they are assigned.
Osiris N shall not descend into their slaughtering pits.

The five sandy pits depicted in the lowest register of the Eleventh Hour are among the most explicit representations of punishment in the Book of Amduat. The damned are not only cut up into their constituent elements—*ba*, shade, corpse—but each element is further severed and burned.¹⁹⁴ One of the most significant aspects of this depiction of torture is its similarity with punishment of enemies on earth, particularly manifest in the Mirgissa Deposit.¹⁹⁵

TWELFTH HOUR OF AMDUAT

The final hour of the book of Amduat begins on the inside of Side Three and concludes with the oval edge of the Netherworld on the interior Side Four (at the corner

¹⁹³ Following the suggested translation of *tmsw* in Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, p. 170, n. 787.

¹⁹⁴ Each of these motifs have been discussed by Hornung, *Höllenvorstellungen*, passim.

¹⁹⁵ For a comparison of the archaeological remains of the deposit and the depictions in the Underworld Books, see Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Mechanical Practice*, pp. 168-71.

with Side Two). The location of the eastern horizon in the interior of the “southwest” corner of the sarcophagus corresponds with the placement of the concluding scene of the Book of the Night on Type II sarcophagi.

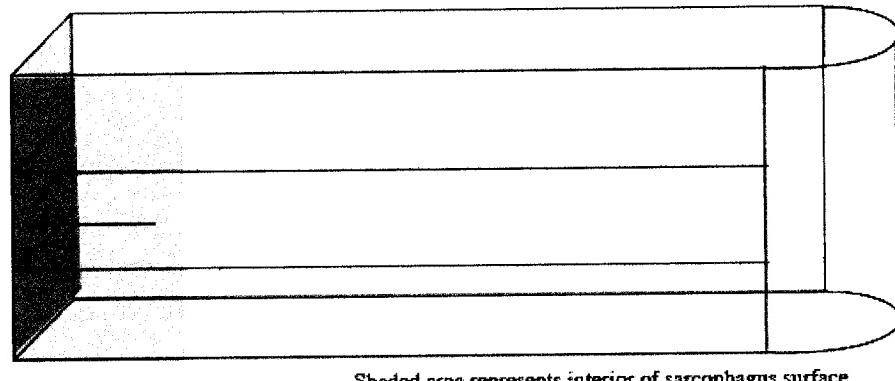


Fig. 77: Placement of the Twelfth Hour of Amduat on the Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

INTRODUCTORY TEXT

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 307-308

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 793-797

¹*htp in ntr pn ‘3 m qrr.t tn n.t phw kkwy-sm3w
mst ntr pn ‘3 m hpr=f n Hpri r qrr.t tn
hpr Nwn Nw.t Hhw² Hh.t r qrr.t tn r ms ntr pn ‘3
pr=f m dw3.t
htp=f m m‘nd.t
h‘=f m ihy Nw.t
rn n sb3 tn tnn ntr.w
rn n <niw.t> tn hpr kkwy h‘ ms.w
rn n wnw.t n.t grh hpr ntr pn ‘3 r=s
m33 ntr.w n.w dw3.t*

¹ Resting by this great god in this cavern of the end of the uniform darkness.
The birth of this great god into his manifestation of Khepri at this cavern.
Nun and Nunet, Heh and ²Hehet exist at this cavern at the birth of this great god,
when he comes forth from the Underworld,
when he rests in the day-bark,
when he appears in glory from the thighs of Nut.
The name of this portal is “Distinguishing the gods”
The name of this locale is “Manifesting of darkness and appearing of births.”
The name of the hour of the night, at which this great god transforms,
is “Who sees the gods of the Underworld.”

UPPER REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 308, 310

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 800-816

SCENE 1

Goddesses with snakes

¹wnn=sn m shr ²pn m d.t=sn ds=s³n
pr i^cr.wt m ⁴sn m-ht spr ⁵ntr pn r niw.t tn
wnn=sn ⁶m-ht ntr pn
in st.wt ⁷r tp-r₃ n i^cr.wt=sn ⁸hsf=sn c³pp ⁹hr R^c
r crry.t ¹⁰i³bt.t n.t z³h.t
hns¹¹=sn hr.t m ht=f¹²m s.t=sn n.t m^cnd.t
¹³<sn st>^a nn n ntr.w m-ht s¹⁴nn ntr pn c₃ tz št₃ ¹⁵n p.t
htp.hr=sn <m> ¹⁶c.t=sn
ntsn sndm ^{Side 4, 1} ib n nn n ntr.w imnt.t
m R^{2c}-hr-z³h.ty
ir.t=sn pw m t₃ r³di(t) sfh n nty.w m kkw
⁴m tkw=sn m i^cr.(wt)=sn ⁵nty m-ht=sn
i^w=sn snb⁶=sn R^c ^b
nik=sn n=f c³pp ⁷m p.t

¹These goddesses exist in this fashion ²in their own bodies,
³the uraei coming forth from ⁴their arms after this ⁵god reaches this locale.
They exist ⁶in the following of this god.

It is the flames ⁷which are at the tips of the tongues of their uraei
that ⁸will repel Apep ⁹from Re
at the forecourt of the ¹⁰eastern horizon.

They ¹¹tread the sky in his wake ¹²in their places within the day bark.

¹³These god(desse)s <return> after ¹⁴this great god traverses
the secret sandbank ¹⁵of heaven.

Then they rest <in> ¹⁶their chambers.

It is they who calm ^{Side 4, 1}the hearts of the gods of the West
by means of ²Re-Horakhty.

What they do in the earth is ³causing those who are in the darkness to be loosed,
⁴by means of their flames in their uraei ⁵which are in their following.

As they come, so do they ⁶make Re well.
For him do they punish Apep ⁷in heaven.

^a The unusual use of ‘n with a reflexive pronoun in the New Kingdom copies of the Twelfth Hour¹⁹⁶ was altered to an otherwise unattested verb *st*, .

^b Again, the sarcophagus version reinterprets the signs of the earlier text, which simply reads *sbi-sn*,¹⁹⁷ by transforming the determinatives of *htw-sn* into a separate verb, *iw-sn*. Such alterations cannot be the result of confusion, but are rather a conscious editing of the text.

These goddesses use a single attribute—the flame sent forth by their uraei—to perform a dual role, punishing Apep and aiding the deceased. The flames of their serpents consume Apep, while the light from the fire “loosens” the deceased, presumably from their mummy wrappings.

SCENE 2

Depiction: Twelve adoring gods

wnn-sn m shr pn
⁸*dw3-sn ntr pn ‘3 m nhpw*
⁹*iw-f m ‘r(r)y.t i3bt.t n.t*¹⁰*p.t*
i.n{sn} R^c
ms hpr ms hpr
¹¹*im3h n b3=k*
hr.t n b3=k
¹²*htp=f im=s*
t3 n h3.t=k nb im3h
*it*¹³*n=k zh.t*
htp=k k3r=k
*dw3*¹⁴*tw ntr.w m d.t=sn*

¹⁹⁶ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 803; *idem*, *Das Amduat*, p. 186 n. 3.

¹⁹⁷ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 806.

h₃y n=k¹⁵b₃ imy hr.t
 šzp tw s₃.ty= ¹⁶k m irw=k
 ir.t=sn pw m dw₃.t ¹⁷m dw₃ n₃r pn c₃
 c₃h_c=sn r niw.t ¹⁸tn
 sip=sn n₃r.w mfk₃.t¹⁹yw^a
 dd mfk₃²⁰tyw hn n R^c m-h_t htp²¹=f m p.t
 h^c=f m ir.ty n hnmm.t
 htp.hr nn²²n n₃r.w m qrr.t=sn
 hw=sn Wsir imi-r₃ z²³h.t T₃i-hr-p₃-t₃ m₃c-hrw m qrr.t=sn

They exist in this fashion,

⁸adoring this great god in the early morning,
⁹when he enters¹⁹⁸ the eastern approach of¹⁰the sky.

They say to Re:¹⁹⁹

“May the manifesting one be born! May the manifesting one be born!

¹¹Honor to your ba!

The heaven belongs to your ba,

¹²so that it might rest within it.

The earth belongs to your corpse, lord of justification.

¹³Seize for yourself the horizon,

so you might occupy your shrine.

The gods¹⁴ adore you in their bodies.

Jubilation be to you, o¹⁵ba-spirit within heaven!

Your two¹⁶daughters receive you in your visible form.²⁰⁰

What they do in the Underworld¹⁷is to adore this great god.

They stand at this¹⁸locale, and account for the turquoise gods.

¹⁹It is after Re rests in the sky that²⁰the turquoise gods give²¹praise to Re.

In the eyes of the sun-folk does he appear in glory.

Then these gods²²go to rest in their caverns.

May they protect the Osiris, overseer of the²³field, Tjaihorpata, justified, in their cavern.

^a The emphatic *sdm=f* indicates that the turquoise gods are liminal deities, who praise the solar disk once he has already risen in the eastern horizon. This accords well with a

¹⁹⁸ New Kingdom versions have *htp* (*Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 809).

¹⁹⁹ The sarcophagus version and most of the New Kingdom versions have two *n*'s suggesting that this is: “Re says to them” but that does not work with the second person *singular* pronoun used in the speech nor the overall import of the speech—it should be addressed to the sun god.

²⁰⁰ CG 29306 writes round sign and then quail chick, suggesting an alternate interpretation *hw* from the NK cryptographic writings of *irw*.

wealth of religious texts, where the *mkfȝ.tyw* dwell in the horizon,²⁰¹ the light-blue color of the turquoise itself expresses the transition from the light of the moon to the full rays of the sun.²⁰² As the Book of the Day indicates, the “turquoise gods” can appear in baboon form.²⁰³

The final scene of the first register is not iconographically rich, consisting of twelve adoring gods. However, the annotation accompanying these figures paints a vivid picture of sun rise. The two daughters who lift the sun, although not named, can be any pair of goddesses who raise the sun disk in the eastern horizon, most likely Isis and Nephthys. As the sun rises he is adored by baboons (the “turquoise gods”) and the sun-folk, a perfect description of symbolic representations of the cosmic cycle.²⁰⁴ The initial statement *ms hpr ms hpr* alludes to the birth of the disk from the goddess Nut, often depicted only as a pair of embracing arms, and the scarab-form of the sun god at sunrise.

MIDDLE REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 308-309, 311-312
Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 816-834

SCENE 3

Depiction: Solar bark

¹*sqdd ntr pn m shr* ²*pn m niw.t tn*

²⁰¹ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 127.

²⁰² Aufrère, *L'univers minéral*, vol. 2, pp. 496-503, 506-507 (also discussing the links between turquoise and the eastern horizon).

²⁰³ Piankoff, *Le livre de la jour et la nuit*, p. 5; Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 419.

²⁰⁴ H. Schäfer, “Altägyptische Bilder der auf- und untergehenden Sonne,” *ZÄS* 71 (1935): 15-38; see also the discussion and collection of images in Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pp. 29-43.

m im3ḥ n ³sšm pn št3 n ⁴nh-ntr.w
 ntr.w=f (hr) st3 sw ⁵q=f m sd=f pr=f ⁶(m) r3=f
 ms(w) m hpr⁷=f n Ḫpri
 ntr.w imy.w ⁸wi3=f mit.t
 htp=f hr sšm ⁹št3 n Šw wp ¹⁰nwn^a r t3 (m) kkw-sm3w
¹¹in c.wy=f htm dw3.t
¹²htp.hr ntr pn m 3ḥ.t i3b¹³t.t n.t p.t
 šzp sw Šw
¹⁴R^c rh=f t3 i3bt.t^b

¹This great god sails in this ²fashion in this locale
 among the vertebrae of ³this secret image of ⁴“Life of the gods.”
 His gods haul him ⁵when he enters into his tail and emerges ⁶from his mouth,
 having been born in his ⁷manifestation of Khepri,
 the gods who are in ⁸his bark likewise.

He rests upon the secret ⁹image of Shu, who divides ¹⁰Nun
 from the land in uniform darkness.

¹¹It is his arms which seal the Underworld.

¹²Then this god rests in the eastern ¹³horizon of heaven.
 so that Shu might receive him.

¹⁴Re knows the eastern land.

^a The text describing the parting of the Nun-waters is unique to the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, since the New Kingdom versions read *wpp p.t r t3*.²⁰⁵ This substitution is particularly significant in light of the concluding tableaux from the Book of Gates and the Book of the Night, where Nun plays a prominent role in sunrise.

^b The final sentence is a reinterpretation of the earlier statement: *hprw=f r ibd i3b.ty* “(Shu receives him), namely his manifestation at the eastern bank.”

SCENE 4

Depiction: Haulers atop the serpent

wn¹⁵n=sn m shr pn
 st3=¹⁶sn ntr pn c3 m bq^{Side 4, 1}sw n nh-ntr.w
 m im3ḥy.w n R^c ²imy-h̄t=f tp.w-^c.wy=f

²⁰⁵ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 818.

$ms(w)=sn$ ³ m t_3 r^c nb
 $m\text{-}ht$ ms ntr pn ϵ_3 m i_3b ⁴ $t.t$ $p.t$
 $\epsilon q=sn$ m $s\ddot{sm}$ $\check{s}t_3$ n $\epsilon nh\text{-}ntr.w$ ⁵ m $im\ddot{3}hy.w$
 $pr(r)=sn$ m hw_n ⁶ n R^c r^c nb
 $bw.t$ pw kni ⁷ tp t_3 dm rn n ntr ϵ_3
 $wnn=sn$ m ⁸ $d.t=sn$ $ds=sn$
 $pr(r)=sn$ $m\text{-}ht$ ntr pn ⁹ ϵ_3 r $p.t$

¹⁵They exist in this fashion,

¹⁶hauling this great god through the ^{Side 4,} vertebrae of “Life of the gods,”
being the honored ones of Re ²who are behind and before him.

That they are born ³in the earth every day,

is after the great god is born in the ⁴eastern part of heaven.

Just as they enter the mysterious image of “Life of the gods” ⁵as honored ones,
so do they emerge as youthful ones ⁶of Re, every day.

Their abomination is shouting ⁷on earth and pronouncing the name of the great god.

They exist in ⁸their own bodies.

It is into heaven that they follow ⁹this great god.

SCENE 5

Depiction: Giant serpent

wnn $s\ddot{sm}$ pn $\check{s}t_3$ n $\epsilon nh\text{-}ntr.w$ ¹⁰ r $zh.t$ $dw_3.t$
 $htp.n=f$ $r.s.t$ nb r^c nb
¹¹ mdw ntr pn ϵ_3 $r=f$ m $rn=f$ n $n^c w$
¹² $n^c=f$ ms $ntr.w$
 $ni-sw$ $im\ddot{3}h$ ¹³ 1300 ¹³ m $zw=f$ m mh dsr ntr
 $\epsilon nh=f$ m mdw ¹⁴ $hmhm$ $n.t$ $im\ddot{3}y.w$ $imy.w$ ¹⁵ $im\ddot{3}h=f$
 pr m $r_3=f$ r^c nb

This secret image of “Life of the gods” exists ¹⁰at the horizon of the Underworld,
having rested at every place each day.

¹¹This great god speaks to him in his name of Nau-serpent,
¹²so that he might aid the birth of the gods.

His vertebrae are 1300 ¹³divine cubits in length.

He lives on the ¹⁴bellowing of the honored ones who are among ¹⁵his vertebrae,
who come forth from his mouth every day.

SCENE 6

Haulers before the serpent

$wnn=sn$ ¹⁶ m shr pn
 $ntsn$ $\check{sz}p$ $nfr.t$ ¹⁷ $n.t$ wi_3 n R^c
 $pr=f$ m $im\ddot{3}h$ n ϵnh $ntr.w$
¹⁸ $ntsn$ $\check{s}t_3$ ntr pn ϵ_3 r $w_3.wt$ $hr.t$

*nts¹⁹n ir.t hpr m p.t m tʒw²⁰m htp m d̄t m hy.t
21wd=sn pw m nh. 22w ir.t wiʒ ɔ²³m p.t mit.t*

They exist ¹⁶in this fashion:

It is they who seize the towrope ¹⁷of the bark of Re,
when he emerges from the vertebrae of “Life of the gods.”

It is they ¹⁸who haul this great god along the roads of heaven.

It is they ¹⁹who create the phenomena in heaven of wind, ²⁰calm, storm, and rain.

²¹What they command as living ones ²²is what the great bark does ²³in heaven likewise.

Hornung connects the meteorological powers of the haulers in the middle register of the Twelfth Hour with the serpent-riding goddesses in the upper register of the Eleventh Hour.²⁰⁶ An additional parallel appears in the upper register of the Third Hour:

*irt=sn pw m imn.t
nd sbi
shpr Nwn
irt nmtt h̄pi
prr d̄t m tʒ hr=sn
di=sn hrw nd=sn sbi*

What they do in the west is the following:

pulverizing the rebel,
causing Nun to develop,
making the strides of the inundation waters,

When the storm-wind goes forth from the earth,
they cry out, when they grind the rebel.

The combination of wind and loud noise suggests a relationship with the *hmhm.t* on which the serpent lives.

LOWER REGISTER

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 309, 312-13

Parallel: Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 834-849

SCENE 7

Two male-female pairs of the Ogdoad

¹wnn=sn m shr pn m²d.t=sn ds=sn

²⁰⁶ *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 190.

$\text{htp}^3=\text{sn} \text{ hr } R^c \text{ m p.t}$
 $n^4\text{tsn } \check{szp} \text{ ntr pn } \zeta_3 \text{ m pr}^5=f \text{ im=sn m i3bt.t n.t } ^6p.t r^c nb$
 $\text{wnn=sn r } \zeta^7 \text{ ry.t=sn n.t } \check{zh.t}$
 $\text{s3m}^8=\text{sn n dw3.t r qrr.t tn}$

¹They exist in this fashion in ²their own bodies.
 They ³rest before Re in heaven.
 It is ⁴they who receive this great god when he ⁵goes forth from them
 in the eastern portion of ⁶the sky each day.
 They exist at ⁷their approach of the horizon.
 Their ⁸Netherworldly forms are in this cavern.

The first four gods of the lower register are named Nun and Nunet, Heh and Hehet, two of the male-female pairs who make up the eight creator deities. They are depicted as human-headed deities, without the reptilian or amphibian heads they normally possess.

SCENE 8

Oarsmen and snake

⁹wnn=sn m shr pn ¹⁰hr mihw=sn
¹¹nts n hsf pp m ¹²i3bt.t m-ht msw ¹³ntr
 ir.t=sn pw ir.t ¹⁴stsw n itn ¹⁵m zh.t ¹⁶i3bt.t r^c nb
 in ^{Side 4, 1}ss-m-ir.t=f pss hft n R²c m nhp
 hns nn n ³ntr.w hr.t m-ht ntr pn ⁴r^c nb
 šzp=sn irw=sn r qr⁵r.t tn

⁹They exist in this fashion, ¹⁰carrying their oars.
¹¹It is they who repel Apes from ¹²the east during the birth of ¹³the god.
 What they do is make ¹⁴the lifting up of the great disk ¹⁵in the eastern ¹⁶horizon each day.
 It is ^{Side 4, 1}he who burns with his eye who cooks the enemy of ²Re in the early morning.
 These ³gods traverse the firmament in the following of this great god, ⁴every day.
 They receive their visible forms at ⁵this cavern.

SCENE 9

Ten adoring gods

$\text{wnn=sn m shr pn } ^6\text{h3 tp } R^{\text{ca}}$
 $\text{s3m.w n Wsir } \check{hn}^7 \text{ty kkw-sm3w}$
 $\text{wd ddw } ^8\text{n=sn ntr pn m-ht } \zeta \text{pp ntr pn } ^9\zeta_3 \text{ hr}=f$
 $\zeta \text{nh zp snw hnty kkw}^{10}=f \text{ hq3 hnty kkw}=f$
 $\zeta \text{nh } ^{11}\text{hnty kkw=f nb } \zeta \text{nh hq3 } ^{12}\text{imnt.t Wsir hnty imnt.t}$

imi ‘nh zp snw hnty¹³ dw3.t
 t3w n R^c n fnd=k srq¹⁴ hprī hr=k
 ‘nh nb ‘nh.w
 ih¹⁵y Wsir nb ‘nh
 ntr.w pw imy.w¹⁶ ht Wsir
 hpr.w hr=f zp tpy
 wnn¹⁷=sn h3 ssm pn št3 r qr¹⁸r.t tn
 ‘nh=sn m ‘nh=f im
 srq¹⁹=sn mdw ntr pn m dw3.wt=sn ds=s²⁰n

They exist in this fashion⁶ around the head of Re
and the image of Osiris,⁷ foremost of the unbroken darkness.

Commands which⁸ this gods says to them after this⁹ great god passes over them:
“Live, one foremost of his¹⁰ darkness, ruler, foremost of his darkness!
Live great one,¹¹ foremost of his darkness, lord of life, ruler of the¹² west,

Osiris foremost of the west.

Give life, one foremost of the¹³ Underworld!

The breath of Re be to your nose, the breath of¹⁴ Khepri is before you.

Live, lord of lives!

Hail¹⁵ Osiris, lord of life!”

They are the gods who are in the¹⁶ following of Osiris,
who manifested in his presence at the first occasion!

They exist¹⁷ around this secret image at this¹⁸ cavern.

They live on the things which he lives.

They¹⁹ breathe the word of this god, by means of their own²⁰ praise.

^a The sarcophagus version is copied as  tp R^c and in Thutmosis I and Thutmosis III of the New Kingdom versions,²⁰⁷ tp is also followed by a diacritic stroke, suggesting that tp is to be read as an independent word.²⁰⁸ The dichotomy between the “head of Re” and “image of Osiris (=corpse)” fits perfectly with the symbolism of a mummy reclining in the horizon.²⁰⁹ The separation of corpse and head is particularly appropriate to the

²⁰⁷ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 842.

²⁰⁸ The use of zp snw extensively in Re’s speech to the gods may have also contributed to the confused writing in the four extant New Kingdom versions of the text.

²⁰⁹ Compare the depiction from the papyrus of Bakenmut, where a head appears in the horizon, flanked by two headless mummies (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 20; W. Westendorf, “Horizont und Sonnenscheibe,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 [1974]: 389-398).

sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, since the lid contains extensive litanies addressing the head and corpse as distinct entities with different fates in the afterlife.

SCENE 10

Reclining mummy

*wnn=f m shr pn m²¹sšm
imn.n Hr m kkw²²sm3w
in sšm pn št3 tw3 šw hr²³Nw.t
pr 3gb m t3 sšm pn*

He exists in this fashion as an ²¹image
which Horus hid in the uniform ²²darkness.
It is this secret image which supports Shu beneath ²³Nut,
so that the flood might come forth from the land of this image.

The final image of the Book of Amduat occurs on the interior of Side Four of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, at the corner with Side Two, paralleling the appearance of the final tableau from the Book of the Night on the exterior left corner of Side Four on the Type II sarcophagi. The scenes and texts on the exterior of Side Four on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata also offer a new perspective on the description of the reclining Osiris mummy. Although the union of Re and Osiris is the central event in the eastern horizon, the final annotation in the Book of Amduat stresses the role of Horus, not Re. A *sšm*-image hidden by Horus is reminiscent of the numerous statements in the Eighth Hour of Amduat, where the *sšm* images of the deities of that hour are “made by Horus” and their corpses are hidden beneath the sand; the location of the Eighth Hour of Amduat on the exterior of Side Four of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata makes this connection even more likely. Furthermore, above the Eighth Hour, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata reproduces the lower register of the Fourth Hour of Gates, whose main theme is Horus’ role as protector and vindicator of Osiris. The Horus-Osiris constellation is

particularly prominent on *both* sides of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, and is likewise the location of the dedicatory text, indicating why the Underworld Books were carved for Tjaihorpata.

The reclining mummy at the end of the Twelfth Hour of Amduat also supports Shu who in turn holds up the heavens.²¹⁰ Once Tjaihorpata's mummy was placed in his sarcophagus, he filled a similar role between the representations of the goddess Nut on the ceiling of the sarcophagus and Shetayt on the floor (see *infra*). By keeping heaven separated from earth, the mummy also enables the floodwaters²¹¹ to come forth, which can also be read as a clever allusion to the putrefaction of Osiris as source of the inundation.²¹² These manifold relationships and allusions to the few lines at the end of the Twelfth Hour of Amduat are only apparent in the context of the layout of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

LID

The lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, like the *cuve*, is covered with funerary texts and guardian figures. Its decorative scheme can be divided into several sectors: the large arched upper portion of the lid, the flat long sides of the lid, and the tableaus at the head and foot ends. The decoration of the arched area is divided into an upper and lower section by a large figure of the deceased as a *ba*-bird, whose wings spread across the

²¹⁰ As the depiction on the Enigmatic Wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX indicates, the reclining mummy is also the giant Re-Osiris (see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, Chapter 6, *passim*).

²¹¹ For the *zgb-wr* waters, see *ibid.*, pp. 410-411.

²¹² See *supra*.

entire lid. Above the ba are two sets of five registers of figures flanking sixteen vertical lines of text derived from Book of the Dead Spell 89.²¹³ The first register (on both sides of the text) contains four rams, each labeled with a number of scarabs from one to four; the labels to these rams are similar to those of the four crowned rams in the middle of the Eighth Hour of Amduat.²¹⁴ These rams are the *sšm.w št3 n T3-tnn* “the mysterious forms of Tatenen,” and the non-cryptographic writings of their names read: *hprw tpy*, *hprw snw*, *hprw hmt*, and *hprw ifdw*, the first, second, third, and fourth manifestations of Tatenen.²¹⁵ The cryptographic writings, however, create an added level of meaning; the

repetition of the scarabs allows for each one to be read *hpr*, for example  can be interpreted as *hpr-hprw* “Manifesting of manifestations.” A similar repetition of the verb *hpr* in relation to the god Tatenen occurs in the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns, which occurs on the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata:²¹⁶

ntr pn hpr.(w) m hpr hpri n T3-tnn
This god has manifested into the manifestation of the form of Tatenen.

²¹³ Text reproduced in Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 221-1; this spell is also commonly found on the lids of the Type I sarcophagi and appears on the lid of the sarcophagus of Usermaatre, a Type III sarcophagus.

²¹⁴ See Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 143 for a drawing of this hour. As Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 147 notes, these four rams also appear in Mythological Papyri; in the papyrus of Tent-Amon, the four rams are given the following label (A. Piankoff, “The Funerary Papyrus of Tent-Amon,” *Egyptian Religion* 4 [1936]: 55): *n3 b3.w ‘nh.w nty (m) ‘.t imn.t nb.w ‘3.w m-hnw lwnw n dw3.t* “The living bas who are (in) the Hidden Chamber, great lords in the Underworldly Heliopolis.” For a translation and commentary of the text accompanying the four rams in the Eighth Hour of Amduat, see *infra*.

²¹⁵ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 619-625; for Tatenen in the Underworld Books, see Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, pp. 21-31 and 83-96.

²¹⁶ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 136, l. 8-137, l. 1.

The rams from the Eighth Hour of Amduat are equally representations of the text from the Sixth Division of Caverns.²¹⁷ Analysis of Egyptian religion often rests on the discovery of parallels between various texts, such as the apparently disparate parts of Amduat and Caverns discussed here, but only rarely can it be *proven* that the ancient Egyptians also made a particular connection between two texts. The lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata provides one of the rare instances of such proof, since it directly juxtaposes the rams from Amduat with the specific passage from Caverns.

The texts of the lid, both the preponderance of *hpr*-beetles in the labels to the rams and the Book of Caverns passage, strongly suggest an allusion to Egyptian cosmogony, such as that expressed in P. Bremner-Rhind where the verb *hpr* is used repeatedly in a single statement.²¹⁸ Furthermore, the numbered manifestations of Tatenen may refer to various “generations” of the creator deity, like the four creative stages of the god Amun as Kematef, Iryta/Amenemope (I), and Amun of the Ogdoad, and Amenemope (II), the heir of the Ogdoad.²¹⁹ In fact, Tatenen is often identified with

²¹⁷ E. Hornung, “Der Mensch als ‘Bild Gottes’ in Ägypten,” in O. Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* (Munich, 1967), p. 132, discussing the term *hprw*, also relates the Book of Caverns passage with the four rams in the Eighth Hour of Amduat. Another connection between the rams on the lid of Tjaihorpata and the Book of Caverns is the “Litany to Tatenen” at the beginning of the Sixth Division (Piankoff, *BIAFO* 43 [1945]: pls. 84-86).

²¹⁸ For a brief overview, see Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, pp. 28-30.

²¹⁹ Sethe, *Amun*, pp. 55-60. In one expression of this succession of creator deities, the description begins (Leiden I 350, col. III, ll. 23-24), *hmnw hpr.w=k tpy* ... “The Ogdoad were your first manifestation ...,” and goes on to describe (without numbering) the successive generations of Amun and Tatenen (for a discussion of this passage, see Assmann, in Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, pp. 30-1; *idem*, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 159-161). Compare also the ram-manifestations with various insignia atop their horns (as in the Eighth Hour of Amduat) worshipped in §21 of Book of the Dead Chapter 17, who are labeled Re (sun disk), Shu (Atef-crown), Tefnut (Atef-crown), Geb (uraeus) and Ba-Djedet (just horns), all envisaged as forms of the “double soul” of the unified Re-Osiris (Milde, *Neferrrenpet*, p. 38, scene XIV; Spiegel, in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*, pp. 162-3).

Amenemope/Iryta,²²⁰ the father of the Ogdoad, so a further interpretation of the four rams may be as embodiments of the four pairs of the Ogdoad. Although there is little evidence in the Amduat text itself to specify the role of Tatenen, an additional text on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II provides strong corroboration that the “images of Tatenen” in the middle register of the Eighth Hour directly relate to the god’s role as a primordial creator god.²²¹

The second register of figures has birds with human heads, three on each side facing the central text. The names on the right side are: *Imn-shr=f*, *Imn*, *Hpr-ds*, and a name with only the determinatives  preserved. The figures on the left side are labeled: *Stn-irw=f*, *Inp*, *ȝhty wȝi hpr m nw.t*, and *Shry*.

BOOK OF THE DEAD, CHAPTER 89

*dd mdw in Wsir iri-pȝt hȝty-ȝ hm-ntr sny Tȝi-hr-pȝ-tȝ pn mȝ-ȝ-hrw
 sȝ nh-hp mȝ-ȝ-hrw ms Tfȝw.t mȝ-ȝ-hrw
 i Iny i phrr imy sh=f ntr ȝ
 di=k i w n=i bȝ=i m bw nb nty=f im
 ir wdf i w n=i bȝ=i n bw nb nty<=f> im
 gm=k ir.t Hr ȝ. tw r=k mi nfȝ
 rsw ni nmil=tw m Iwnw tȝ m hȝ n=i n dmi im=f
 r it n=i bȝ(=i) ȝh(=i) hn-ȝ=i m bw nb nty=f im
 nw i r=k iry.w-p.t n bȝ=i
 ir wdf ir.n=k mȝȝ bȝ hr hȝ.t
 gm=k ir.t Hr ȝ. tw r=k mi nfȝ
 i ntr.w stȝ wȝi hȝ
 inw hr.t r dwȝ.t
 shr nn.t
 stkn bȝ.w hr sȝh
 ȝ.wy-sn mh.(w) hr ȝ qȝ
 <ȝm>=tn <hr mtȝ=tn>
 dr=<tn> hȝfty.w*

²²⁰ Sethe, *Amun*, pp. 56-59.

²²¹ For a translation and discussion of this text, see *infra*.

h̄i wi3
wd3 ntr c3 m htp
is(t) rdi=tn b3=i hr hpd=tn m 3h.t i3bt.t n.t p.t
iy b3=f <bw> nb hr=f m sf m htp sp snw hr Imnt.t
m33=f h3.t=f htp=f hr s̄h=f
nn sk=f nn mrh=f n(n) htm=f r d.t d.t

Recitation by the Osiris N:

“O one who fetches!²²² O runner within his shrine, the great god!
 May you cause that my ba come to me in any place where it is.
 If my ba delays in coming to me from any place where it is,

you will find the eye of Horus opposed to you like that one (i.e. Seth).
 O wakeful one, one shall not sleep in Heliopolis,
 nor land with thousands of harbors within it,²²³
 until my *ba* brings me my *akh*,

together with me in any place where it is.

Care for my ba, heavenly ones!

If what you do is delayed, namely the *ba* seeing the corpse,
 they you will find the eye of Horus opposed to you like that one.

O gods who haul the primordial bark,
 who bring heaven to the Underworld,
 who make distant the Nethersky,
 who cause bas to draw near to the mummies,
 whose arms are full bearing the towrope,
 whose <fists bear spears>²²⁴.

May you repel the enemy,
 so that the bark rejoices,
 and the great god proceeds in peace.

Meanwhile, may you place my *ba* underneath your hindparts
 in the eastern horizon of heaven,
 so that his *ba* might return to every <place> in which he was yesterday,
 in great peace before the West!

May he see his corpse and rest upon his mummy,
 without destruction, damage, or annihilation against his body forever!

The version of this spell on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata does not preserve the title of this spell—“causing the ba to rejoin its corpse in the Underworld”—but the large

²²² The *iwn* sign is written for the *in-walking* pot, a reasonable semi-cryptographic substitution based on the consonantal principle.

²²³ The interpretation of the signs in this passage is based strongly on the version in the papyrus of Ani (Faulkner, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, pl. 17, l. 4; this section is omitted in Nu).

²²⁴ Omitted passages based on the version of Nu (Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 51, ll. 5-6).

ba-bird carved on the lid beneath the spell is performing that very action. The union of the ba and corpse of Tjaihorpata mimics the union of the cosmic Solar-ba with the Osirian-corpse, allowing the rebirth of Tjaihorpata with the sun in the eastern horizon. The representations of creator gods in the registers flanking the spell may be chosen for the parallels between the initial creation of the cosmos and each individual recreation that follows the union of the ba and the corpse.

The remaining portion of the lid²²⁵ consists of twenty-seven long columns of text. Outside of a detailed list of the titles of Tjaihorpata and a brief autobiographical text, the remaining columns contain an as of yet unrecognized excerpt from the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns. The text to the Sixth Division of Caverns consists almost entirely of long litanies addressing the various deities in the caverns of the final area of the Underworld. In each litany, the sun proclaims that he has entered this region to see and/or communicate with his corpse (Osiris) and to cause the solar disk to shine upon his own lifeless body as well as the corpses of all the deities who inhabit this region. While these events are repeated throughout the six divisions of the Book of Caverns, in the final division, the illumination of the corpse is also tied to the actions of Tatenen, emphasizing the recreation of the world which occurs each morning.

The translation presented below is divided into sections, based on the litanies present in the other versions of the Book of Caverns. The first section, which begins with the autobiographical text, is begun here with the name of the deceased, and an introductory text that begins with an address to Horus, a passage present in the Book of Caverns (see text note a). The following speech, however, is otherwise unparalleled and

²²⁵ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 223-29.

represents an extension of the added statements incorporating the deceased into the solar cycle. Since part of the speech refers to Re visiting “the cavern of my head,” it is the deceased and not Re who is speaking in the first person,²²⁶ although he is certainly mimicking the speeches given by the solar god in the Netherworld. The transposition of the speech from Re to the deceased is also true of the following litany, which has been carefully edited to refer to the sun in the third person, although in the earlier versions (including the tomb of Padiamenemope), Re is the speaker.²²⁷ As stated in the later litanies of the Litany of Re, also present on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, the deceased not only wants to become a passenger on the solar bark, he wants to transform into Re himself. This short speech composed in the style of the Book of Caverns indicates that Tjaihorpata has accomplished this ultimate goal.

Wsir N ... m³c hrw pw hr Wsir
 m-ht c⁵q(?)=f hr(?) tph.t h₃.wt
 hns=f sw3š=f R^c m-^c <...>
 <...> =f hn^c ntr.w imy.w tph.t tn
 i nn n ntr.w imy.w tph.t h₃.wt
 i^cw Wsir nd b₃=f m-^c mw.t(?)^a
 q=i dw₃.t <i>mny.t r m₃ h₃.t=i ds imy dw₃.t
 r shd irw=i
 (r) htp m tph.t tp=i
 p R^c r tph.t tp=i
 srq=f h₃.t=i m tph.t=s^b
 b₃=i w₃i⁶=f hr hw₃w=f

Osiris N, justified before Osiris,
 after he ⁵enters into the cavern of the corpse.
 He traverses, and he adores Re ... (no signs carved) ...
 him together with the gods who are in this pit.
 O these gods within the pit of corpses!

²²⁶ Cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 114, 1. 8: ššs in ntr pn c₃ hr htp=f hr tph.t tp=f “Hurrying by this great god so that he might rest in the cavern of his head.”

²²⁷ For specific examples of editing, see *infra*.

O heir of Osiris who protects his ba from death(?).

I enter into the hidden Underworld

in order to see my own corpse which is in the Underworld,
in order to illumine my visible form,
(in order to) rest in the cavern of my head.

As soon as Re passes by the cavern of my head,
he causes my corpse to breathe in her (i.e. Nephthys's) cavern.
My ba is always ^bfar from its putrefaction.

^a This line is partially parallel to a line in the Eleventh Litany of the Sixth Division of Caverns:²²⁸ *i Hr t^w Wsir nd b₃=f mdw(?) hr hw₃w=f* “O Horus, heir of Osiris who protects his ba, and speaks(?) over his putrefaction.”

^b The third person feminine pronoun cannot refer to the cavern of the head of the deceased, but should be read as a reference to the cavern of Nephthys.²²⁹ Although Nephthys normally appears solely as the counterpart of her more prominent sibling Isis, in the final division of Caverns, Nephthys has by far the more important role in the resurrection of Osiris.²³⁰

LITANY OF THE CAVERN OF NEPHTHYS²³¹

*iw h₃.t=ī tp=ī m tph.t=s^a
šzp=ī tp=ī št₃y
iw h₃.t=ī tp=ī m tph.t=s
hdd R^b mn m wp.t=ī
iw h₃.t=ī tp=ī m tph.t=s*

²²⁸ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 115, l. 2; translation of Hornung, *Die Unterweltsbücher*, p. 399.

²²⁹ Mentioned in the Tenth and Eleventh Litanies of the Sixth Division—Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pls. 110, l. 8 and 114, ll. 7-8.

²³⁰ Cf. the litany to Nephthys “whose head is hidden” in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 111, l. 1ff.

²³¹ The parallel text begins on Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 115, l. 6.

sštʒ ^c₃ šsp=i hdd.w=f
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 ip=i d.t=i im=i hftyw
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 ib=i ndm(?) bʒ=i wʒs(?)²³²
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 nis=i m hntyw ⁷dwʒ.t
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 imy.w-tʒ hcc m-ht=i
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 bʒ.w dwʒ.tyw [...]=sn ^c
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 bʒ.w štʒ.w srq=sn hr=sn
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 Wsir ip=f hnc imy.w ht=f
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 wdi=i dww m hfty.w ⁸=td
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 iw-i m wc m šms.w Wsir
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 <R> ^c hsr kkw=s
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 snsi=i Rc m tph.t=i
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 hmn=i Imn.t-tp=s
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 im(?) hʒ.t=i m hnty-imnt.t
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 imy.w dwʒ.t ⁹sm3w=sn wi
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 Inpw imn-f sʒ<q>.n=f
 iw hʒ.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s
 bʒ=i šsS=f hr=i
 iw htp=i hr hʒ.t=i tp=i
 iw=i ir=f htp=i hr hʒ.t=i tp=i
 nis=i n imy.w dwʒ.t
 sdm=sn
 dwi=i n=sn
 hns=i imy.w Tʒ-tnn
¹⁰p=i dwʒ.t štʒ.t r m33 hʒ.t=i
 r shd irw=i twt=i
 hpt=i hʒ.t=i^c

²³² Due to the difficulties of acquiring a tall enough ladder, some of the signs in the center of the large arching lid have not been collated.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
I receive my mysterious head.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
the light of Re is firm upon my brow.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
the great mystery—I receive its light.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
I inspect my body, I drive away(?) my enemies.²³³

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
my heart is pleased, my ba and is strong.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
I call to those foremost of the ⁷Underworld.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
those within the earth rejoice in my following.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
the bas of the Underworld, they <...>.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
the bas of the mysterious ones breathe over them.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
Osiris examines together with those in his entourage.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
I place evil among my ⁸enemies.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
I am one of the followers of Osiris.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
Re dispels its darkness.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
I praise Re in my cavern.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
I unite to She-secret-of-head.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
my corpse mourns(?) over the one foremost of the West.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
those within the Underworld ⁹renew me.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
Anubis hides that which he has gathered together.

My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
my ba hurries over me.

I rest upon my corpse and my head.
Indeed, I rest upon my corpse and my head again and again.
I summon those within the Underworld,
with the result that they hear.

²³³ Following the suggestion of Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, p. 399 “... ich überprüfe meinen Leib, ich (vertreibe?) die Feinde.” The verb *im*, probably related to the negative verb, is otherwise unattested in this use.

I call to them,
when I traverse those who are in Tatnen.
¹⁰ I pass over the secret Underworld in order to see my corpse,
in order to illumine my visible forms and my images,
so that I might embrace my corpse.

^a The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata and the tomb of Padiamenemope write *ḥ3.t=ī tp=ī* “my corpse and my head” in each of the refrains. The Osireion uses this formula only in the first address,²³⁴ while ostensibly writing *ḥ3.t tp=ī* “corpse of my head” in the remaining refrains.²³⁵ This text is omitted from the Book of Caverns in the tomb of Ramesses VI.²³⁶ Although Hornung adheres to the later addresses in the Osireion, “Der Leichnam meines Kopfes ist in seiner Höhle ...,”²³⁷ this rendering is problematic, since a single body part cannot have its own corpse.²³⁸ The assumption that the third person feminine pronoun “her cavern” must refer to the corpse,²³⁹ supports the translation “corpse of my head,” is also flawed, since the text refers to the cavern of Nephthys, an ideal referent for the pronoun. The juxtaposition of corpse and head, particularly in light of their different fates in the Underworld, allows for a more coherent reading (see further the interpretation below). Finally, the statement following the repetitive refrains in all three versions—*iw ḥtp=ī hr ḥ3.t=ī tp=ī* “I rest upon my corpse and my head”—further supports the interpretation presented here.

²³⁴ Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I*, vol. 2, pl. 43, l. 134.

²³⁵ This difference was noted by Hornung, *Die Unterweltsbücher*, p. 508, n. 47.

²³⁶ Piankoff, *BIAFO* 43 (1945): p. 22 n. 11.

²³⁷ *Die Unterweltsbücher*, p. 399.

²³⁸ A possible explanation is a reading of *ḥ3.t* as “decay, putrefaction” (*Wb.* III 360.6), however, the *Belegstellen* lists examples on from the Temple of Dendera.

²³⁹ Hornung, *Die Unterweltsbücher*, p. 508, n. 47.

^b As the lines preceding this litany demonstrate, the words are being spoken not by the sun god, but the deceased himself. This transposition is unique to the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, since both the tomb of Padiamenemope and the Osireion state: *shdy=i mn=f wp.t=i* “My light endures on my brow.” The Book of Caverns text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata was very carefully edited to be entirely consistent as a speech by the deceased and not Re.

^c The small blank space between *dw3.tyw* and the pronoun *=sn* is interesting, since the word is damaged in both surviving copies, the tomb of Padiamenemope (TT33)²⁴⁰ and the Osireion. However, the textual transmission is not directly from the Osireion to TT33 to Tjaihorpata, since in the next stanza, the Osireion has only the initial strophe preserved (*iw h3.t tp=i m tph.t=s*),²⁴¹ while TT33 contains only a few disjointed signs,²⁴² which were probably preserved in the Osireion when the *Vorlage* for TT33 was made. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, on the other hand, contains a perfectly readable text, which does fit the traces of the two earlier versions. The text from the Sixth Division on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, not recognized by Piankoff, now provides a more complete version of this litany.

²⁴⁰ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 116, l. 4; Piankoff restores the word *mdw*.

²⁴¹ Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I*, vol. 2, pl. 44, l. 141.

²⁴² Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 116, l. 5 (= Padiamenemope, l. 972).

^d The following addresses, quite a substantial number, are not attested in the two other surviving versions of the Book of Caverns. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is the only monument with this “extended” version of the speech of Re concerning his corpse and head, which is here spoken by the deceased. Following the last of the statements beginning with “My corpse and my head ...,” the text is mostly parallel to the text following the last of the refrains in the tomb of Padiamenemope and the Osireion.²⁴³

^e The final statement, “so that I might embrace my corpse” is not present in the other versions, who continue with an entirely different text.²⁴⁴

The proclamation “My corpse and my head are in her cavern” forms the refrain to this litany. Each of the statements that follow the refrain represent a progression of events all triggered by the reunification of the head with the body. The reunited corpse interacts with the Netherworldly denizens, punishes the damned, and praises the sun god. At the conclusion of the litany, Anubis again hides the corpse and the ba rushes on its way. Although the corpse is consigned to remain in the Underworld, the ba follows Re as he travels through the Underworld and he emerges at the eastern horizon. Since these latter stages of the process of the unification and separation of the corpse and ba are only described in the extra strophes on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, this new version is crucial to understanding the full import of the text. Furthermore, the text on the sarcophagus is a speech by the deceased, Tjaihorpata, not the sun god, and represents the

²⁴³ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 116, l. 8-pl. 117, l. 1.

²⁴⁴ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 117, ll. 1-3; Franfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I*, vol. 2, pl. 45, ll. 147-148.

application of this cosmographic description of the sun's journey to the fate of an individual soul.

The dichotomy between the corpse and the head and the concern with the separate fates of the corpse and ba form an important constellation of religious concepts which appear in a plethora of texts. Although not always recognized, headlessness in the Underworld is often a blessed state, since the head is identified with the sun disk.²⁴⁵ The litany of the cavern of Nephthys describes the momentary unification of the corpse and the head in the eastern horizon, before the head/sun disk dawns in the eastern horizon.²⁴⁶ As the litany makes clear, the union of corpse and head is also understood as the ba-spirit embracing the inanimate corpse. Thus, the head can be equated with the *ba*-spirit as the mobile aspect of the deceased's existence in the afterlife, and since the solar disk is the paradigm of mobility, the head and the *ba*-spirit are both solarized.

Following the extensive text concerning the corpse and head of the solarized form of Tjaihorpata in the afterlife, the deceased then calls out for a great number of deities to protect him (lines 10-16). Each divinity is addressed by name, as well as his constituent elements: ba, flesh, image, and corpse. The formula and list of divinities is taken from the concluding text of the Sixth Division.²⁴⁷ However, since Tjaihorpata and not Re is

²⁴⁵ See *infra* and Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 110-117, also citing the introduction of the litany of the Cavern of Nephthys in the Sixth Division of Caverns.

²⁴⁶ Cf. the oft-cited papyrus of Bakenmut, showing the headless mummy of the deceased on each hill of the horizon, with the head in the center, taking the place of the sun-disk (Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 20).

²⁴⁷ The parallel text appears in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pls. 137-142.

addressing each god, the sarcophagus version adds an extra line, requesting a boon, as follows:

*i b3 pwy n 'Inpw snt=f twt=f h3.t=f
 hw=k Wsir imi-r3 z̄h.t T3i-hr-p3-t3 pn m3c-hrw*
 O this corpse of Anubis, his flesh, his image, and his corpse—
 may you give protect this Osiris, overseer of the fields, Tjaihorpata, justified!

The beginning of each address is identical in form,²⁴⁸ but the wish for the deceased rotates between three different options—*hw=k* ... “may you protect ...,” *di=k t3w ndm n nh* ... “may you give the sweet breath of life ...,” and *di=k t3w ndm n mhy.t* ... “may you give the sweet breath of the north wind ...” The same addresses are continued on the other half of the sarcophagus lid, following the introductory text to the Schlußbild. Due to its repetitive nature, the text will not be presented in running transliteration and translation, rather each divinity and any epithets are listed below.

<i>Inpw</i>	Anubis
<i>Tp-b3</i>	Head of the ba-ram
<i>z̄hty tp hr hpr m r̄c</i>	He of the horizon, head of Horus, who manifests as Re.
<i>St3-hr</i>	She mysterious of face
<i>Shry.t</i>	Sekheryt
<i>'Imn-s.t</i>	He hidden of seat
<i>Hpri</i>	Khepri
<i>Tp-r̄c</i>	Head of Re
<i>'Is.t</i>	Isis
<i>Nb.t-hw.t</i>	Nephthys
<i>h3.t S3h hr w3s</i>	Corpse of Orion, who carries the was-sceptre
<i>z̄h.t</i>	Luminous eye
<i>hr s3 Wsir</i>	Horus, son of Osiris
<i>b3 ds=i hpr(-i) irw(-i) twt=i</i>	My own ba, my manifestation, my visible form, my image ²⁴⁹
<i>Nh3-hr</i>	Nehaher

²⁴⁸ When goddesses are addressed, the pronouns are changed accordingly.

²⁴⁹ This is the only address which omits, *snt=f twt=f h3.t=f*.

<i>Imy-t₃</i>	He who is in the earth
<i>H₃.t</i>	Corpse
<i>tp pn pr m i₃.t n imy i₃.t=f</i>	This head of the one who comes forth from the mound of the one within his mound (serpent)
<i>I₃.t(y)</i>	He of the mound
<i>T₃-tnn</i>	Tatenen
<i>Db₃ty</i>	He of the sarcophagus
<i>Hn₃hn</i>	He who hurries
<i>Nwn</i>	Nun

Following the addresses to the bas of this diverse group of gods, the second half of the sarcophagus lid begins with the text to the final tableau of the Sixth Division of Caverns. The remaining lines contain another list of addresses to the bas of deities and their three component parts—flesh, image, and corpse. The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is now the fourth known copy of the concluding text of the Sixth Division, and the only one not used by Piankoff, who included the Osireion, the tomb of Ramesses VI, and the tomb of Padiamenemope. Interestingly, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata differs substantially from all three other versions, including the other Late Period text in the tomb of Padiamenemope.

SIXTH DIVISION OF CAVERNS, CONCLUDING TEXT

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 227-229

Parallel: Piankoff, *BIAFO* 43 (1945): pls. 136, l. 1-142, l. 6

¹*pr in ntr pn c₃ m i₃.ty=f imy dw₃.t*
ntr pn hpr.(w) m hpr hpr i n T₃-tnn
ntr pn c₃ dd=f n b₃.w ntr.w hnty qrr.t=f imy.w tph.(t)=sn
i ntr.w imy.w qrr.t=i hnty tph.t=sn
mt< n > wi pr.²n=i m i₃.ty=i
ms.kw
hpr.kw m hprw
imn n=i itn=i^a in nn n ntr.w d₃d₃.t imy.w ht hnty imn.t
sn di=sn c.wy=sn r=i
hpr.kw ms.kw
qm₃.kw m hprw mr=i
hknw³=tn n=i
iry=i shr.w=tn

*b3.w dw3.tyw št3.w irw.w hknw=tн n Wsir N
ir=tн shr.w=f*

Going forth by this great god from his two mounds which are in the Underworld.

This god has manifested into the manifestation of the form of Tatenen.

This great god speaks to the bas of the gods who are foremost of his cavern,

those who are in their pit:

“O gods who are in my cavern, foremost of their pits!

Look, I have gone forth from my two mounds.

I have been born.

I have manifested as my manifestation.

My disk has been hidden for me by these gods,

the council who are in the following of the Foremost of the West,

as they extend their arms to me.

I have manifested. I have been born.

I have been created as the manifestation which I desire.

May you praise me,

because I have taken care of you!

Bas of the Underworld dwellers, those secret of visible forms—may you praise Osiris N,

may you take care of him!

^a All three other versions write *smn* or *mn*, indicating that the gods make the disk firm.²⁵⁰

The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata clearly writes *imn*, with a determinative. Although the sun god normally hides himself *within* the disk, the council of gods in the Sixth Division may hide the disk as protection at the crucial moment of sunrise.

The two mounds reflect the two different methods of the birth of the sun god—*hpr* “(spontaneous) manifestation” and *msi* “(physical) birth.”²⁵¹ Further insight into these mounds is provided by the depictions in the Sixth Division of Caverns, where pairs

²⁵⁰ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 41 and n. 2. For the analysis of *smn* as a passive circumstantial *sdm-f*, see Baumann, *Suffix Conjugation*, pp. 343-44.

²⁵¹ Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 44-46; *idem*, *König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 53-55. See also the discussion in Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 345-46.

of mounds appear throughout the division. For example, the same distinction between *hpr* and *msi* appears in the first scene of the first register:²⁵²

*mk ‘p=ī m št3y.t
hpr.kw ms.kw ds=ī
h‘.kw m qrr.ty i3.ty*

Look, I am passing through Shetayt,
having manifested and given birth to myself,
having appeared in the two caverns, the two mounds.

The two mounds equally represent the two horizons and the mound of creation—all emphasizing their identification as a place of re-birth.²⁵³

SIXTH DIVISION OF CAVERNS, CONCLUDING TEXT (CONT.)

*i ⁴h3.t twy hnty i3.ty snt=ī twt=ī^a
hw=t Wsir N
i h3.t twy n.t Itm snt=f twt=f b3=f
di=t_n t3w ndm ‘nh Wsir ⁵N
i b3 pwy n Šw snt=f twt=f h3.t=f
di=k t3w ndm n mh.t n Wsir N
i b3 pwy n Gb snt=f twt=f h3.t=f
hw=k Wsir ⁶N
i b3 pwy n Wsir snt=f twt=f h3.t=f
di=k t3w ndm n ‘nh n Wsir N
i b3 pwy n Stnw-irw snt=f twt=f h3.t=f
di=k t3w ndm mh.t <n> Wsir ⁷N
i b3 pwy n ‘Imn-shrw=f snt=f twt=f h3.t=f
hw=k Wsir N
i b3 pwy n Nkn-hr snt=f twt=f h3.t=f
di=k t3w ndm n ‘nh n Wsir ⁸N
i b3 pwy n Mwty snt=f twt=f h3.t=f
di=k t3w ndm n mh.t n Wsir N*

²⁵² Piankoff, *BIAFO* 43 (1945): pl. 122, ll. 6-7. Paralleled again in the third scene of the first register (*ibid.*, pl. 124, l. 6): *ms.kw m dw3.t hpr.kw m hprī* “I am born in the Underworld and I manifest as Khepri.”

²⁵³ See the extensive discussion of Eggebrecht, in S. Lauffer, ed., *Festgabe für Dr. Walter Will*, pp. 143-163, who traces the concept of the *i3.t*-mounds in the Underworld Books as far back as the Twelfth Dynasty cube-statues of Ihy and Hetep at Saqqara.

i b₃ pw_y n Db₃ty snt=f twt=f h₃.t=f
 hw=k Wsir ⁹N
 i nn n b₃.w št₃.w imy.w dw₃.t hnty tph(t)=sn ^b
 mt<n> 'q Wsir N hr=tn
 ntf w^c im=tn
 di=tn n=f t₃w m šms ntr
 Wsir ¹⁰N dd=f r qrr.t tn mdt=f n ntr.w imy.w tph(t) h₃.wt
 i ntr.w ipw imy.w tph(t) h₃.wt imn
 ssm.n=(i) R^c n db₃t=f
 shtp h₃.wt imy.w t₃
 db₃ snt h₃p iwtyw ^c
 mt<n> wi 'p=i tph(t)=tn
 shtp=tn h₃.t=i m t₃
 hr sm₃¹¹=i hn^c=s r^c nb
 'q=i pr=i hr=tn
 iw h₃.t=i tp=i m tph(.t)=f
 'Inpw dl=f n=i 'wy=f
 iw h₃.t=i tp=i m tph(.t)=s
 R^c shd=f hr=i
 iw h₃.t=i tp=i m tph(.t)=s
 'Is.t Nb.t-hw.t shnw-sn r=i
 iw h₃.t=i tp=i m tph(.t)=s
 Wn-nfr <m> hq₃ imn.t
 iw h₃.t=i tp=i m tph(.t)=s
 b₃=i htp=f hr=s ir.t=f hprw nb r-dr ib=f

O ⁴this corpse of the One foremost of the two mounds, my flesh, my image—
 may you protect Osiris N!

O this corpse of Atum, his flesh, his image, and his ba—
 may you give the sweet breath of life to Osiris ⁵N!

O this ba of Shu, his flesh, his image, and his corpse—
 may you give the sweet north wind to Osiris N!

O this ba of Geb, his flesh, his image, and his corpse—
 may you protect Osiris ⁶N!

O this ba of Osiris, his flesh, his image, and his corpse—
 may you give the sweet breath of life to Osiris N!

O this ba of He-Distinguished-of-Forms, his flesh, his image, and his corpse—
 may you give the sweet north wind to Osiris N!

O this ba of Hidden-of-his-forms, his flesh, his image, and his corpse—
 may you protect Osiris N!

O this ba of Punishing-of-Face, his flesh, his image, and his corpse—
 may you give the sweet breath of life to Osiris ⁸N!

O this ba of the Watery-one, his flesh, his image, and his corpse—
 may you give the sweet north wind to Osiris N!

O this ba of Debaty, his flesh, his image, and his corpse—
 may you protect Osiris ⁹N!

O these secret bas who are within the Underworld, foremost of their pits!
Look, Osiris N has entered before you.
It is he who is one among you.
May you give to him breath like a follower of god.
Osiris ¹⁰N speaks to this cavern,
 he addresses the gods who are within the cavern of the corpses:
“O these gods who are within the cavern of the hidden corpses—
I lead Re to his sarcophagus,
I pacify his corpse which is within the earth.
I cover the flesh and hide the putrefaction.
Look, I pass over your cavern,
 so that you might pacify my corpse in the earth,
 when I unite with it each day.
I enter and I go forth before you.
My corpse and my head are in his cavern,
 while Anubis gives me his arms.
My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
 while Re shines over me.
My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
 while Isis and Nephthys embrace me.
My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
 while Wennefer is the ruler of the West.
My corpse and my head are in her cavern,
 while my ba rests over her, taking any manifestations it desires.”

^a The first address is the only address to refer to the flesh and image in the first person, suggesting that the deceased identifies himself with the god who is Foremost of the Two Mounds, the re-born solar divinity (see above).

^b Following the enumerations of the bas of the various deities, Re delivers a short speech, introducing the deceased into the company of the Underworldly gods; this speech does not appear in any other version of the Book of Caverns. Then, the deceased delivers an address, the beginning of which parallels a speech attributed to Anubis in the first scene

of the first register of the Sixth Division of the Book of Caverns in the Ramesses VI version.²⁵⁴ The remainder of the speech of the deceased is again unparalleled.

^c For more on this rare designation of putrefaction, see *supra*.

Lid, Side One

The curved, head end of the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata contains two scenes: a criocephalic ba-bird inside a solar disk raised aloft by Isis and Nephthys and an excerpt from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.²⁵⁵ The upper scene has much in common with the scene on the foot end of the lid, where Re is transferred between the night and day barks by Isis and Nephthys. The scene on the head end of the lid is only accompanied by a few lines of text,²⁵⁶ but provides another parallel for the Solar-Osirian credo:²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): pl. 122, ll. 2-3. The version on the sarcophagus also affects the interpretation of the earlier version: *ink Inpw m imn.t ss̄m=f ntr (n) dbȝ.t-f* ... “I am Anubis in the West, who shall lead the god (to) his sarcophagus.” This translation is consistent with Piankoff’s earlier rendering (*ibid.*, p. 25), but is at odds with Hornung, *Die Unterweltsbücher*, pp. 402-403: “Ich bin jener, dessen Bild verborgen ist, der den Gott (in) seinen Sarkophag legt.”

²⁵⁵ Identical scenes and text occur on the head end of the lid of Louvre D8 (for a photograph of the scene, see Myśliwiec, *Bulletin du Centenaire*, pl. 14).

²⁵⁶ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 229.

²⁵⁷ This explicit description of the union of Re and Osiris has parallels in numerous texts, however, neither the version on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata nor that of Djedher (Louvre D8) have ever been recognized as additional versions of the formula. The known versions are in the Litany of Re (Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 178), Book of the Dead 15IIIB and 180, the Tomb of Nefertari, two Deir el-Medina tombs (TT290 and 335), as listed by Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 101-105. Substantial discussions of the passage and its parallels are: Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, Chapter 6 *passim*; Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, pp. 35-37 and 155-56; Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 2, pp. 53-4 and 60; Willems, *Chests of Life*, pp. 151-154. For a brief summary of the union of Re and Osiris in the greater context of Egyptian combinations of deities (since this is not a true example of syncretism), see Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, pp. 93-96.

R^c htp m Wsir m 'Imn(t)

m s3 Wsir hm-ntr sny T3i-hr-p3-t3 nb im3h

It is Re who rests in Osiris in the West,

as the protection of the Osiris, priest and economic minister Tjaihorpata,
justified.

Wsir pw htp m R^c m dw3.t

m s3 Wsir hm-ntr sny T3i-hr-p3-t3 m3^c-hrw

It is Osiris who rests in Re in the Underworld,

as the protection of the Osiris, priest and economic minister Tjaihorpata,
justified.

The text on the sarcophagus lid adds two phrases to the normal formula *R^c htp m*

Wsir Wsir pw htp m R^c—the adverbial adjuncts *m 'Imn(t)* and *m dw3.t* and the further

prepositional phrase *m s3 Wsir N*. The location of the union in the realm of the dead is

expected,²⁵⁸ as is its daily occurrence. Therein lies its means of “protection” for the

deceased. The afterlife of each individual is guaranteed through the eternally repeated

pattern of the union of Re and Osiris. A threat to this daily union is tantamount to a

cosmic catastrophe. The averting of this catastrophe is occasion for cries of joy:²⁵⁹

iw hrw h^c.w m št3y.t

²⁵⁸ More specifically, the union occurs in the eastern horizon, at the interface between the realms of the living and the dead. For the sexual union of Re and Osiris at the end of the Underworld, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 404-406. A text from the Propylon of Montu at Karnak, epithets of the cosmic Amun indicates that he made the horizon a secret place for his ba, the secrecy necessary for the union of (Amun)-Re and Osiris (S. Aufrère, *Le propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou à Karnak-Nord* [Cairo, 2000], p. 130 [= *Urk.* VIII, p. 10, §12b]):

'h pt smn.ti hr bq3.wt=s

r sšt3 ẓh.t=s n b3=f

Who lifted heaven, established upon its supports,
in order to make its horizon secret for his ba.

For the union of Amun and Osiris mimicing the union of Re and Osiris, see De Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opèt à Karnak*, pp. 147-57.

²⁵⁹ *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 178; Assman, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 105-106. For further parallels, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 298-299.

R^c pw htp m Wsir tz-phr
The sound of jubilation is in Shetayt,
“It is Re who rests in Osiris and vice versa.”

A small annotation labels Isis and Nephthys as they lift the disk,²⁶⁰ directly linking the indwelling of Re in Osiris and Osiris in Re to the term *b3 dmd*:

dd mdw in Is.t wr.t mw.t-ntr dr.t wr.t irr s3 Wsir m Imn.t
di=s R^c m b3-dmd

Recitation by Isis the great, mother of the god, great kite,
who makes protection for Osiris in the West,
may she make Re into²⁶¹ the United Ba.

dd mdw in Nb.t-hw.t dr.t nds.t irr s3 Wsir m Imn.t
di=s R^c m b3-dmd

Recitation by Nephthys, the lesser kite,
who makes protection for Osiris in the West,
may she make Re into the United Ba.

Although Isis and Nephthys appear in human form on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, the labels refer to them as “kites.” They indeed have falcon shapes in other versions of this scene, such as the lid of Louvre D8 and the illustration accompanying the address to Djeba-Demed on the ceilings of New Kingdom royal tombs.²⁶² Isis and Nephthys actually carry out the transformation of Re into the United *Ba* by raising up the solar disk containing the ram-headed *ba*.²⁶³ This text sheds further light on the much

²⁶⁰ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 229.

²⁶¹ For this meaning of *rdi m*, see *Wb.* III 467.35-36.

²⁶² For one of many examples, see Hornung, *Valley of the Kings*, p. 99 fig. 66.

²⁶³ Goddesses in the Ninth Hour of the Book of Amduat perform a similar action (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 663; for more on this passage, see *supra*):

ir.t-sn pw m dw3.t
ir.t stsw Wsir shnn b3 št3
What they do in the Underworld,
is lift up Osiris so that the mysterious *ba* might alight.

discussed scene from the tomb of Nefertari; in the queen's tomb, Isis and Nephthys stand on either side of the criocephalic mummy of Re-Osiris and embrace him. Based on the label to the goddesses in CG 29306, this embrace takes on additional meaning—they are facilitating the union of the two deities. The two goddesses hieroglyphically represent the embrace between Re and Osiris alluded to so often in the texts,²⁶⁴ but impossible to depict when the image of the gods themselves are combined.

The disk contains a ram-headed *ba*-bird, a common motif expressed both pictorially and textually—*b3 pw imy itn=f*.²⁶⁵ The iconography further contributes to the significance of the *b3-dmd* “United *Ba*.²⁶⁶ The *ba*-bird has literally ‘*q.w m itn* “entered into the disk,” which is not only the means by which the solar god illuminates the world (including the corpse of Osiris),²⁶⁷ but also represents the filling of the lunar disk.²⁶⁸ The disk of the “united” *ba* is simultaneously the solar and lunar disks, in which the god has entered. The entering fills the lack of the udjat-eye, a further expression of the resurrection of Osiris.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 103-5; Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 391-396. Spiegel, in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*, pp. 144-47 also discusses the *ba*-soul aspect of the embrace.

²⁶⁵ Zandee, *Amunhymnus Leiden I 344*, vol. 1, pp. 192-196—significantly, this epithet is used for the sun during the day and the night.

²⁶⁶ For further discussion of *B3-dmd* and *Db3-dmd*, see *infra*.

²⁶⁷ For one of many examples, compare Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. II, text 3, ll. 7-10: *rdi h̄dw.t m h̄.wt ʒh.ty ‘q=f m itn h̄3i=f h̄3.wt št3.wt* “Who places light within the corpse of the Horizon-Dweller, when he enters into his disk and when he illuminates the mysterious corpses.” This is the same text which accompanies the bark scene on the head end of the sarcophagus Tjaihorpata (see below).

²⁶⁸ Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 388-391 (who also cites the passage from Creation of the Solar Disk).

²⁶⁹ For the udjat-eye as an archetype of resurrection, see *supra*.

Underneath the amazing scene and text of Isis and Nephthys raising the disk of the United Ba is a part of the second tableau of Part A of Creation of the Solar Disk,²⁷⁰ which is used as a separate scene already in the New Kingdom royal tombs.²⁷¹ A large solar bark rests atop the back of Aker, a recumbent double human-headed lion. Inside the bark, the ram-headed sun god is praised by a human-headed and a scarab-headed deity; another pair of human-headed and scarab-headed gods praise the bark while standing upon the paws of Aker. The other two occupants of the bark are a human-headed pilot and a falcon-headed god at the steering oar. Above the bark are nineteen lines of retrograde text from the Creation of the Solar Disk (curiously omitted from Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1),²⁷² while to either side of the depiction are eight lines of hieroglyphs derived from the Litany of Re. The version of the text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata and Djedher (Louvre D8) differ in several places from the New Kingdom version, but do not appear to be corrupt.²⁷³

Creation of the Solar Disk, Section A, Text III, Tomb of Ramesses VI

Depiction: Solar bark atop Aker

Text: Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pl. 2

²⁷⁰ Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pp. 8-9 and pl. III; Hornung, *Die Unterweltbücher*, pp. 429-432. However, the bottom section of this tableau, depicting a falcon-head emerging from a disk shining upon a prone mummy, is not present on the sarcophagus; perhaps the sarcophagus and mummy it contained fulfilled the role of the bottom half of the tableau.

²⁷¹ Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 87 (for an image of the scene in Ramesses IV, which differs in several respects from that on the lid of CG 29306, see *ibid.*, pl. 84). For a brief discussion of the entire scene from Creation of the Solar Disk (including the prone mummy below), see Hornung, *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 225-6, and Abitz, *Pharaos als Gott*, pp. 158-59 for a comparison with the Aker scene in the Third Division of Caverns.

²⁷² Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 229-30 describe the bark and reproduce the eight columns flanking each side of the scene, but do not provide a hieroglyphic copy of the text from the Creation of the Solar Disk.

²⁷³ The text unique to each version appears in italics in the translation.

ntr pn m shr pn hr psd i3kr št3y
 htp m wi3=f imy dw3.t-f
 dwi=f h3.wt št3.w
 sšt3 '3 hr 3kr
 wnw.t 'p=s kkw
 R' di=f h3.wt m h3.wt 3h.ty
 'q=f m itn
 h3y=f h3.wt št3y.t
 ntr zp snw wr.wy '3.wy imywy 'I3kr št3y
 sn m n'y=sn wi3 R'
 š3s=sn tp t3 3h.ty
 wnn rd.wy=sn m t3
 s33=sn hr b3 3h.ty
 sšmw dwi ntr.w sšm=f R' hr w3.wt št3.wt
 wnw.wt R' sšm=sn

This god is in this fashion upon the back of the mysterious Aker,
resting in his bark which is within *his* Duat.

He calls to the mysterious corpses,
and the great mystery which is beneath Aker,
at the hour "She who passes by the darkness."

Re casts light into the corpse of Akhyt,
when he enters the disk,
so that he might illumine the mysterious corpses.

O God! How great and wonderful is the one between the mysterious Aker.
when they navigate²⁷⁴ the bark of Re,
when they move rapidly upon the land of Akhyt.

Just as their feet are in the earth,
so do they guard the ba of Akhyt.
The leader who calls the gods leads Re upon the secret roads,
while the hours of Re lead (him).

Aker Scene, Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata

Text: pl. 104 (omitted from Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1)

¹ ntr pn m shr ²pn hr psd n ³kr št3
 htp.(w) m ⁴wi3=f imy dw3.t
⁵dwi=f h3.wt št3. ⁶w m wnw.wt ⁷kkw
 di hdd ⁸m h3.wt 3h.ty
 ⁹'q=f m itn
 ¹⁰h3y=f h3.wt ¹¹št3.w
 ntr pn wr.wy ¹²sw hr 3kr št3

²⁷⁴ The initial *sn* appears to be misplaced; in this passage, the sarcophagus version offers a clearer text.

¹³*ntr.w wr.w hr dw*¹⁴*i ntr pn m* ¹⁵*wi3=f*
m n'i-sn ¹⁶*m wi3*
š3s-sn ¹⁷*tp-t3 r 3ḥ.ty*
*m 'q=*¹⁸*f dw3.t m imnt.t*
m s3 Wsir ¹⁹*snty T3i-hr-p(3)-t3 nb im3ḥ*

¹ This god is in this ²fashion upon the back of the ³mysterious Aker,
resting in ⁴his bark which is in the Underworld.

⁵When he calls the secret corpses ⁶*is within the hours of darkness.*

One who casts light ⁷into the corpse(s) of Akhty,

⁹when he enters the disk,

¹⁰so that he might illumine the ¹¹mysterious corpses.

This god—how great is ¹²he upon the secret Aker!

¹³The great gods are calling ¹⁴this god in ¹⁵his bark,

when they travel ¹⁶in the bark,

when they move rapidly ¹⁷upon the land to Akhty,

as he ¹⁸*enters the Underworld in the West,*

being the protection of the Osiris,

the economic minister Tjaihorpata, justified.

As a comparison of the two versions demonstrates, this excerpt from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk differs significantly from the text in the Tomb of Ramesses VI. Unlike some of the variants on the sarcophagi, such as parts of the First Division of Caverns (see *supra*), the Creation of the Solar Disk text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is free from errors and obscure writings, suggesting that it represents a separate, but equally valid, textual tradition.

This text and scene represents an event anterior to the top of the arched portion of the head end of the sarcophagus, but demonstrates a further method by which Re becomes the “United Ba.” In the Creation of the Solar Disk text, Re shines upon the corpse of Akhty “so that he might enter his disk;” if Re is the originator of the light, then it is likely that Akhty is the being who is intended to enter the disk. The corpse element enters the solar element and becomes a unified deity. Thus, the falcon head emerging

from the disk below Aker (as the tableau is depicted in Creation of the Solar Disk), enters the corpse and transforms the corpse into the ram headed ba.

The scene with the corpse beneath the Aker is absent from the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, and the mummy is not depicted, probably because the physical remains within the sarcophagus substitute for the two-dimensional image. The corpse of Tjaihorpata is the *ḥȝ.t imy R*^c “corpse in which Re is,”²⁷⁵ since his mummy is the focus of the nightly solar journey. The multitude of Underworld Books which adorn this sarcophagus magically transform the deceased into the Solar-Osirian corpse beneath Aker in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. A Twenty-First Dynasty papyrus contains a similar substitution of the mummy of the deceased for the corpse of the sun god beneath the Aker lion; in this papyrus, the mummy underneath the solar rays has the attributes of the deceased, a female mummy wearing an incense cone and flower.²⁷⁶

The text to the left and right sides of the depiction from the Creation of the Solar Disk are excerpts from the litanies following the “Great Litany” of the Litany of Re. The eight columns of text on the right side, an excerpt from the third litany (“Litany to *Dbȝ-dmdj*”), are continued in the columns of text over the figures from the Great Litany in the top register of Side Three (translated *supra*).

Litany of Re, Third Litany

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 230
Parallel: Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 107-114

¹*ḥȝy n=k pn bȝ dmd*^a

²⁷⁵ Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, p. 9.

²⁷⁶ Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri*, p. 60, fig. 47; Hornung, *Valley of the Kings*, pp. 120-1.

w₃š b₃=k
 srq h₃.t=k
 iw Wsir hm-n₃r sny T₃i-hr-p₃-t₃²ms.n Tfn.t m₃c-hrw
 š₃s=f qrr.t št₃
 i_w=f hns=f št₃.w i_my.w
 Wsir sny T₃i-hr-p₃-t₃³i₃w=f^b n=k mi R^c hkn=f n=k m 3h.w=f
 Wsir N⁴tz-phr
 mi-nty psd.t snsy=f ds=f zp snw^c
 i.n b₃ dmd
 i⁵sšm=k sw r hnty-qrr.tyw sp ifdw
 dd=tw r₃ pn n n₃r nb⁶s₃t₃ty
 sš(w) nn n sšm.w m d.t=sn mi-qd hr⁷p.ty^d n.t dw₃.t
 iw šd=tw md₃.t tn m hr.t hrw n.t r^e nb
 hft R^c htp=f m ‘nh ss [m₃c hh n sp]

¹Praise be to you, o United *Ba*!

May your *ba* be strong!

May your corpse breathe!

The Osiris, priest, economic minister, Tjaihorpata, ²born of Tefnut, justified,
passes over the secret cavern.

He traverses the secrets of those who are there.

The Osiris, economic minister, Tjaihorpata, possessor of veneration, ³praises you,
just as Re continually praises you by means of his effective speech,
the Osiris Tjaihorpata ⁴likewise,
like the Ennead itself worships!

The United *Ba* speaks:

“O ⁵may you lead him [scil. Tjaihorpata] to the one foremost of the cavern-dwellers!
(repeated four times).

One speaks this spell to every ⁶secret god,
(These images are written in their bodily-forms entirely
upon ⁷the two heavens of the Duat).

One recites this book every single day,
when Re sets in life [truly] attested [millions of times].

^a*B₃-dmd*, the united ba of Re and Osiris, is frequently called *db₃-dmd* in the Litany of Re,
and only the versions of Ramesses IV and Ramesses IX use the term *b₃-dmd* as it appears
on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. For an analysis of (*d*)*b₃-dmd*, see below, Chapter 6.

^b Lexicographically, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata differs from all the New Kingdom versions, most of which use the verb *dwi*, while the Ramesses IX version has *dws*.²⁷⁷ Additionally, Tjaihorpata's text is closely related to the versions of Ramesses IV and Ramesses IX, who "skip" from *dwi=f n=k minty r=f* to *ḥkn=f m ʒḥ.w=f*, omitting the following text found on the earlier New Kingdom versions (the text in parentheses occurs on the sarcophagus):

(NN *dwi=f n=k mint*)
b3 R' dwi=k n RN mint
b3 R' b3=f b3=k
ḥ3.t=f ḥ3.t=k
iw=f p=f ḥtw b3 R' r bw št3 n qrr.tyw
(tf ḥkn=f m ʒḥ.w=f)
 (NN calls to you likewise),
 and the ba of Re calls to you likewise.
 As for the ba of Re—his ba is your ba.
 His corpse is your corpse.
 He follows behind the ba of Re to the secret place of the cavern-dwellers.
 While he praises with his effective speech,
 (NN praises with his effective speech).

^c The description of the Ennead worshipping on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is entirely different from the New Kingdom versions of the Litany, which write:²⁷⁸ *Wsir NN mint=sny=f ds=f* "Osiris N is like him, his very own image."

^d The text itself indicates that its proper position is upon the *p.ty* "two heavens," which appears as *pd.ty* in all the New Kingdom versions. As Hornung notes,²⁷⁹ *pd.ty* can refer to "side walls" of a tomb. While the addresses from the Litany do occur on the side walls

²⁷⁷ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 108.

²⁷⁸ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 111 (Ramesses IX writes *shd* in place of *sny*).

²⁷⁹ *Anbetung*, vol. 2, p. 126, n. 261.

of both the royal tombs and the descending stairway of the Edifice of Taharqa, the Third Litany, of which this is an excerpt, most often occurs on the ceilings of the royal tombs.²⁸⁰ The location of the address to *db3-dmd* on the ceilings, in addition to the Tjaihorpata variant *p.ty*, suggests another interpretation for the word *pd.ty*. Throughout the Pyramid Texts, the *pd.t* or *pd.wt* refer to the vault(s) of the sky²⁸¹—in contrast to the bones of the Aker-lions²⁸² and in parallel with *p.t*,²⁸³ *nwn*,²⁸⁴ and other celestial designations. Although the *Belegstellen* only lists occurrences in the Pyramid Texts and this instance in the Litany of Re, the term *pd.t* does continue into the New Kingdom.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁰ In the tombs of Seti I (Hornung, *Das Grab Sethos' I.*, pl. 42b), Ramesses II, Merneptah, Seti II, Amenmesse, Siptah and Ramesses III the “Address to Djeba-demmed” is written on the ceiling (as the text instructs) of the second corridor of the tomb and it is never written in a retrograde fashion (Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, pp. 16-17); the position of the address to Djeba-demmedj literally makes it the “turning point” in the Litany of Re, because the carving on the ceiling, the Litany of Re continues onto the opposite wall (Abitz, *Pharaos als Gott*, pp. 67-8).

²⁸¹ Allen in Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy*, p. 5 n. 29; for a complete list of Pyramid Text occurrences, see Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, pp. 484-5.

²⁸² PT 393a-b: *gp p.t
ihy sb3w
nmnm pd.wt
sd3 qs.w 3kr.w*
The sky storms,
the stars darken,
the heavenly vaults shake,
the bones of the Akers quake

For the interpretation of these verbs forms as “dramatic” *sdm=f*'s, see Allen, *Inflection*, §304.

²⁸³ PT 801b and 1490b.

²⁸⁴ PT 1486a, where *imyw.pd.wt* occurs in parallel with *imyw.Nwn*.

²⁸⁵ Stela of Thutmosis III from Gebel Barkal (*Urk. IV* 1229, l. 20):

sšd=f r imyw.pd.ty mi sb3 d3i=f hr.t
He flashes between the two bows like a star when it traverses the heaven.

The terms *p.ty* and *pd.ty* usually refer to the dual heavenly vaults, the upper (Nut) and lower (Nunet) skys.²⁸⁶ However, in the Litany of Re passage, the *p.ty/pd.ty* are located in the Duat. These can either be the skies of the upper and lower Underworld or the eastern and western halves of the Underworld. The *p.ty* might also be a specific Late Period interpretation of the two skies in the Underworld—an autobiographical inscription on a statue of priest (St. Petersburg 5629) contemporaneous with the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata includes the following interesting statement:²⁸⁷

ḥmt=(i) p.ty ntr ḥz m Iwnw m shr.w=s nb m iḥ.(t)=s nb

“I have planned the two heavens of the great god (Mnevis) in Heliopolis,
in all its decorations²⁸⁸ and all its things.

Litany of Re, Late Period address to the United-*Ba*

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 230-31

Parallel: Passages in the Seventh and Eighth Litanies (precise sections from New Kingdom Litany quoted in text notes)

¹ḥṣy n=k pn bȝ-dmd

²⁸⁶ R. Caminos, “The Nitocris Adoption Stela,” *JEA* 50 (1964): 85. In the Fourth Hymn of the Hymn to the Twelve Names of Ra-Horakhty, the text states: *n̄i p.ty=f m hkȝ.w=f* “who traverses his two heavens by means of his magic” (Gasse, *BIAFO* 84 [1984]: 198, translates *p.ty* simply has “ciel”; another possibility for the P. Luynes version is “upper heaven,” as she translates on p. 199, but this does not fit with the parallel texts). The two heavens also occur in the Harris Magical Papyrus (Leitz, *Medical and Magical Papyri*, pl. 16, l. 6; he mistranscribes *p.ty* *k.t*, but the apparent *t* should read as the two slanting strokes for *p.ty-ky* “your two heavens”)—the preceding lines describe the perpetuum mobile of the solar journey with jackals and baboons, indicating that the *p.ty* are indeed the upper and lower heavens. In addition to *p.ty*, the dual *gs.wy* can also be used to describe the dual nature of the solar journey, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 316 (also discussing the *p.ty* in P. Bremner-Rhind 79, 6).

²⁸⁷ K. Jansen-Winkel, “Die Biographie eines Priesters aus Heliopolis,” *SAK* 29 (2001): 100, section B, l. 8; he translates *ḥmt* as “dreien,” (p. 102) suggesting (p. 107) that the burial of the Mnevis bull creates a third heaven—in light of the parallel from the late recension of the Litany of Re, the use of *p.ty* may refer to adorning the ceiling of the burial chamber with religious texts, perhaps even excerpts from the Underworld and Cosmographic Books.

²⁸⁸ The term *shr.w* here should be seen in light of the ubiquitous phrase in the Underworld Books—*nn n ntr.w m shr pn ...*

\dot{h}^{cc} $b_3=k$
 $\dot{h}n.wy \dot{hr}= < k > imy dw_3.t^a$
 $Wsir^2 N$
 $R^c pr m Itm^b$
 $ntf p_3 \dot{i}w^c \dot{w} Wsir^c$
 $di=f \dot{sz} p=f nms^3 m dw_3.t$
 $q_3 b_3 n R^c m Imnt.t$
 $< w > \dot{z} \dot{s} h_3.t=f m dw_3.t$
 $n b_3 n R^c b_3-dmd^4 htp m \underline{db}_3ty=f^d$
 $Wsir htp m R^c tz phr^e$
 $Wsir N^5 hpr m R^c tz phr$
 $i \underline{dmd} hpr m R^c tz-phr^f$
 $\dot{i}w Wsir N m b_3 R^c tz phr$
 $hpr=f m Hpri$
 $\dot{i}w \dot{s}d=\dot{tw} md_3.t tn$
 $\dot{s}d=f s(y) w^c b \dot{h}ft R^c$
 $htp=f m Imn.t$
 $md_3.t Imn-rn-f$
 $\dot{i}ry ss m_3^c hh n sp$

¹Praise be to you, o United *Ba*!
May your *ba* jubilate!
How happy you are, o one within the Underworld,
(namely) the Osiris N.
Re goes forth as Atum.
It is he who is the "heir" of Osiris,
when he causes that he receive the *nemes*-headcloth in the Underworld.
May the *ba* of Re be high in the West!
May his corpse be powerful in the Underworld
for the ba of Re and the United-ba who rests in his sarcophagus.
Osiris has gone to rest in Re, and vice versa!
Osiris N has become Re, and vice versa!
O United One who has become Re, and vice versa!
Osiris N is the ba of Re, and vice versa,
while he becomes Khepri.
One recites this book,
he recites it, being pure before Re,
when he goes to rest in the West.
The book of Hidden-of-name
(proven a million times).

^a The statement *hn.wy hr=k imy-dw3.t* “How happy you are, One within the Underworld”,²⁸⁹ is a refrain the Seventh Litany, but no section in that litany matches the text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

^b The New Kingdom versions of the Seventh Litany use the phrase *s3 R‘ pr m Itm* “the son of Re, who came forth from Atum” to describe the deceased king. The avoidance of the royal epithet *s3 R‘* on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is similar to the alteration of the epithet *hq3 idb.wy* described above. However, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata does not shy away from a repeated and explicit identification of the deceased with the sun god—and vice versa!

^c From this sentence to the Solar-Osirian credo, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata again excerpts a few phrases from a much longer segment of the New Kingdom text, corresponding to the conclusion of the Seventh Litany.²⁹⁰

^d The word *db3.ty* () on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata significantly differs from the word *db3.w* in earlier versions () and has important implications for the interpretation of the term Djeba-demед (see below, Chapter 6).

^e The Solar-Osirian credo does not appear between the Seventh and Eighth Litanies in the New Kingdom copies of the Litany of Re; its appearance on the sarcophagus of

²⁸⁹ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 223ff.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 236-38.

Tjaihorpata is certainly influenced by the depiction in the center of the lid taken from the Third Litany.

^f The description of Osiris N and the United One transforming into Khepri appears in the Eighth Litany.²⁹¹ The transformation into Khepri plays an important role in the text to the Twelfth Hour of Amduat. The Litany of Re text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata provides a reference to the eastern horizon immediately before the instruction to recite the text when Re sets in the western horizon.

Lid, Side Four

The foot end of the lid contains two registers—the top is dominated by the deceased in adoration before the two solar barks prow to prow, while the lower register contains twelve gods. These gods are labeled *ntr.w imy-h̄t R̄ m p.t m̄hty* and *ntr.w im-h̄t R̄ m p.t rsy.t* “The gods who are in the following of Re in the northern/southern sky.” These gods of the two halves of heaven accompany the transfer of the sun disk containing the ram-headed form of Re.²⁹² The two scenes on the foot end of the lid are excerpts from the tableau of the “awakening” of Osiris,²⁹³ which enjoyed a certain popularity in the Late Period.²⁹⁴ The “Songs of the Drinking Place” at Luxor Temple provide a link

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-40.

²⁹² These divinities also appear in the Book of the Day—Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 5 and 26, in both cases the heavenly gods are associated with flame.

²⁹³ For a list of these scenes, see *supra*.

²⁹⁴ See the attestations listed by Assmann, *Mutirdis*, pp. 90-93.

between the decoration of the head and foot ends of the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata; in the former text, the two heavens occur alongside the *wʒ.wt ʒkr* “roads of the Akeru,” an allusion to the north-south and east-west trajectories of the sun respectively.²⁹⁵ On the sarcophagus, each figure of Tjaihorpata, who adores the dual solar barks, is accompanied by several columns of text, praising the raising and setting of the sun:²⁹⁶

*dwʒ Wsir N Rc m wbn=f m ʒh.t iʒbt.t n p.t dd=f
 i Rc nb stwt wbn=k m ʒh.t iʒb.t
 iy.n=i hr=k
 iw=i hcc.k(w) r mʒʒ itn=k [...]
 ʃnh h̄.w=(i) m dgʒ nfrw=k
 iw=i mi hs.w=k*

Osiris N adores Re when he rises in the eastern horizon of heaven, he says:
 “O Re, lord of rays, when you rise in the eastern horizon!
 When I come before you,

I rejoice at the sight of your disk [...].
 The sight of your perfection is what enlivens my limbs.
 I am like one of your praised ones.

*dwʒ Wsir N Rc htp=f m ʒh.t imnt.t dd=f
 iŋd hr=k iy.tw m ʃtm-hpri m qmʒ psd.t
 di=k n=i tʒw ndm n mhy.t
 wn imnt.t ntr ʒ wpš tʒ.wy
 r htp (m) dw imnt.t
 iw=i m w̄ m imʒhw.w hr Wsir m htp zp <snw>*

Osiris N adores Re, when he sets in the western horizon, he says:
 “Greetings to you! May you come as Atum-Khepri, as the creator of the Ennead!
 May you give to me the sweet wind of the north!
 Open the west, great god who brightens the two lands
 until setting (in) the western mountain.
 I am one of the venerated before Osiris!

²⁹⁵ See also Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, vol. 1, pp. 12-14.

²⁹⁶ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 236-37.

The long, upright sides of the lid are decorated with guardian deities,²⁹⁷ who serve as a protective shield around the sarcophagus. The names of the deities are drawn from the fiercesome guardians of the portals of the Underworld in Book of the Dead Chapters 145 and 146.²⁹⁸ Besides the obvious protective function of these knife-wielding deities, they also represent the deities who guard Osiris during the vigil in the embalming room.²⁹⁹ A standing goddess labeled *Mr.t* precedes the seated deities above Side Three.³⁰⁰ The role of Meret and the other guardian deities are identical to the 77 genies of Pharbaithos who appear in the interior of the sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305). On the head of the sarcophagus of Ankhapy (CG 29301), six divinities from the 77 genies of Pharbaithos appear with Isis and Nephthys and two interesting texts. One of these texts specifically relates the divinities to the guardians of the doors of the Underworld and alludes to the knives with which they are commonly portrayed:

wn n=k ḡ.wy nw dwȝ.t

dī n=k iry.w-ȝ.w ḡ.wy=sn tp rd.wy=sn

May the doors of the Underworld be opened for you!

May the door-keepers place for you their arms upon their legs!

²⁹⁷ See Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 231-236 for descriptions of each of the gods and the short texts which accompany them.

²⁹⁸ For more on these chapters, see *supra*.

²⁹⁹ Compare the deities surround the scene of the “Awakening of Osiris” and groups of apotropaic deities in tombs from the Valley of the Queens and other monuments (W. Waitkus, “Zur Deutung einiger apotropäischer Götter in den Gräbern im Tal der Königinnen und im Grabe Ramses III,” *GM* 99 [1987]: 68-80).

³⁰⁰ Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, pp. 164-166.

The odd gesture described in this passage probably refers to the door-keepers putting aside their knives and allowing the deceased to pass unharmed.³⁰¹ The seated deities on the long upright sides of the lid not only allow the deceased to pass through the Underworldly realm, but guard the crucial moments of the solar cycle—the unification of Re and Osiris, depicted on the head end of the lid, as well as sunrise and sunset, represented by the solar barks on the foot end of the lid.

Underside of the Lid

After the mummy of Tjaihorpata was placed inside his monumental sarcophagus and the lid secured in place, the prone body was mirrored by an outstretched figure of Nut on the underside of the lid. Nut is beautifully carved in heavily modeled relief and her body—from the tips of her fingers to the tips of her toes—stretches the length of the lid. To either side of the goddesses are depictions of the hours of the day and the night, annotated with text from the Creation of the Solar Disk.³⁰² Between the arms of the goddess is the following text.³⁰³

Label to the Goddess Nut

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 237

*dd mdw in Nw.t
ink mw.t=k
qni.n=i nfr.w=k
wnn-i m s3=k Wsir imi-r3 3h.t*

³⁰¹ Goyon, *Les dieux gardiens*, pp. 248-49 (the hieroglyphs in vol. 2, p. 145 omits the two arm signs).

³⁰² Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 238-9. Although the text is on the underside of the lid with precious little space between the lid and the bottom of the sarcophagus, the text was successfully collated by the author with the aid of Prof. John Darnell in the Cairo Museum in July, 2004.

³⁰³ The phraseology is similar to other Nut texts, such as those collected by Billing, *Nut*, pp. 142ff. (he does not include this text nor any precise parallels).

nn *hri=i* r=k
 wnn=ī m inq(?) mm=k hry
 hr swdʒ ḥ.w=k ṛ nb
 ḥ=k im hṇ ṛ
 hṭp=k im hṇ Tm
 šms tw ntr.w ḥsbs.w
 wnn=k ḥhw m ntr
 nn hfty.w=k
 nn pṇt=k r bw nb mrr=k d.t sp znw

Words spoken by Nut:

“I am your mother,

I have already embraced your perfection.

As your protection do I exist, Osiris, overseer of the fields.

I shall never be far from you.

I exist as one who encloses you, uppermost,

making your limbs sound each day.

Just as you shall appear therein with Re,

so shall you rest therein with Atum.

with the result that the gods of the firmament follow you.

You shall exist, living as a god,

without enemies,

without being banned from any place which you desire, forever!

Hours of the Night:

Four standing disk-headed gods, their arms raised in praise, and eight seated goddesses crowned with stars, disks placed before them, represent the hours of the night; they appear on the right side of the goddess Nut, closest to Side Three. The annotation accompanying these twelve deities on the underside of the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata derives from a text from the far left of the first register of Section A of Creation of the Solar Disk.³⁰⁴ In the New Kingdom copy of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the annotation describes twelve goddesses with disks

³⁰⁴ Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, p. 10 n. 1 noted the text on the sarcophagus, but dates it to the Saite period. Parts of this text (including the version on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata) are also examined by George, *Schatten als Seele*, pp. 98-100.

on their heads; each goddess glances backwards, and underneath their hands are disks atop shades.³⁰⁵

Creation of the Solar Disk, Section A, Text IV, Tomb of Ramesses VI

Depiction: Twelve goddesses atop shade signs

Text: Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pls. 2-3

*nn n wn.wt m shr pn
irw.w=sn m db^c.wt=sn
šw.wt=sn m hrw rr(sic) wpw.t=sn
sšm=sn ntr pn ḥz m ḫmnt.t štzy.t irw
R^c r wnw.wt=sn
ir=sn ḫry.wt=sn
‘pp.ti^a ‘q.ti^a m tʒ r qrr.t imn wnw.wt=f
ti šw.wt=sn hr stw.t=sn
stw.t=sn m iwf imn=sn
‘pp ntr pn ibd
ht bʒ.w
sšm.wt hʒ.wt=sn ‘q kkw=sn*

These hours are in this fashion,
their visible forms at their fingertips.
their shades are underneath their brows.

They lead this great god in the West, hidden of visible forms,
when Re is at their hours,
with the result that they fashion their visible forms,
having passed by and entered into the earth at the cavern
“He-who-hides-his-hours.”

Meanwhile their shades bear their light,
and their light is in the flesh who conceals them.
When this god passes by the banks,
the *bas* turn back,
and those who lead their corpses enter the darkness.

^a The verbs ‘pp.ti and ‘q.ti preserve the Old Egyptian feminine plural stative ending, and may modify either the hours or their visible forms.³⁰⁶ The hours pass into the earth in order to lead Re as well as be themselves reborn.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ To the right of this scene is the depiction of the solar bark atop Aker, the scene that occurs on the head end of the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (see *infra* for a discussion of this scene and its accompanying text).

Tjaihorpata

Depiction: See above

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 238

*nn n wn.wt m shr pn
irw.w=sn m šps.t=<s>n m hr=sn
sšm=sn ntr pn ՚3 r w3.wt Imnt.t št3.(t) ir.w
sqd R^c r wn.wt-grh=sn
՚p b3.w m p.t r qrr.t imn
šw.wt=sn hr stw.t=sn m p.t m dw3.t hr(y)?
ntr.w shd=sn m w3.wt imn.t
՚p ntr pn ՚3 ibd.w dw3.t ht.w
in b3.w=sn sšm h3.wt=sn
՚q=sn m kkw-sm3w
m-ht ՚p R^c r ՚3h.t i3bt.t n.t p.t
sšm=sn Wsîr N r w3.t n p.t mi R^c
՚p=f št3y-irw mi nb w^c*

These hours are in this fashion,

their visible forms being their nobility as their faces.

They lead this great god along the paths of the West, hidden of visible forms,
when Re sails by their nightly hours.

the bas traversing the sky to the hidden cavern,
their shades might bear their light in heaven and the lower Duat.

The gods illumine the roads of the West,
so this great god might traverse the banks of the Duat afterwards.

It is their *bas* who guide their corpses,
so they might enter the unbroken darkness,

after Re goes towards the eastern horizon of heaven.

May they lead Osiris N along the roads of the sky like Re,
so that he might pass the place “Hidden of visible forms” like the Unique Lord.

These gods and goddesses in the two scenes which accompany the annotations in
the tomb of Ramesses VI and the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata have two distinguishing

³⁰⁶ Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, §572.

³⁰⁷ The key action of the annotation has been mistaken by earlier translators. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 10: “Ils font ce qu’ils ont à faire, passant et entrant dans la terre ...” (also note that the interpretation of the stative presented here disproves Piankoff’s statement that the writing of the verbs ‘p and ‘q are corrupt); Hornung, *Die Unterweltsbücher*, p. 432: “Sie tun ihre Pflicht, das Dahinwandeln und Eintreten in die Erde ...”

features—their “attributes” or “nobility” are either stars or disks, and they are instrumental in guiding Re towards the eastern horizon. In fact, the deities star and disk attributes are the means by which they lead Re along the proper paths, as stated explicitly in the Book of Gates, where four gods holding disks in Scene 82 following annotation:³⁰⁸

ntsn sm3 dw3.t n hr.t m sšm pn imy ḡ.wy-sn
It is they who join the Underworld to heaven
by means of this image in their hands.

Hours of the Day:

The hours of the day appear as three standing figures with disks for heads, followed by nine disk-headed seated figures with stars depicted at their feet; they are placed on the left side of the goddess, closest to Side Two of the sarcophagus. The identification of the “day” text as a close parallel to part of the Creation of the Solar Disk was first noted by Piankoff.³⁰⁹ In the Creation of the Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the annotation accompanies a scene of four gods supporting a solar disk with ba-birds and shades interspersed amongst them. The text in the tomb of Ramesses VI is much shorter than that on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, and appears to end in the middle of a statement, whereas the text of Tjaihorpata appears to provide us with the only complete version of this text.

Creation of the Solar Disk, Section B, texts IX and X, Tomb of Ramesses VI

Depiction: Four gods with disk, *ba*-birds, and shades

Text: Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pl. 16, ll. 5-9.

‘p.in ntr pn ‘3 m itn=f

³⁰⁸ Pforten, vol. 1, p. 378.

³⁰⁹ *Création du disque solaire*, p. 32 n. 2.

m-ht spr=f r mr.w št3.w
 wts ntr pn c3 in imy.w mr.w hr c.wy=sn
 iw mskt.t m'nd.t p=sn Nw.t m-ht=f
 pr ntr m b3 šw.t
 b3.w šw.wt šzp=sn sw
 iw hr.t s'r=s n dw3.t
 ntr.yt wr.w c3.w

Then this great god traverses in his disk,
 after reaching the mysterious waterways.
 This great god is lifted up upon the arms of those within the waterways.
 The night bark and the day bark traverse Nut in his wake,
 when the god goes forth as *ba* and shade,
 while the *bas* and the shades receive him.
 Heaven approaches the Underworld.
 The two great and majestic goddesses(?).

Tjaihorpata

Depiction: See above

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 238-39

1nn n ntr.w m shr p²n
 wnn tp=sn m itn
 wn=sn ³n hry m dw3.t hry
 'p ntr pn c3 m ⁴itn=f
 'q=f m t3 n ⁵mw.t=f m b3-dmd
 m-ht phr=f r ⁶c3.w št3w^a
 wts ntr pn c3 ⁷in imy.w c3.w hr c.wy=sn
 iw mskt.t ⁸m'nd.t p=sn Nw.t m-ht=f
⁹iw=sn sqd hn' isy.t ¹⁰wi3
 iw ntr ¹¹im=sn hr ir.t i3w n itn=f
 r ¹²p=f r zh.t i3bt.t n.t p.t
 nt¹³sn wnw.t grh wn.wt ¹⁴hrw m p.t m dw3.t hry ¹⁵ntr.w
 iwyty ¹⁶r mw.wt r sgsgs^b=sn wnw.t ¹⁷im=sn
 pr ntr m b3 ¹⁸šw.t
 shm s(w) šfy s(w) m h.t n mw.t¹⁹=f
 b3.w šw.wt šzp=sn ²⁰sw
 iw hr.t s'r²¹=s n dw3.t^d
 ntr.w wr.w c3.w ²²šzp=sn Wsir N²³⁻²⁴ r hr.t ²⁵mi R^c
 s'r=sn sw r dw3.t ²⁶mi w'c m nn wnw.t

These gods are in this fashion.
 It is as disks that their heads exist,
 they being at the upper part of the lower Duat.
 This great god passes by in his disk,

so that he might enter the land³¹⁰ of his mother as the United *Ba*,
 after he perambulates the mysterious doorways.
 This great god is lifted up upon the arms of those within the portals.
 The night bark and the day bark traverse Nut in his wake,
 as they sail with the crew of the divine bark.
 The seven gods who are in them render praise to his sun-disk,
 so that he might traverse the eastern horizon of heaven.
 They are the hours of the night and the hours of the day in the sky
 and in the Duat, beneath the gods,
 without the dead rising up to overtake them and the hours within them.
 The god goes forth as *ba* and shade,
 he is powerful and awesome in the womb of Nut,
 as the bas and the shades receive him.
 Heaven approaches the Underworld.
 O great and majestic gods, may they receive Osiris N into heaven like Re!
 May you cause him to ascend from the Underworld like one of these hours!

^a The texts in lines eight through twelve represent an accurate description of the depiction at the conclusion of the Book of the Night—the scarab flies up out of the horizon while the day and the night bark are depicted below.³¹¹ The mention of seven deities in the barks suggests a further relationship with the Book of the Day and the Night. In the Book of Amduat there are usually eight gods in the bark, beside the sun god himself, Wepwawet, Sia, Nebet-wia, Horus-Hekenu, Ka-Maat, Nehes, Hu, and Kherek-wia.³¹² The last, “the rudderman,” is replaced by a depiction of the deceased in the tomb of User,³¹³ so this may indicate a core of seven deities. In the Book of Gates, only two deities, Sia and Heka, accompany Re in the night bark; Sia and Hu along with Maat

³¹⁰ Copied by Maspero as z-bolt over seated man.

³¹¹ For more on this scene, see *supra*.

³¹² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 19-23.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

appear in the solar bark in the Book of the Night.³¹⁴ The closest parallel to a seven-god crew is found in some depictions in the Book of the Day,³¹⁵ so although the text here states “within them” referring to the day and the night bark, the only template in the preserved Underworld Books points to a diurnal reference.

^b The verb *sgsgs* is not otherwise attested, but appears to be a causative form of *gsgs* (*Wb.* V 207.8-9), itself related to *ngsgs* (*Wb.* III 350.3-8), which both mean “to overwhelm, overflow,” and used in the phrase *m gsgs* “with a rush, rushing forth.”³¹⁶

^c Shades and *bas*, both manifestations of an individual or deity, are often juxtaposed in Egyptian funerary texts.³¹⁷ The god “going forth as *ba* and shade” from the earth recalls a passage in the Litany of Re, substituting Tatenen for the “womb of his mother.”³¹⁸

*ihy ȝḥ ḡpr.(w) pr m Tȝ-tnn
ḥtm ḡprw.w ḡȝ irw.w
nb bȝ šw.t*
Hail, equipped akh, who comes forth from Tatenen,
provided with manifestations, great of visible forms,

³¹⁴ For the solar bark in the Book of the Night, see Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, pp. 74-81.

³¹⁵ Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 9-14.

³¹⁶ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 553; R. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe: Papyrus Pushkin 127* (Oxford, 1977), p. 55.

³¹⁷ See the passages cited by Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 116-17, particularly *Dendera X*, 260, 12-13: *pr-k m bȝ ḡ-k m šwt* “You go forth as a *ba*, and you ascend as a shade;” and the texts collected by Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 1, pp. 75-77. The version of the Creation of the Solar Disk text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is also addressed by George, *Schatten als Seele*, pp. 80-81.

³¹⁸ Hornung, *Anbetung des Re*, vol. 1, pp. 183-84 (cited by Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 1, p. 76).

lord of ba and shade!

^d The gnomic *iw=f sdm=f* used in the sentence “Heaven approaches the Netherworld” appears as a grammatically independent summary of the events in this passage.

The comparison of the Ramesses VI text from the Creation of the Solar Disk with the text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata accompanying the seated gods has tremendous importance from the perspective of textual transmission. A single text can form the basis for annotations to two different scenes, with appropriate changes being made to suit varying iconographic details. A similar process is evident in the text and scenes on the head end of the Type I sarcophagi—the scene with the giant pair of arms is taken directly from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, but the text is unique to New Kingdom and Late Period sarcophagi.

FLOOR

FIFTH DIVISION OF THE BOOK OF CAVERNS THE GODDESS SHETAYT

The floor of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata³¹⁹ contains a large figure of Shetayt-Nut from the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns, mirroring the goddess Nut on the interior of the lid. A beautifully carved version of the goddess Shetayt-Nut also appears on the top of the lid of the sarcophagus of Padi-isis (Berlin 29; pl. 105);³²⁰ the

³¹⁹ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 313-14.

³²⁰ The author would like to thank Prof. Dr. Dietrich Wildung, Dr. Ingeborg Müller, and Jürgen Liepe for making these photos available and permission to publish them, since this sarcophagus is otherwise known from only a single photo in which the lid decoration is only partially visible (H. Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* [Berlin, 1925], p. 442; a drawing of the

accompanying text on the lid of Berlin 29 consists of two long columns to either side of the goddess, a few words before the ram-headed god in her left hand, and a column underneath her right hand. The presence of Shetayt-Nut on the floor of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata and the lid of the sarcophagus of Padi-isis is quite exciting, since it demonstrates an entirely new redaction of the Underworld Books. The equation of heavenly Nut and Shetayt-Nut on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata further blurs the boundaries between the “heavenly” and “chthonic” compositions and provides an ancient commentary to this enigmatic scene from Caverns.

The following text on the floor of Tjaihorpata’s sarcophagus is the best preserved version of this section of the Book of Caverns in existence. The lid of Padi-isis includes only a few of those lines written in non-cryptographic script.³²¹ In the textual witnesses from the New Kingdom, the Osireion text is quite damaged, and Padiamenemope contains numerous lacunae. However, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata presents a unique opportunity to understand the goddess so appropriately called “The Mysterious One.”

As in the New Kingdom versions of the Book of Caverns, the goddess Shetayt on the two late period sarcophagi is surrounded by symbols of the solar cycle. On the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, she holds a ram-headed deity in her right hand, while in her left hand rests a disk; two human-headed serpents stretch the length of her body in a protective gesture. The goddess’ body faces left, towards Side Two of the sarcophagus, and in front of her body are a progression of solar symbols—scarab, ram, ram-headed

head-end of the sarcophagus and its lid appears in Dümichen, *Grabpalast*, vol. 3, pl. 26; Thomas, *JEA* 42 [1956]: 75 n. 3 also briefly mentions this sarcophagus). The lid of the sarcophagus of Padi-isis and other independent uses of the figure of Shetayt-Nut are cited by Piankoff (*BIAFO* 42 [1944]: 47, n. 2), but he does not include its attestation on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

³²¹ Copied by Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pls. 59-60.

god, and child—separated by three sun disks, all facing downwards towards a pair of human arms at her feet. Behind Shetayt are four crocodiles facing upwards and headed towards a solar disk placed beneath the goddess' right elbow. On the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, the annotations, both *Normalschrift* and cryptography, appear to either side of the goddess as well as above her head. The figure on the sarcophagus of Padi-isis (pl. 105) faces towards Side Three of the sarcophagus, with the solar manifestations before her and crocodiles behind her; the sun disk is held in her right hand, while the ram-headed deity is perched upon her left hand. She is similarly accompanied by two human-headed serpents.

Annotation to the Entire Image

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, pp. 313-314³²²
 Parallel: Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pls. 61-62

¹wnn ntr pn ²m shr pn
 m-ht is ³p qrr.t tn št3y³.t
 ntr (p)n ³dī hpr.w im=f isy(?)^a
 m-ht ³p ntr pn ³qrr.t <št3>⁴y.t
 shs.hr^b nn h(f3)w hr-sn m dw3.t hr ntr.w
 htp.hr ntr(t) tn hr ssm=<s>⁵c₃
 iwty rḥ b3.w imy.w št3y.t nty
 hpr.w gm(?)^c
 htp R^c m dw imn.t r <ir>.t ⁶shr.w imy.w t3^d
 psd=f m dw i3b.t r dr=f wnty ⁶pp dw-ir.t=f

¹This great god exists ²in this fashion,
 after passing by this cavern of Shetayt.

³It is this great god who has placed the manifestations in it(?),
 after this great god passes the secret ⁴cavern.

Then these snakes hurry over them in the Underworld beneath the gods.

Then this goddess rests upon <her> great ⁵image,
 without the *bas* knowing those who are within Shetayt,
 who manifested ...

As Re rests in the western mountain in order to ⁶care for those within the earth,
 so does he shine from the eastern mountain

³²² All of the texts on the floor of the sarcophagus were collated in situ in January, 2003.

so he might repel Wenty-Apep, the one evil of eye.

^a The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is the only witness for this section of the text, between the two examples of *m-h̄t*. The odd and possibly corrupt writing *isy* may originate in the particle *is*, slightly misplaced. The importance of the new text, however, is unaffected—we now know that the sun god is the agent responsible for aligning the different manifestations around the body of Shetayt.

^b The only other preserved example of the text, the Osireion, writes *shd.hr nn hfȝ.w* [...] “Then these serpents go upside down over them [...].”³²³ However, the serpents to either side of Shetayt are not upside down, since their heads clearly hover above the goddess’ arms. The text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, which uses the verb *shs* not only better fits the depiction, but also preserves the place in which they hurry—the lower Underworld, poetically called “the Underworld beneath the gods.”³²⁴

^c Following *hpr.w*, the Osireion writes  while Tjaihorpata writes . No solution to this word is offered here. A partial writing of *gm ws* is unlikely, since it does not occur anywhere else in the corpus of Late Period sarcophagi.

³²³ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 61, l. 2.

³²⁴ For a parallel to this construction, compare the description of the location of a serpent in the First Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 [1942]: pl. 8, ll. 2-3): *i hfȝw nn hfȝ.w hr.w dwȝ.t hr Wsir m htmy.t* “O snakes, these snakes in the lowermost regions of the Underworld, beneath Osiris in the place of destruction.”

^d After the phrase *htp R^c m dw imn.t*, the cryptographic signs on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata vary remarkably from the other three versions, which are strongly parallel to one another. First of all, the round sign, representing the pupil to be read *ir* is missing from the sarcophagus version. Possibly the locust is haplographic in Tjaihorpata, serving as the preposition *r* and the strong consonant of the verb *iri*. Next, the noun *shr.w* is

written  instead of , as in the three other versions (Ramesses VI, Osireion, and Padiamenemope). The latter is similar to a common orthography of *shr* in the Enigmatic Netherworld Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, spelled with the *g-pot*, thus exploiting the substitution of shape between *g* and *hr* as well as phonetic interchange of *hr* and *hr*.³²⁵ The writing on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata uses a writing more common in the Ptolemaic period— for *hr*,³²⁶ with a substitution of shape between the plants emerging from the swamp and chicks emerging from the nest. Finally, the painted eye () writes the *nisbe imy*, since the elaborate eye contains a pupil, *im*.³²⁷ The orthographies of the cryptographic text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata suggest that the text was edited in the Late Period, because it is unlikely that the variant writings of the šʒ-sign for *hr* and painted eye for *im* could be as old as the Twentieth Dynasty.

Label to the serpents

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 314

³²⁵ Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 232, 615. See also p. 240 for a writing of *shr* in the Corridor G *Schutzbild* identical to the spellings in the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns.

³²⁶ Cauville, *Porte d'Isis*, p. 3, l. 10.

³²⁷ *Wb.* I 75.23; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 65. Compare also the use of the plain eye and the udjat-eye for *m* in the Ptolemaic Period (Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 1, pp. 148, 152).

Parallel: Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pl. 62

hpʒy “He of the navel
hpʒy “He of the navel”

Annotation to the Solar Deity

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 314
Parallel: Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pl. 63

wnn=f m shr pn hr ḡ.wy tn štʒy.t-ir.w
wnn kkw=sn m sd.t
iwyty ḡr ntr.w hr=sn

He exist in this fashion upon these arms of She-mysterious-of-forms.
Their darkness exists as flame,
 without the gods approaching them.

wnn=f m shr pn hr ḡ n pr m ir.w
wnn kkw=sn m sd.t
iwyty ḡr ntr.w hr=sn
npʒy npʒy hfty R

He exists in this fashion upon the arm of that which comes forth from the visible form.
Their darkness exists in the flame,
 without the gods being able to approach them.
Nepay, Nepay, the enemy of Re.

Annotation to the Image of Shetayt

Text: Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 314
Parallel: Piankoff, *BIAFO* 42 (1944): pls. 58-59 (partly damaged)

wnn=f m shr pn
tp.t=s m dwʒ.t hr.t
rd.wy=s m dwʒ.t hr ntr.w
sqdd ntr pn ḡ hr qrr.t hr ḡ.wy tn Štʒy.t
‘q ntr pn ḡ hr qrr.t
shʒp.hr tp ntr.w ʒh.w mw.wt imy.w dwʒ.t m kkw
iwyty mʒʒ ntr pn tp.t n ḡ.wy=s
‘.wy=s wts(?) itn
ti ntr htp m hr qʒ.wt

It exists in this fashion—
 her head in the upper Duat,
 her feet in the Duat beneath the gods.

This great god sails over this cavern upon these arms of “Mysterious.”
This god enters into the cavern,

then the heads of the gods, effective spirits, and dead who are in the Duat
are hidden in the darkness,
not seeing this god upon her arms.
Her arms lift up(?) the sun disk,
while the god rests in the mounds.

The beginning of this annotation as preserved on the floor of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata represents a major contribution to understanding the goddess Shetayt in the Book of Caverns. Only the Osireion contains any part of this text, and the introduction to the annotation is damaged.³²⁸ This “new” text suggests an even closer relation between Shetayt in the Fifth Division of Caverns and a similar goddess in the Creation of the Solar Disk.³²⁹ Additionally, the heavenly image of Nut on the underside of the lid, the counterpart to Shetayt who covers the floor, is surrounded by texts from the Creation of the Solar Disk. The interchangeability of parts amongst the Underworld Books is again made clear.

³²⁸ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944): pl. 58, 1. 9.

³²⁹ Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, texts VI and VII; for a comparison of these scenes, see Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, pp. 160-61.

The sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata is a unique monument and offers insights into parts of the Underworld Books not present on any other Late Period sarcophagus, such as divisions from the Book of Caverns and parts of the Litany of Re and Creation of the Solar Disk. These texts, clustered on the lid, contain the most explicit means of identifying the deceased with the solar god—Tjaihorpata gives speeches assigned to Re in earlier versions of the Sixth Division of Caverns and the excerpts from the Litany of Re proclaim that the deceased *is* the solar divinity. The lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata functions as a concluding text for the entire collection of Underworld Books on the bottom portion of the monument.

CHAPTER 6

UNDERWORLD BOOKS AND LATE PERIOD FUNERARY PAPYRI

The lack of comprehensive surveys of Late Period religion belies the overwhelming number of funerary papyri dated precisely to the period from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty through the early Ptolemaic Period. The sudden reappearance of the Netherworld Books, last known from the New Kingdom royal tombs and Third Intermediate Period papyri, on Late Period sarcophagi suggests that contemporary funerary papyri represent a renaissance of religious composition and editing of earlier texts. Connections between the Underworld Books and Late Period funerary liturgies, in turn, demonstrate the existence of a distinct theological trend. This chapter represents the first attempt to describe the thematic parallels between the Netherworld Books and the wealth of Late Period papyri. Through three distinct topics, divine commands, Netherworldly rituals, and the union of *ba* and corpse, the following discussions demonstrate the profound influence the study of the Underworld Books, as evidenced by the Late Period sarcophagi, had on the composition of the texts preserved on Late Period funerary papyri.

A corpus of Late Period papyri often receive the overall designation “funerary liturgies,” although like the Underworld Books, some certainly did have applications in temple ritual¹ or personal religious practice.² While the papyri themselves date to the

¹ Particularly the “Ritual for overthrowing Apep” in P. Bremner-Rhind (J.F. Quack, “La magie au temple,” in Y. Koenig, ed., *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d'une définition* [Paris, 2002], pp. 59-60). The distinction between texts originally composed for a funerary context (“ouvrages funéraires”) and those converted from ritual texts (“livres rituels ‘usurpés’”) made by J.-C. Goyon, “La littérature funéraire tardive,” in *Textes et langages de l’Égypte pharaonique* (Cairo,

Late Period, portions of the compositions have a much longer history; however, the date of the copies are important for the theology of the Late Period, since even if the religious text was composed at an earlier date, it was being studied and used by Late Period theologians, like the Underworld Books.³ The religious compositions which appear in copies dated between the First Persian Period and the early Ptolemaic Period⁴ relevant to this study are the following:⁵

1974), vol. 3, pp. 73-81, will not be strictly observed here, since the evidence for assigning the texts to one group or the other is often lacking. Instead, it is assumed that parts of any book could conceivably be used for temple ritual, especially in Osirian crypts which mimic the Underworld. Additionally, some uses of the rituals straddle the two definitions, such as their recitation by priests during the embalming of the Apis bull (R.L. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual*, pp. 52-3 and commentary on pp. 166-7). Does this represent an originally intended use of a ritual text, a funerary text, or an usurped version of the former? The *s3h.w*-liturgies show similar difficulties of attribution—they were originally mortuary liturgies that were then adopted as temple liturgies in the Ptolemaic period (J. Assmann, “Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies,” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* [Jerusalem, 1990], pp. 4-5).

² Both the Late Period papyri and sarcophagi relate the religious texts directly to the deceased, and the Underworld Books in particular describe their use “on earth” (see the Conclusion, *infra*). Compare also the meditative qualities of some Coffin Text spells (Ph. Derchain, “De la magie à la méditation,” in A. Roccati and A. Siliotti, eds., *La Magia in Egitto ai Tempi dei Faraoni* [Milan, 1987], pp. 47-56).

³ For example, the “Ritual of the destruction of the enemy” was translated into Late Egyptian and became the object of textual commentary during the Thirtieth Dynasty (S. Schott, *Die Deutung der Geheimnisse des Rituals für die Abwehr des Bösen* [Wiesbaden, 1954], p. 162).

⁴ Some papyri are dated to an exact reign, such as P. Bremner-Rhind, while others are assigned to this period based on paleography; the relevant discussions can be found in the works cited in the following footnotes. However, U. Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchscript* (Leuven, 2001) has reassigned many of the papyri traditionally dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty on the basis of paleography to an earlier period, particularly the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. In either case, the funerary papyri are closely tied to the rebirth of the Underworld Books, and the term “Late Period papyri” will be used so as to include both dating possibilities.

⁵ English translations are given of the most commonly used titles for these compositions, which are not necessarily related to the ancient title. The list is not a comprehensive compilation of the varied and numerous texts attested in Late Period papyri (for further discussions, see Burkard, *Spätzeitliche Osirisliturgien im Corpus der Asasif-Papyri*, pp. 3-6 and the older overview of Goyon, in *Textes et langages de l’Egypte pharaonique*, vol. 3, pp. 73-81). In addition to these extensive compositions are the four *s3h.w* “transfiguration-liturgies;” since many of the complete texts of these transfiguration-liturgies await publication, and represent an enormous topic unto

- “Book of Hours”⁶
 - “Book for protecting the bark of the god”⁷
 - “Book of repelling Apep”⁸
 - “Ceremony for causing Sokar to emerge”⁹
 - “Ceremony for the glorification of Osiris”¹⁰
 - “Great decree which is made regarding the bark of Igeret”¹¹
 - “Revelation of the mystery of the four balls”¹²
 - “Ritual for the conservation of life”¹³
 - “Ritual of the destruction of the enemy”¹⁴
 - “Book of Breathing”¹⁵
-

themselves, they will not be dealt with in depth here (For an overview of these texts, particularly their liturgical use, see J. Assmann, “Verklärung,” *LÄ VI* [1986]: 998-1006; *idem*, in Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, pp. 1-45).

⁶ R.O. Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10569)* (Oxford, 1958); J.F. Quack, “Ein neuer funerärer Text der Spätzeit (pHohenzollern-Sigmaringen II),” *ZÄS* 127 (2000): 74-87

⁷ J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques I: Le livre de protéger la barque de dieu,” *Kêmi* 19 (1969): 23-65.

⁸ Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*; J. Lustman, *Etude grammaticale du Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (Paris, 1999).

⁹ J.-C. Goyon, “Le cérémonial pour faire sortir Sokaris. Papyrus Louvre I 3079,” *RdE* 20 (1968): 63-96; Burkard, *Spätzeitliche Osirisliturgien*, pp. 206ff.

¹⁰ J.-C. Goyon, “Le Cérémonial de glorification d’Osiris du papyrus du Louvre I 3079,” *BIFAO* 65 (1967): 89-156.

¹¹ This composition, as well as several of the other texts, appear in P. MMA 35.9.21, published in Goyon, *Le Papyrus d’Imouthès*.

¹² J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques II. «Les révélations du mystère des quatre boules»” *BIFAO* 75 (1975): 350-398.

¹³ Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*.

¹⁴ Schott, *Ritual für die Abwehr des Bösen*; Burkard, *Spätzeitliche Osirisliturgien*, pp. 63ff.

¹⁵ J.-C. Goyon, “Atmen, Buch vom,” *LÄ I* (1973): 524-526; *idem*, *Rituels funéraires de l’ancienne Égypte; le rituel de l’embaumement, le rituel de l’ouverture de la bouche, les livres des respirations* (Paris, 1972), pp. 189-317. The Books of Breathing were most frequently used during the Roman period, but copies of the First Book date as early as the fourth century B.C., such as the document published by M. Valloggia, “Le papyrus Lausanne No 3391,” in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* (Cairo: IFAO, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 285-304. For related documents, see J. Quaegebeur, “P. Brux Dem. E. 8258, une lettre de recommandation pour l’au-delà,” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 776-795; R. Caminos, “Magic for the Dead,” in A. Roccati and A. Siliotti, eds., *La Magia in*

While translations and limited commentary of nearly all of these papyri are published, neither a comprehensive analysis of their content nor comparisons between the different compositions exists. Similarities between the Underworld Books and the funerary texts listed above provide a starting point for such a survey. Several of the funerary papyri or parts thereof are ritual elaborations upon scenes and events explicitly described in the Underworld Books. For example, the “command of Osiris” in the First Hour of Amduat appears on the papyrus of Imouthes (MMA 35.9.21), and P. Bremner-Rhind is probably the earthly version of the *hk3.w*-spells spoken by Isis and the Eldest Magician in the Seventh Hour of Amduat. Many Late Period papyri record, for the first time, speeches and texts only alluded to in the Underworld Books, particularly the Book of Amduat. The Late Period either based on earlier copies, or perhaps new compositions inspired by a resurgence in the use of Underworld Books in sarcophagi decoration.

I. “THE COMMAND OF RE, ATUM, KHEPRI, AND OSIRIS”

The First Hour of Amduat contains a veritable host of deities, among them troops of baboons and personified divisions of time. In the middle register are four unassuming human-headed stelae, bearing the names “Decree of Re,” “Decree of Atum,” “Decree of Khepri,” and “Decree of Osiris.” No surviving documents contemporaneous with the Underworld Books in the New Kingdom royal tombs give any further information on these mysterious monuments. The opposite situation obtains in the Late Period. The

Egitto ai Tempi dei Faraoni (Milan, 1987), pp. 147-159. Further bibliography will be available in F.-R. Herbin, *Late Egyptian Religious Texts in the British Museum Volume I: Books of Breathing and Related Texts* (London, not yet published).

intensive study of the Book of Amduat and other Underworld Books in the Late Period coincides with the composition (or copying) of numerous texts which purport to be these very decrees. Only an examination of the human-headed stelae in a post-New Kingdom context allows one to identify the texts carved upon these Netherworldly monuments.

Two media carry the divine decrees so popular in the Late Period—wooden stelae and papyri. Short compositions bearing titles such as “Royal/divine decree made by/for Wennefer” occur on a number of wood stelae from the Theban area that date to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period.¹⁶ The history of the divine decrees on these stelae is complex and may be related to the Amun theocracy during the Third Intermediate Period.¹⁷ The genre of divine decrees cannot be attributed solely to the stelae in the First Hour of Amduat, since some relate to divine oracles of Amun, but the popularity of the funerary adaptations of the decrees coincides with the study of the Underworld Books in

¹⁶ A list of the monuments appears in L. Kákosy, “Three Decrees of Gods from Theban Tomb 32,” *OLP* 23 (1992): 323-24. Much of the literature on such stelae involves a debate concerning the authorship of the decrees—Quaegebeur (“Lettres de Thot et Décrets pour Osiris,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* [Kampen, 1988], pp. 106-126) argues that they were written by Amun-Re or Atum for Osiris, while H. De Meulenaere, “Le décret d’osiris,” *CdE* 63 (1988): 234-241, maintains that Osiris is equally an author of the decree; Kakosy, *OLP* 23 (1992): 313-14 accepts De Meulenaere’s translation. The stelae in the Book of Amduat suggest that Osiris was at least the author of some of the decrees, but the following analysis applies to either interpretation, since Re and Atum are amongst the divine authors agreed upon by both scholars. Compare also the document entitled “To enter the West by command of the Mistress of the East” published by R. Caminos, “Magic for the Dead,” in A. Roccati and A. Siliotti, eds., *La Magia in Egitto ai Tempi dei Faraoni* (Milan, 1987), pp. 147-159; *idem*, “A Passport to the Beyond: Papyrus British Museum 10194,” in *Ancient Egypt and Kush. In Memoriam Mikhail A. Korostovtsev* (Moscow, 1993), pp. 104-123. Another decree is mentioned in the speech of Irenedjesef on two Third Intermediate Period coffins: “I have come from the palace bearing a decree of Re, in order to protect you and guard you” (Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. 1, p. 160).

¹⁷ However, the elaborate balancing act of Osiris and Amun on the part of the Theban priesthood as envisaged by Kákosy, *OLP* 23 (1992): 311-321 is unnecessary. De Meulenaere, *CdE* 63 (1988): 234-241 argues for two separate traditions—the Late Period decrees of Wennefer and oracles of Amun-Re during the Third Intermediate Period. It should also be noted that both Quaegebeur and Kákosy (cited above) mention the stelae in the First Hour of Amduat as examples of divine decrees, but does not elaborate further on the connection between them.

the Late Period. The iconography of the Late Period funerary stelae in particular increases the likelihood of a relationship between the decrees and the Book of Amduat. The Group Theban IVA (according to Munro's classification) of the wooden funerary stelae, dated between 300-250BC¹⁸—thus shortly after the use of the Book of Amduat in the Thirtieth Dynasty—is distinguished by the presence of a solar bark in the upper portion of the stela.¹⁹ The crews of the solar barks have their closest parallels in the Amduat,²⁰ and the criocephalic solar figure does not stand in a simple shrine, but is surrounded by the protective Mehen-serpent.²¹ Three examples of this group of funerary stelae are decorated with the “decrees of/for Osiris.”²²

The Osiris decrees on wooden stelae appear, on the basis of their iconography, to draw some inspiration from the stelae depicted in the First Hour of Amduat. An examination of contemporary papyrus documents makes even more certain the conclusion that the stelae in the Book of Amduat served as a catalyst for some Late Period funerary literature. The most significant of the “decrees” is the first composition on the Papyrus of Imouthes (P. MMA 35.9.21), which begins in the following fashion.²³

wd.t ‘3.t ir.t r sprt iqr tt

¹⁸ P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (Glückstadt, 1973), vol. 1, p. 61.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48;

²⁰ For the crew of the bark in the Book of Amduat, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 19-22.

²¹ Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, vol. 2, Abb. 61, 62-8.

²² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 49.

²³ Goyon, *Le Papyrus d'Imouthès*, pl. I, ll. 1-2 and pp. 17-18 for the relationship between the papyrus and the other known decrees on stelae. I would like to thank Prof. John Darnell for noting the connection between this text and the stelae depicted in the First Hour of Amduat.

nhbw m grḥ sṣd.(w) r rdīt hqȝ Ws̄r m sp̄t iqr̄tt
 m-ht ddw s ir=f
 rn n ȝbd bȝ-f hȝ.(w) m wdȝ.t ky m hw.t-Skr
 r hp̄rt hr hȝ.t=f
 'nh=f twt=f

Great decree which is made regarding the bank of Igeret
 which is apportioned during the night of the fillets in order to cause that
 Osiris rule (as a god) on the bank of Igeret,
 after it is said concerning him,
 The name of the festival month: “His *ba* has appeared in the *wdȝt*
 eye” another (name) “(His *bas* has appeared) in the temple of
 Sokar”²⁴
 in order to manifest over his own corpse.
 Just as he lives so is he complete.

This “great decree” is a perfect candidate for the text of the stelae in the First Hour of Amduat,²⁵ and the location of the decree at the “bank of Igeret” fits well with the watery landscape of Wernes in the First Hour, which is at one point called the *idb štȝ* “secret bank.”²⁶ The mention of the *sṣd*-fillet alludes to an image that appears several times in the Underworld Books, and specifically in two scenes on the Late Period sarcophagi, the Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night and the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates (see *supra*). The rich imagery behind the name of the festival month “his *ba* has appeared in the *wdȝt*-eye” becomes more apparent when compared with images and texts on the Late Period sarcophagi. The *ba* within the *wdȝt* eye is an apt description of the criocephalic *ba*-bird resting within the solar disk, representing the unification of Re and Osiris, as

²⁴ Another (less likely) translation: “His ba shall appear as the *udjat*-eye, while another (*udjat*-eye) is in the temple of Sokar.”

²⁵ Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 261 has suggested that the great decree in MMA 35.9.21 also influenced descriptions of Osiris’ sovereignty in the Book of Traversing Eternity.

²⁶ Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 158; for a translation of the passage, see *supra*.

clearly stated on the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.²⁷ The final sentence of the introduction—“Just as he lives, so is he complete”—is reminiscent of the description of the unified Re-Osiris in the Litany of Re, *dmd* “the United One” (see below). The second scene of Section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk suggests that when Osiris “manifests over his corpse” in the Great Decree, he is uniting with the solar disk. In that tableau, a falcon head emerges from a solar disk and sheds light upon a mummy labeled “the corpse in which is Re.” The text to the ram-headed deity about the scene describes the mechanism involved:²⁸

He casts light into the corpse of Akhty,
when he enters his disk,
so that he might illumine the mysterious corpses.

Based on the parallels within the Underworld Books, the beginning section of the “Great decree regarding the bank of Igeret” relates directly to the shining of the sun disk over the corpse of Osiris, itself an expression of the union of the *Re-ba* with the Osiris-corpse.²⁹

²⁷ See *supra*. This is the image depicted on the ceiling of some New Kingdom royal tombs at the end of the corridor with the Great Litany of Re. Also compare the similar ram-headed bird within disk labeled *b3 R* “the ba of Re,” one of the figures in the Great Litany (Labeled 9a in Hornung’s numbering of the figures from the tomb of Seti I, *Anbetung des Re*, p. 59); a variant of this figure in P. Skrine further links the *ba* of Re and udjat eye—a ram-head atop an udjat-eye appear together within a single sun disk (Blackman, *JEA* 5 [1918]: pl. III).

²⁸ For translation and commentary on this text, see *supra*.

²⁹ The Second Book of Breathing describes a decree that also enables the *ba* and corpse to unite (Goyon, *Louvre N 3279*, pp. 36-7, ll. XIX-XXI):

sš=k wd m-hnw n Hw.t-k3-pth
r [tm] šn^c nmt.wt=i m hr.t-njr
r di.t ir=i mr=i
r di.t ir=i mr [k3]=i m p.t m t3
r di.t hn b3=i hr h3.t=i

May you (Re-Atum) write a decree in Memphis,
so that my strides be [not] repelled in the necropolis,
so that I might do as I desire,
so that I might do as my ka desires, in heaven and earth,

The funerary decrees of Amun in the Third Intermediate Period and the “Osiris-decree” stelae of the Ptolemaic period all focus on the entry of the deceased into the Netherworld and his or her successful existence once there. The decree preserved in the Papyrus of Imouthes is more theologically charged and penetrates to the heart of Egyptian funerary religion, the union of the ba with the corpse. Although all of these documents are divine decrees, the “Great Decree” in the papyrus of Imouthes forms a separate tradition from the Third Intermediate Period decrees and those on late wooden stelae. The difference between these two groups of texts with similar titles is the relationship or lack thereof to the concepts fully expressed in the Underworld Books. The sun god does not need an “entrance pass” into the Netherworld, like the individuals buried with the wooden stelae and other “passport” documents, but Re requires a magically efficacious text in order to unite with his corpse. Imouthes incorporated himself in this latter regenerative process by appropriating the “Great decree which is made regarding the bank of Igeret.” The purpose of that text is identical to that of the Underworld Books themselves, and it is probably a text closely related to the “great decree” which the Egyptians imagined appeared on the four human-headed stelae that appear in the first hour of the sun’s nightly journey. The decree in P. Imouthes and hypothetically present on the stelae in the First Hour of Amduat enable this mysterious event to occur, not only for the sun god, but the deceased individual.

II. NETHERWORLDLY RITUALS AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ENEMY

so that my ba might alight upon my corpse.

Several aspects of the Underworld Books on Late Period sarcophagi and contemporaneous funerary papyri provide evidence for rituals involving the deities of the Netherworld, paramount among them the destruction of the enemies of Re and Osiris. Evidence for ritual use of the Underworld Books themselves is treated in the Conclusion below, so the following examination focuses upon rituals within the Late Period papyri which enact events within the Underworld.

The “Great decree which is made regarding the bank of Igeret” attested in the papyrus of Imouthes creates another excellent starting point for this topic. Following the introduction to the “Great decree ...” cited above, a complex and lengthy series of events ensues. The text is recited and the accompanying ritual enacted during a specific time—“the holy night, in the night of travail, in that night of passing away, in this night of being afar, in that night of invocation offerings, in this night of passing the night alone, in that night of great increase, in that night of hacking the earth and weeping, in that night of loneliness, in that night of lamentation, in that night of hacking the earth.”³⁰ The vivid descriptions of the night are clear references to the burial of Osiris,³¹ the template for the burial of Imouthes himself. Most importantly, though, the priest who reads the text makes offerings and libations for gods and spirits within the Netherworld, reminiscent of the offering remarks in the Book of Gates.³² The remainder of the composition of the “Great decree ...” describes speeches by various gods (possibly ritually spoken by priests) and the successful navigation of the portals of the Underworld. The “stage-directions”

³⁰ Col. 1, ll. 3-5.

³¹ Particularly, the night of the 24th day of the month of Khoiak—Goyon, *Le Papyrus d'Imouthès*, pp. 21-22.

³² Col. 3, l. 1ff.; for the offering remarks in Gates, see the references *infra*, Conclusion.

within the text leave no doubt that the “Great decree ...” is a ritual composition.³³ The purpose of the ritual was to promote Osiris’ rule over the Netherworld through efficacious speech. Similarly, the “Ceremony for the glorification of Osiris,” which follows the “Great decree ...” in the papyrus of Imouthes, claims that it is effective on earth for the one who recites it and that it will cause the *ba* of the deceased to live in the Underworld;³⁴ on a simultaneous mythological level, Isis performs the “Ceremony for the glorification of Osiris” for her brother and helps Osiris in the Netherworld.³⁵ Several other funerary liturgies also promote the rule and transfiguration of Osiris, through the destruction of the enemies of Osiris and Re.

The “Book of Felling Apep,” known from P. Bremner-Rhind (pap. BM 10188), is one of the most famous funerary liturgies of the Late Period. Parts of the composition are attested as early as the New Kingdom, but the text was particularly relevant for Late Period temple ritual.³⁶ The destruction of Apep so thoroughly described in the “Book of Felling Apep” appears many times in the Underworld Books, but the depiction in the Seventh Hour of Amduat is specifically applicable to temple ritual, since the first lines to the middle register affirm the use of the text both on earth and in the Underworld. It is hardly surprising, then, that numerous parallels exist between the “Ritual of Repelling

³³ The same conclusion is reached by Goyon, *Le Papyrus d'Imouthès*, pp. 18-23; for a description of “drama” in ancient Egypt and stage directions, see H.W. Fairman, *The Triumph of Horus* (London, 1974), pp. 1-13.

³⁴ Goyon, *BIFAO* 65 (1967): pl. 18, ll. 3-6 and translation on p. 95.

³⁵ For the specific results of the ritual, see the text quoted *infra*.

³⁶ J.-C. Goyon, “Apopisbuch,” *LÄ* I (1973): 354-355.

Apep,” used in temples, and the scenes and texts of the Underworld Books.³⁷ Consequently, the “magical spells” recited by Isis and the Heka-semsu in the Seventh Hour of the night are probably the words recorded in the papyrus copies of the “Ritual of Repelling Apep.” The gods present in the middle register all appear in the “Ritual of Repelling Apep,”³⁸ and the text in Amduat helps explain some obscure portions of the papyrus.³⁹

The “Book for Protecting the *Neshmet-Bark*” is similar in many respects to P. Bremner-Rhind, although it directs its magical potency against the god Seth during Abydene rituals, rather than the cosmic conflict between Re and Apep. However, the protection of the *neshmet-bark* does involve the solar god, who commands the deities guarding the bark, and at the triumphant conclusion of the text, Re prevails over Apep just as Osiris prevails over Seth.⁴⁰ Interestingly, the postscript to the version of the “Book for Protecting the Bark” at the temple of Dendera provides the clearest indication

³⁷ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 132 n. 7.

³⁸ Isis: Bremner-Rhind 23,19, *hsf zd=k in Is.t m zh.w tp-R^c=s* “Your aggressiveness is repulsed by Isis by means of the efficacious spells on her mouth.” *Srqy.t/Srq-htyt*: Bremner-Rhind 29, 24: *hk³ tw Srqy.t* “Sereqet enchant[s] you” (for her role against Apep in the Book of Gates and the Metternich Stela, also citing the Bremner-Rhind passage, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 133).

³⁹ For example, the connection made here between the Book of Amduat and P. Bremner-Rhind (particularly the importance of the goddess *Srq-hty.t* in both texts) allows for an improved reading of a previously misunderstood passage (P. Bremner Rhind 22, 18-19):

*i hm m z.t=f
nkn=f sw ds=f
srq ihy=f s3w q3is*
O one who retreats from his moment of striking power,
so that he injures himself!!

May his throat breathe, namely the one who guards the bindings!
(Compare Faulkner’s translation, *JEA* 23 [1937]: 168: “As for (?) him who flees in his time, he injures his own self, when (?) his throat is released. Beware, ye who are bound!”).

⁴⁰ Goyon, *Kêmi* 19 (1969): 60.

of its use on earth—if the book is recited during the festivals of Osiris, the reader will be given general protection, and if the book is recited during the procession of the *neshmet*-bark, he will ascend with Re into the sacred vessel.⁴¹

Priests on earth, be they in temples or funerary cults, interacted with the deities within the Underworld. Late Period papyri provide evidence for offerings to the Underworld denizens as well as rituals intended to destroy Re's enemies in the Netherworld. The “Ritual of Repelling Apep” and “Book for Protecting the *neshmet*-bark,” both known in their most complete form in papyri of Thirtieth Dynasty date, find close parallels in the events described in the Book of Amduat. The groups of deities who carry out the destruction of Apep mimicked in earthly ritual likewise appear in both the Late Period papyri and sarcophagi. In particular, the seventy-seven gods of Pharbaithos, emanations of the god Hormerty, and similar divine companies appear prominently in both corpora.⁴² Although the seventy-seven gods are not attested in the Underworld Books, much of their mythology originates in that text corpora; as examined below, the Late Period sarcophagi provide the crucial theological and temporal link between the Underworld Books and the Ptolemaic mythology of Pharbaithos.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65. Part of the text from the “Ceremony for causing Sokar to go forth” also appears at Dendera (see the text and commentary by H. Beinlich, “Ein Morgenlied an Osiris,” *RdE* 32 [1980]: 27-28).

⁴² For example, P. Bremner-Rhind, 26, 6-7:

*iw 3 ir=tw md3.t tn m s̄sm pn nty m ss̄
hft dʒit dp.t-ntr r shr hft.(w) n.w R< hft.(w)
nb n.w Hr-mrty m Iʒ.t-pgʒ*

This book is used in this way according to the writing,
when the divine boat crosses over in order to fell the enemies of Re
and all the enemies of Hormerty in Iat-pega.

The mythology surrounding the guardian deities of Pharbaithos emphasize their primary goal: the defeat of Apеп.⁴³ While Apеп occurs throughout solar hymns and other religious documents, the most specific textual and iconographic details of the chaos serpent appear in the corpus of Underworld Books. The connection between the Underworld Books and mythology of the seventy-seven deities of Pharbaithos are assured by their joint occurrence on the sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305) and the revival of the Underworld Books at precisely the time when the mythology of Pharbaithos is first attested.⁴⁴ The other monuments containing the first examples of the seventy-seven gods and their cosmic duties are also sarcophagi dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty—the enormous granite monuments which held the remains of the sacred bulls at Abu Yasin.⁴⁵

The presence of the guardian deities of Pharbaithos around the sarcophagus calls to mind the description of the *fd.t št3.t* of Osiris in a Late Period ritual for the destruction of Seth, the “The revelations of the mystery of the four balls:”⁴⁶

*wn=k t3 fd.t št3.t nty m Iwnw
r nw̄i r p3 nty im-s
htm.ti hr htm n ntr 77*

⁴³ Goyon, *Les dieux gardiens*, vol. 1, pp. 403-404. For another allusion to the seventy-seven gods who destroy Apеп, compare Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 54, l. 23: [*iw šd Wsir*] *N 77 n md3.wt hr nm.t n 3pp r nb* “Osiris N recites the 77 books over the slaughtering pit of Apеп every day.”

⁴⁴ The sarcophagus of Ankhapi (CG 29301) also contains images of the seventy-seven gods; the remainder of the decoration is derived from the Book of the Dead, but CG 29301 also contains an otherwise unrecognized copy of the Book of Quererets and some decorative elements from Type I sarcophagi on the lid.

⁴⁵ Cairo JE 86718 and 86722 +23 (Goyon, *Les dieux gardiens*, vol. 2, pls. 35-37); on the bull sarcophagi, see also Y. J.-L. Gourlay, “Les seigneurs et les *baou* vivants à Chedenou,” in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* (Cairo, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 363-380.

⁴⁶ Goyon, *BIFAO* 75 (1975): 220, ll. 5-7; *idem*, *Le Papyrus d’Imouthès*, pl. 29 = col. 30, l. 2. The initial *wn=k* is a Late Egyptian preterite *sdm=f*, a reduction of Middle Egyptian *iw sdm.n=f*.

You have opened the secret chest which is in Heliopolis,
in order to look at that which is inside it,
being sealed with the seal of the 77 gods.

The 77 gods transform the sarcophagus into the secret chest of Osiris, representing the seal around the lid of the coffin.⁴⁷ Their function on the sarcophagus CG 29305 and the function of similar deities on the lid of CG 29306 and Louvre D8 are identical—to seal the mummy safely inside its receptacle. The mythology of the deities of Pharbaithos, as expressed in “The revelations of the mystery of the four balls” and on the sarcophagi, emphasizes the protection of Re against Apep and thus the defense of Osiris, the solar corpse. The task of the seventy-seven gods is thus ultimately to protect the unification of Re and Osiris.⁴⁸ The first complete exemplars of the seventy-seven deities are the sarcophagi of the Thirtieth Dynasty, so the theology of the Underworld Books provides the basis for the emphasis on the union of Re and Osiris in the mythology of Pharbaithos. For example, the Delta/Heliopolitan focus of the mythology accords well with the solar burial places of the Sixth Hour of Amduat, situated directly before the battle of Apep in the Seventh Hour, which are the direct predecessors of the destruction of the serpent in the Pharbaithos myth. The origin of the theology of the seventy-seven guardian deities and their fundamental significance in funerary religion only becomes apparent when one recognizes their relationship with the Underworld Books, a connection provided solely by Late Period sarcophagi and papyri.

⁴⁷ Passage also cited by Goyon, *Dieux-gardiens*, vol. 1, p. 199 and n. 5.

⁴⁸ Goyon, *Les dieux gardiens*, vol. 1, pp. 200-203.

The seventy-seven gods of Pharbaithos who destroy Apep possess a rich cosmology in the Ptolemaic Period.⁴⁹ The relationship between cosmologies and the destruction of Apep further explains the direct juxtaposition of a detailed creation myth with ritual statements against Apep in the “Book of Knowing the Manifestations of Re who fell Apep,” again attested in P. Bremner-Rhind. This composition, a section of the “Book of Felling Apep,” begins with a speech by Re, describing the process of creation, famous for its repetitive use of *hpr*. After Re creates Shu and Tefnut, he fashions the remaining members of the Ennead, and these newly created deities defeat Apep through magical and physical means. While the “Book of knowing the manifestations of Re who falls Apep” does not appear on Late Period sarcophagi, the decoration on those sarcophagi suggest the underlying unity in the different compositions contained in P. Bremner-Rhind.

On the Type II and some Type III sarcophagi, addresses from the Litany of Re, the *hprw* of the solar divinity, accompany the Book of Amduat. In fact, Addresses twelve through nineteen identify the sun god with Khepri, the creator of the Heliopolitan Ennead,⁵⁰ and seven of its members: Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus (replacing Seth).⁵¹ Various forms of Osiris appear throughout the Litany of Re, so he is not repeated in the list of the Ennead. The Litany of Re is similarly a ritual book for knowing the sun god in all his names, and these seventy-four forms of the sun god are parts of the *hpr-hpr.w* “manifesting of manifestations” which Re performs in his battle

⁴⁹ The cosmological texts are extensively treated in Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens*.

⁵⁰ Address Eleven is directed towards Atum, who, with Khepri and Re, can create the Heliopolitan Ennead.

⁵¹ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 17-24; *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 63-64

with Apep.⁵² The “Book of knowing the manifestations of Re who fells Apep” does not list the manifestations, but rather describes the process by which the solar deity’s different forms are created and the effect they have upon the battle with Apep. Yet sufficient allusions exist between the “Book of knowing the manifestations of Re who fells Apep” and the Litany of Re to suggest their complementary nature. The juxtaposition of the forms from the Litany of Re with the hours of the night from the Book of Amduat on the sarcophagi provide some of the strongest evidence in favor of a liturgical use of the Litany throughout the night, in the exact same fashion as the “Book of Felling Apep” was recited at different hours of the day and night.

The often disparate compositions contained within the Late Period funerary papyri are rarely considered to form a unified and coherent theology. The unique juxtaposition of Underworld Books on the Late Period sarcophagi offer many solutions to the interpretative challenges of the Late Period papyri, such as the creation theology in P. Bremner Rhind, and other aspects of Egyptian religion, such as the cosmology of the genies of Pharaithos. The reuse of the Underworld Books on the Late Period sarcophagi coincide perfectly the larger scholarly movement, which led to the study and composition of the texts on the Late Period funerary papyri.

III. UNION OF BA AND CORPSE: RE-OSIRIS AS *(D)b3-dmd*

The unification of Re and Osiris is not only the focal event of the Netherworldly journey of the sun, but one of the most fundamental principles in all of Egyptian religion.

⁵² On the term *hpr-hpr.w*, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 238-39.

Not surprisingly, it is the primary focus of the corpus of Underworld Books, as well as most funerary literature of the Third Intermediate Period.⁵³ The importance of the Solar-Osirian unity for the Late Period remains less fully elucidated. The following examination assembles evidence of the Solar-Osirian Unity from the sarcophagi as well as Late Period papyri, with two specific foci: the unification of solar-*ba* and Osirian-corpse and the term *db3-dmd*.

The ritual preserved in P. Salt 825, a text copied in the Thirtieth Dynasty, contains one of the most explicit references to the unification of Re and Osiris and its key role in Egyptian religion:⁵⁴

*ir pr hr=f mw.t=f n šc d
m-dr nty ss̄t3 pw wr
Rc pw Wsir pw*

As for anyone who will reveal it, he will die a violent death,
because it is the great mystery—
it is Re and it is Osiris.

Similarly, Late Period funerary papyri repeatedly emphasize the solarization of Osiris,⁵⁵ a theme in Egyptian religious literature of all periods.⁵⁶ Few texts, though, explicitly identify the two deities, but more subtly employ the symbolism of the solar and Underworldly realms. Foremost among the symbols used is the unification of the solar-

⁵³ A. Niwinski, “The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the ‘State of Amun’ in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty,” *JEOL* 30 (1987-88): 89-106.

⁵⁴ Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, vol. 2, p. 19*, XVIII, ll. 1-3.

⁵⁵ For two of many possible examples, compare epithets given to Osiris in the “Ceremony for Causing Sokar to Emerge” (P. Louvre 3079, col. 112, ll. 9 and 15; Goyon, *RdE* 20 [1968]: 70-72): *i psd hr wbn htp* “O one who shines at rising and setting,” *i b3 n Rc m wi3 n hhw* “O ba of Re in the bark of millions.”

⁵⁶ H. Willems, *Chests of Life* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 151-156; Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books, passim*.

ba and Osirian-corpse. For example, in the “Ceremony for the Glorification of Osiris,” the *ba*-spirit is not simply a human-headed bird, but is capable of illumining all of heaven; the introduction of the papyrus describes the purpose of the composition:⁵⁷

sʒḥ bʒ=f
dd hʒ.t-f
psd bʒ=f m p.t
to transfigure his *ba*,
to establish his corpse,
so that his *ba* might illumine in heaven.

The illumination of the *ba*-spirit denotes a further aspect of the *ba*-corpse dichotomy in Egyptian funerary texts and solar religion. The *ba*-spirit is often identical to the solar disk,⁵⁸ which travels within the Underworld to illumine the Osirian corpse. The disk which illuminates the corpse is simultaneously the *ba*-spirit who unites with the bodily remains. Another passage from P. Bremner-Rhind adds a further aspect to the relationship between the disk and *ba*-spirit—a solarized Osiris illuminates his own corpse and then flies off as a *ba*-spirit behind Re to shine forth from the eastern horizon:⁵⁹

Rs-wdʒ nb nm̄.t
nb wdʒ.(t) s̄stʒ m ʒh.t
šzp r tr=f
wbn r nw=f
ntk s̄tw.t ‘pr.y mʒw
šzp=k n iʒb.t n ‘itm
mʒʒ(w)=k m s.t R‘
smʒ mʒw.t=f s̄h=k
‘py bʒ=k m-ht R‘
psd=k m dwʒw htp=k m mʃrw

⁵⁷ Goyon, *BIFAO* 65 (1967): 141, l. 3.

⁵⁸ For the *bʒ* of Re as a synonym of *itn*, see Zandee, *Amunhymnus Leiden I* 344, vol. 1, pp. 186-190.

⁵⁹ Faulkner, *Bremner-Rhind*, p. 18, ll. 7-15 (10, 2-10, 11).

Reswedja, lord of the bier,
lord of the udjat-eye, hidden in the horizon,
who illumines at his time,
who rises at his hour!
To you belong the sun-rays, being equipped with radiance.
You shine in the left eye of Atum.
You are seen in the place of Re.
His rays permeate your mummy.⁶⁰
Your ba flies after Re.
As you shine at dawn, so do you set in the evening.

A representation of the “Great One,” the unified Re-Osiris, on the Type I sarcophagi adds a final dichotomy to the unification of the sun god with his corpse. The disk and *ba*-element can also find expression in the head which combines with the headless corpse. Such a headless body appears on three of the Type I sarcophagi, awaiting the arrival of its head, the solar element.⁶¹ The Late Period papyri as well as contemporary sarcophagi all exploit the duality of Re and Osiris in all its myriad of forms: *ba*-corpse, disk-corpse, head-body. By their combination, these elements create the deity *Dbȝ-dmd*.

The Solar-Osirian credo, “It is Re who rests in Osiris; it is Osiris who rests in Re,” appears alongside representations of Re-Osiris in several New Kingdom tombs,⁶² royal and private, as well as in the texts of the Litany of Re⁶³ and Book of the Dead Chapter

⁶⁰ Contra Faulkner, *JEA* 22 (1936): 128: “When his rays are darkened (?), thou art mummified.” As the unified Re-Osiris, the god of the dead can illumine his own corpse.

⁶¹ For the association of head and disk, see B.R. Hellinckx, “The symbolic assimilation of head and sun as expressed by headrests,” *SAK* 29 (2001): 61-95.

⁶² See *supra*, Chapter 5.

⁶³ Wiebach-Koepke, *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe*, p. 213 has a listing of the Litany of Re examples, as well as similar epithets such as *Dmdi*. See also Zandee, *Amunhymnus Leiden I* 344, *Verso*, vol. I, pp. 278-80; Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, pp. 12-19 and 35-36 for discussions of *dmdi*.

180.⁶⁴ The Solar-Osirian credo on the lids of the sarcophagi of Tjaihorpata and Louvre D8 appears alongside the Address to *Dbȝ-dmd*. These two sarcophagi are the only extant monuments which directly juxtapose the Address *Dbȝ-dmd* with the statement “It is Re who rests in Osiris; it is Osiris who rests in Re.”⁶⁵ However, the sarcophagi versions of the Address to *Dbȝ-dmd* employ a significant variant of the solar-Osirian epithet—*Bȝ-dmd*.⁶⁶ While the latter term clearly means “United *Ba*,” the precise meaning of *Dbȝ-dmd* remains mysterious. A careful examination of different occurrences of the closely related terms and their expression in iconography offer two potential solutions to the mysterious epithet *Dbȝ-dmd*.

The United *Ba* represents the union of the *ba* of Re with the *ba* of Osiris, explicitly described in Coffin Text Spell 335:⁶⁷

*Wsir pw m ȝ-q=f r Dd.t
gm.n=f bȝ im n Rȝ
ȝȝ.n hpt.n ky ky
ȝȝ.n hpr m bȝ.wy m Dd.t*

Osiris, when he entered Mendes,
where he found the *ba* of Re.
Then the one embraced the other.
Then (they) became the one with two *bas* in Mendes.

⁶⁴ G. Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nebseni (BM EA 9900). The Texts of Chapter 180 with the New Kingdom Parallels* (London, 2002).

⁶⁵ In the Litany of Re, the Address to *Dbȝ-dmd* appears in the Third Litany (Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 107ff.), while the Solar-Osirian credo appears in the Sixth Litany (*ibid.*, p. 178).

⁶⁶ The same variant appears in the tombs of Ramesses IV and Ramesses IX (Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 107).

⁶⁷ CT IV 276/7c-280/1a (=Book of the Dead Chapter 17, §21; *Urk.* V, pp. 48-50). For this passage, see Spiegel, in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*, pp. 129-181.

The United Ba is created only once Re and Osiris have “embraced” each other or as stated in the Solar-Osirian Credo, “rested” within one another. In Third Intermediate Period papyri, the United Ba can be assigned to either Osiris or Re-Osiris:⁶⁸

*pr{t} b3=s r p.t mi b3 n R^c
h3.t=s r dw3.t mi b3-dmd n Wsir*

May her ba ascend to heaven like the ba of Re,
her corpse destined for the Underworld like the United Ba of Osiris.

*iry=k hpr nb n-mrt
iw mi b3-dmd R^c-Wsir*

May you make all the desired manifestations,
while being like the United *Ba* of Re-Osiris.

In his original publication of the Litany of Re, Piankoff translated the term *D**b**3-dmd* “Djeba of the Joined Together,” although he does suggest an alternate translation—“Substituted One of the One Joined Together.”⁶⁹ Hornung⁷⁰ and Barta⁷¹ follow the former translation. The term *db3* (☞ ), *Wb.* V 435.6-8) is peculiar to the Underworld Books, but as the *Wb.* already suggests (followed by Piankoff) this may be an orthography of *db3* “to clothe, cover, enclose.”⁷² Several instances in the Underworld

⁶⁸ Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 1, scene 3, ll. 8-9 (papyrus of Heruben); pl. 7, scene 3 (papyrus of Tentidiumut).

⁶⁹ *Litany of Re*, p. 11.

⁷⁰ *Anbetung des Re*, vol. 2, pp. 99 n. 16.

⁷¹ *Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, pp. 14-15.

⁷² However, one argument against the reading “United Enclosed One,” is that there is no apparent connection between “clothed one” and “ba-spirit,” as one would expect in an interchange of *db3-dmd* with *b3-dmd*. One possible connection is the *b3*-garment (*Wb.* I 415.7-11; Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, p. 406), but it refers exclusively to the skin of a *b3*-panther and is probably not related to the term for *b3* employed in the Litany of Re (Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, pp. 69-71 argues for a possible, mostly secondary, connection between the two).

Books where a verb *dbʒ* occurs in conjunction with raiment or coverings supports this assumption.⁷³ The “United Enclosed/Clothed One” is also an apt description of the famous image of the unified Re-Osiris, both in his mummiform aspect (e.g. the famous scene in the Tomb of Nefertari) and shown within the disk (e.g. the depiction accompanying the Address to Djeba-demēd). Another key passage in the Litany of Re provides a further perspective on the term *dbʒ*:⁷⁴

hpr iʒw m qrr.t dwʒ.t
n bʒ Rˁ imy dwʒ.t
dbʒ-dmd htp m dbʒ.w=f
 Praise breaks out in the caverns of the Underworld,
 for the ba of Re within the Underworld,
 Djeba-demēdj who rests in his debau.

In all of the New Kingdom copies of this passage, the term *dbʒ* is determined only with a book roll and plural strokes—these determinatives as well as the lack of a *t*-ending all argue against a relationship with *dbʒ.t* “sarcophagus.” However, the same Litany passage on the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata unambiguously writes *htp=f m*  *=f*, “when he rests in his sarcophagus.”⁷⁵ This heretofore unrecognized Late Period variant

⁷³ For one of many examples, compare the Book of Amduat, Ninth Hour, first scene of the first register (Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 3, pp. 655-656):

i n=sn Rˁ dbʒ () n=tн m mnḥ.t=tн
dsr=tн m hbs.w=tн
dbʒ.n () tn Hr im imn=f it=f m dwʒ.t imn.t nfr.w
 Re says to them: “Covering be to you, by means of your clothing!
 May you be sanctified with your raiments!
 Just as he hides his father in the Underworld, which hides the gods,
 so did Horus cover you there.”

⁷⁴ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 237-38.

⁷⁵ Compare also *Wb. Belegstellen* V 463, 2 where *dbʒ-dmd* in the tomb of Imiseba is spelled with a mummy surrounded by a serpent.

offers some of the most persuasive evidence in favor of the translation of Djeba-demēd as “United Enclosed One.”

Another solution, though, may be offered for the wealth of ambiguous spellings of the word *dbʒ*—“to replace, to substitute for (someone)” (*Wb.* V 555.5ff.).⁷⁶ When the sun sinks below the western horizon, the moon becomes the replacement for the sun disk.⁷⁷ In a text from the Bab el-Amara, the verb *dbʒ* expresses this exact concept:⁷⁸

ičh psd dbʒ=f n=w itn
The shining moon replaces the sun disk for them.

Osiris, the lunar god *par excellence*, is source of light during the hours of darkness. The union of Re and Osiris is thus the joining of the two gods that substitute for one other.⁷⁹ This interpretation explains why *dbʒ-dmd* can be replaced with *bʒ-dmd*—the ba-spirit is also a substitute for and manifestation of the deity.⁸⁰ At the conclusion to the Seventh Litany of Re, when Re “rests within” all of his *debau*, he is occupying all of his “substitutes,” the seventy-four forms of the sun god praised in the Great Litany. Osiris

⁷⁶ The spelling of *dbʒ* as *dbʒ* is most common in the Middle Kingdom (compare also Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 321), which is not unexpected, since parts of the Litany of Re was probably written during the Middle Kingdom (for this dating of the Underworld Books, see *supra*, Introduction; note also the relationship between the 75 serpents in the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor, including the main serpent himself, and the 74 forms of the sun god—J. Baines, “Interpreting the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor,” *JEA* 76 [1990]: 62-64).

⁷⁷ See *supra*.

⁷⁸ *Wb. Belegstellen*, vol. 5, p. 98.

⁷⁹ Groups of divinities known as the *bʒ.w dmd.w* “the united bas” who escort the lunar or the solar disk in Ptolemaic temple scenes further support this interpretation (see Fr. Labrique, “L’escorte de la lune sur la porte d’Évergète à Karnak,” *RdE* 49 [1998]: 112-119 for a general description of these divinities). In the Ptolemaic period, the term *bʒ-dmd* is also used as an epithet of Osiris (Cauville, *La théologie d’Osiris à Edfou*, pp. 3 and 19; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, p. 296).

⁸⁰ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, pp. 97-98.

remains the ultimate substitute of Re, explaining yet another variant to the term *dbȝ-dmd*, *Wsir-dmd*.⁸¹

The Address to the “United Substitute/Enclosed One (*Dbȝ-dmd*)” in the Litany of Re appears on the ceilings of New Kingdom tombs, at the literal turning point in the composition.⁸² Similarly, the address crowns the head end of the lid on the sarcophagi of Tjaihorpata and Louvre D8. One would expect that such an important form of the sun god would also appear in Late Period papyri, and such is indeed the case. Book of the Dead Chapter 168, also known as the “Book of Quererets,” contains an extensive description of Osiris as *dbȝ-dmd*. Although classified with the Book of the Dead, this text is more akin to the genre of Underworld Books and formed part of the Late Period liturgies to Osiris.⁸³

The above discussions represent only an initial foray into the underlying themes of the Late Period funerary papyri, a largely unexplored topic in Egyptian religion. The most important conclusion to emerge from the present examination is the parallels between the compositions in the funerary papyri and the Underworld Books which were used on Late Period sarcophagi. The comparison between the papyri and the Underworld Books is most fruitful when one takes into account the specific manifestation of the netherworldly texts on the sarcophagi, not the occurrences of the books in the New

⁸¹ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 122.

⁸² See the references *supra*.

⁸³ Cf. Burkard’s classification of the text (*Spätzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien*, pp. 32-46).

Kingdom royal tombs. The theologians who designed the decoration of the sarcophagi treated in the present work almost certainly were of the same ilk as those that composed and copied the wealth of Late Period funerary papyri.

CHAPTER 7

THE LATE EGYPTIAN UNDERWORLD

The four millennia during which we have pictorial and epigraphic evidence for the practice of Egyptian religion in the Nile Valley are witness to both a highly conservative theology and a series of profound changes in religious texts and ritual practice. Notions of the Underworld partake of these two divergent trends. In many ways, the basic features of the afterlife are established already in the Pyramid Texts, and the Coffin Texts in particular contain many of the elements of the New Kingdom Underworld Books.¹ Throughout pharaonic history, a dichotomy exists between the celestial and chthonic afterlife, each textual corpus placing particular emphasis on one or another, and the Late Period is no exception. Another important trend in funerary religion is the gradual “democratization” of funerary literature, whereby private individuals of a later era employ royal texts of an earlier period.² The use of royal Underworld Books on Late Period sarcophagi is a continuation of their use by priests and their relatives during the Third Intermediate Period as well as prominent individuals of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, such as Montuemhat (TT 34) and Padiamenemope (TT33).

The sarcophagi described in the foregoing chapters and their relationship with contemporaneous funerary papyri form the basis for the following description of the Underworld as envisaged by Egyptians during the Late Period. The expression of these

¹ S. Bickel, “Die Jenseitsfahrt des Re nach Zeugen der Sargtexte,” A. Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel (FS Hornung)* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 41-56.

² J.P. Sorensen, “Divine Access: The So-called Democratization of Egyptian Funerary Literature as a Socio-cultural Process,” in G. Englund, ed., *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians: Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions* (Uppsala, 1989), pp. 109-125.

conceptions during the Late Period is distinct from that of the Third Intermediate Period (part I). The predominant principle of the decoration of the Late Period sarcophagi is the “interchangeability of parts” (part II). The ways in which Late Period theologians applied this principle tells us much about each individual Underworld Book used on the sarcophagi (part III); the examination of the separate compositions will also address general observations of textual transmission. Finally, three different topics describe the features of Late Period conceptions of the Underworld: Netherworldly cosmography (part IV), Netherworldly temple ritual (part V), and the scholarly movement of the Thirtieth Dynasty (part VI).

I. FROM THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD TO LATE PERIOD

The funerary papyri of the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period sarcophagi treated in this work represent a reproductive tradition,³ since they derive from New Kingdom compositions. Throughout these two periods, however, scribes did not slavishly copy earlier texts, but rather continued to edit and augment the religious treatises of the past. Funerary objects in the Third Intermediate Period share two features with the corpus of Late Period sarcophagi treated in this work: re-use of New Kingdom compositions and unique combinations of these compositions. Yet, a careful analysis of the texts during these two periods demonstrates that the principles guiding the changes and use of the earlier material differed greatly.

The surviving religious output of the Third Intermediate Period concentrates on two media, papyri and coffins, but only the former have been the objects of detailed

³ The term reproductive is borrowed from classification of solar hymns—Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 4-11.

treatment. Several different types of funerary papyri were produced in the Third Intermediate Period, but those most relevant to the present discussion are the Amduat Papyri, Mythological Papyri, Litany Papyri, and Aker Papyri. The large corpus of Amduat Papyri reproduces scenes and texts from the last four hours of Amduat or segments thereof, while the Litany papyri contain figures from the Litany of Re, including forms peculiar to the papyri, but do not combine the figures with parts of the Book of Amduat or other Underworld Books. The two known examples of the Aker papyri derive the majority of their decoration from the part of the Creation of the Solar Disk known as the “Book of Aker,” but the papyrus of Djedkhonsuisankh also contains images from the Twelfth Hour of Amduat and Khonsumes adds the concluding scene from the Book of Gates.⁴ The Mythological Papyri similarly draw from a more extensive range of compositions, including Amduat,⁵ Gates,⁶ Caverns,⁷ Creation of the Solar Disk,⁸

⁴ Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pls. 29-30.

⁵ The papyrus of Dirpu (*ibid.*, pl. 6): two rearing serpents with sun disk from the upper register of the Tenth Hour and goddesses riding on serpents from the Eleventh Hour; papyrus of Bak-en-Mut (*ibid.*, pl. 12): four drowned people in a lake in positions resembling the figures in the lower register of the Tenth Hour; papyrus of Bak-en-mut (Cairo; *ibid.*, pl. 20): heads and stars from the lower register of the Fourth Hour, Atum and winged serpent from the Eleventh Hour, figures holding coiled serpent atop their heads also from Eleventh Hour; papyrus of Djehuti-mes (*ibid.*, pl. 21): goddess with reclining serpents on their shoulders from the Tenth Hour (on the papyrus the goddesses are headless). The papyri of Teye, Gaut-sushen A, Pa-Neb-en-Kemet-Kekht, Amon-hotep, Djed-Amon-iuf-anhk (*ibid.*, pls. 23-27) are all of the “Amduat type,” and include individual figures primarily from the Tenth through Twelfth Hours—detailed descriptions are provided by *ibid.*, pp. 179ff. An anonymous papyrus (*ibid.*, pl. 28) contains large segments of the Ninth through Twelfth Hours in a style most akin to the Amduat Papyri.

⁶ Anonymous papyrus (*ibid.*, pl. 28), with scenes from the Fifth and Eighth Hours of the Book of Gates interspersed with scenes from the Ninth through Twelfth Hours of Amduat. One of the Aker Papyri, Djed-Khonsu-ius-anhk (*ibid.*, pl. 29), contains Scene 60 (Eighth Hour) and a short excerpt of text. Several of the Mythological Papyri also contain variations on Scene 60 from the Book of Gates, showing mummies standing between the coils of a serpent (for an examination of this motif, see Niwinski, in Schoske, ed., *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985*, vol. 3, pp. 305-314).

and other Underworldly compositions,⁹ as well as scenes peculiar to the Mythological Papyri and contemporaneous coffins.¹⁰ However, in nearly all cases, substantial portions of more than one composition do not appear together on a papyrus; the papyri designers distinctly preferred excerpts from the Ninth through Twelfth Hours of Amduat,¹¹ and tended to reproduce a limited number of scenes derived from Gates and Creation of the

⁷ Scenes from the Second and Third Divisions of Caverns are used to illustrate Chapters 129 and 148 of the Book of the Dead in the papyrus of Nodjmet; her papyrus also contains depictions of the First and Sixth Division of Caverns, without accompanying text (Niwinski, *Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, pp. 209-210, pl. 49b-c [First and Sixth Divisions only]; E.A.W. Budge, *Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Karasher and Netchemet* [London, 1899], pls. 6, 9, and 12). Some scenes from Caverns do appear on later funerary objects—compare the snake in front of an ithyphallic figure with bird atop his head on a mummy cartonnage in the Louvre, copying the figure of Osiris from the Fifth Division of Caverns (reproduced in Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1, p. 97).

⁸ The papyrus of Bak-en-mut (Cairo; Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 11, pl. 20): Section A, lowest register, uraei with arms hauling solar bark down sloping ramp. There are also images derived from Section A, first register, second scene, where a bark atop Aker is placed above a sun disk; from the bottom of the sun disk emerges a falcon which shines upon a mummy (Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Rameses VI*, pl. 115; Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, abb. 31; the falcon head is omitted from the drawing in Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*). For example, the two barks in the papyrus of Tent-diui-mut—one has a falcon head emerging from below while another bark with shining solar disk rests above a mummy. Similarly, an upside-down falcon head, without associated bark, illuminates a mummy on the papyrus of Padiamon (*ibid.*, pl. 10).

⁹ The papyrus of Heruben B (*ibid.*, pl. 2) includes an image of the reclining Re-Osiris known from the tomb of Ramesses IX; a similar image appears on another Third Intermediate Period papyrus (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pls. 41-42). The papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-iufankh I (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 19) contains a bark consisting of two human figures and a serpent most closely paralleled in the tomb of Ramesses VI, ceiling of Corridor G (Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 194-195 and pl. 15).

¹⁰ For example, the scene of Seth/Horus in the solar bark spearing Apep in the papyri of Heruben B and Djed-Khonsu-iufankh I (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pls. 2, 19), Nut arching over Geb in the papyri of Nisti-ta-Nebet-Taui, Nesi-pa-ka-shuty, Khonsu-renep, and Djed-Khonsu-iufankh I among others (*ibid.*, pls. 8, 9, 11, 19), Osiris enthroned on the *tnfʒ.t* in the papyri of Pa-di-amon, Khonsu-renep (*ibid.*, pls. 10, 11).

¹¹ One of the few exceptions, Marseille 3, contains some figures from the Third Hour of Amduat (Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, p. 208).

Solar Disk. Motifs from the Book of the Dead frequently appear alongside scenes from the Underworld Books on all these types of papyri.

An exceptional papyrus and the Third Intermediate Period document closest in nature to the Late Period sarcophagi is an anonymous papyrus from the Cairo Museum which contains substantial pictorial excerpts from the Book of Amduat and the Book of Gates, accompanied by annotations different from the texts with the same scenes in New Kingdom royal tombs.¹² This fascinating papyrus shares two features with the Late Period sarcophagi. The papyrus represents the use of earlier Underworld Book scenes, but provided with entirely different annotations; such is also the case with the scene from the Creation of the Solar Disk on Side One of the Type I sarcophagi. The juxtaposition of large excerpts from the Books of Amduat and Gates in the anonymous papyrus also parallels a similar juxtaposition of the Eighth Hour of Amduat and the lower register of the Fourth Hour of Gates on Side Four of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

With the exception of the anonymous papyrus in Cairo, the myriad of Third Intermediate Period Papyri divide themselves into two basic groups: those that use large excerpts of a single composition and those that combine small excerpts of several compositions. Neither group utilizes any single composition in its entirety; even the most comprehensive of the Amduat papyri depict only the Ninth through Twelfth Hours, followed by a complete version of the Short Amduat.¹³ Third Intermediate Period coffins contemporaneous with the funerary papyri and often owned by the same individuals follow similar principles of decoration, and the iconography of a coffin and papyrus

¹² Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pp. 194-199.

¹³ Sadek, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Amduat*, p. 322.

ensemble often complement one another.¹⁴ The overriding principle in funerary decoration during the Third Intermediate Period is the principle of *pars pro toto*¹⁵—a small scene from any Underworld Book substitutes for the entirety of the composition, and the final hours of the night are sufficient for the totality of the solar journey.

The principle of *pars pro toto* influences the iconography of nearly every funerary object of the period, extending even to the royal tombs at Tanis. The seemingly haphazard mixture of individual scenes on papyri and coffins was intended to create a new unified composition, just as the decoration on the small burial chambers at Tanis, but the templates for different objects varied widely. The decoration of Third Intermediate funerary objects is not theologically less sophisticated,¹⁶ but the great variety of iconographic programs and frequent lack of annotations conceals the motivations behind the choice of particular scenes. The principle of *pars pro toto*, which guided the decoration of funerary papyri and coffins, also reflects the theology of the Third Intermediate Period, as summarized by Niwinski:¹⁷

A series of new iconographic compositions were then created, which represented complicated conceptions of cosmogony, cosmology and eschatology by means of a limited number of figural symbols. All these scenes were an illustration of the principal theological idea of the period:

¹⁴ A. Niwinski, *Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, pp. 219-228; see also *idem*, “Iconography of the 21st dynasty: its main features, levels of attestation, the media and their diffusion,” in C. Uehlinger, ed., *Images as media. Sources for the cultural history of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st millennium BCE)* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 2000), pp. 21-43 for a survey of coffin and papyri decoration.

¹⁵ For a discussion of *pars pro toto* in Third Intermediate Period manuscripts, see Niwinski, *Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, pp. 17-22, 180, 185, *passim*.

¹⁶ Cf. Niwinski’s argument that objects produced by secondary workshops contain relatively less information than higher quality productions (“Relativity in Iconography,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* [Kampen, 1988], pp. 96-104).

¹⁷ *Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, p. 38.

the solar-Osirian unity of the aspects of the Great God, with whom the deified deceased was identified.

The union of Re and Osiris in the Netherworld was likewise the single most prominent theme expressed by the Late Period sarcophagi, but the sarcophagi are products of an entirely different philosophy of decoration. These differences do not result solely from the larger size or stone medium of the Late Period sarcophagi compared to the earlier wooden coffins and papyri, but embody a new form of theological expression—the interchangeability of different parts of the Underworld Books.

II. INTERCHANGEABILITY OF PARTS

Each Late Period sarcophagus belongs to one of four distinct types, each type representing one or more ancient templates. All four Late Period sarcophagus types combine excerpts from two or more New Kingdom Underworld Books; with the exception of the Type I sarcophagi, none of these templates are attested prior to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty and most appear for the first time on Thirtieth Dynasty sarcophagi. The templates for each type differ dramatically from one another, but one can discern in them a common philosophy of design. In each sarcophagus type, the excerpts from different Underworld Books complement one another in order to create a new, unified composition. The Late Period sarcophagi treat the divisions, hours, registers, and litanies making up the Books of Amduat, Gates, Caverns, Creation of the Solar Disk, Book of the Night, and the Litany of Re as independent units, and as such combine portions of two or more compositions to create yet more Netherworldly “books.” However, the theologians who designed the templates of the Late Period

sarcophagi did not combine the hours and scenes at random, but carefully chose excerpts which would complement one another, a principle termed here the “interchangeability of parts.” For example, on the Type II sarcophagi, the concluding scene from the Book of the Night substitutes for the omitted Twelfth Hour of Amduat. In other cases, a portion of the nightly journey of the sun was represented by more than one composition, such as the presence of text from the Sixth Division of Caverns as well as the Twelfth Hour of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata or scenes from the Seventh and Eighth Hours of the Book of the Night alongside the same hours from the Book of Amduat on the Type II sarcophagi. The following discussion will trace the theme of “interchangeability of parts” through each of the sarcophagi types.

The Type I sarcophagi are the only members of this corpus that have direct parallels in the New Kingdom. While one cannot regard the decorative scheme as a specific choice of Late Period theologians, the popularity of the texts and scenes on the Type I sarcophagi indicates the continued significance of those specific excerpts from the Books of Gates, Creation of the Solar Disk, and an unnamed book, which may belong to the latter composition. The decoration of the New Kingdom predecessors of the Type I sarcophagi, including the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, may even have influenced the development of the Late Period principle of “interchangeability of parts.”

Unlike the other three sarcophagus types, the Type I sarcophagi do not portray the different divisions of the nightly hours. Rather the two short sides represent the western (Side Four) and eastern horizons (Side One), while the long sides depict significant events in the sun’s journey through the Netherworld. The Late Period Type I sarcophagi contain two iconographic deviations from the earlier New Kingdom sarcophagi with

similar decorative schemes: the bent shades in Side Three, Scene 1 are transformed into pouring pots and the ejaculating Osiris figure in Side Two, Scene 1 becomes headless. Although the first alteration seems to be the result of iconographic confusions, the second change is probably rooted in continued theological speculation. No copies of the ejaculating Osiris scene survive between the New Kingdom and Late Period, making determination of the precise date of the iconographic alteration impossible; however, headless deities, while attested during the New Kingdom and earlier, are particularly prominent in Late Period religion.¹⁸ In either case, the headless Osiris scene, only attested in the Late Period Type I sarcophagi, aids in determining the unifying theme of the three different Underworld Book compositions on the Type I sarcophagi: resurrection through decomposition. The eye of Horus is broken into its constituent parts in the western horizon, represented by the First Division of the Book of Gates, and time is deconstructed in the eastern horizon, represented by the giant arms from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The long walls (Sides Two and Three) portray and describe the decomposition and reunification of the body of Osiris, which is particularly pronounced with the headless Osiris, whose deficiency can only be filled by the solar disk. The three different compositions each represent a unique aspect of the Underworld, while sharing a common theme—such a wide range of concepts and geographical specificity (e.g. representations of the western and eastern horizons) is only possible through the combination of excerpts from different Underworld Books.

The Type II sarcophagi integrate four different Underworld Books, and are the only sarcophagus type which switches between different compositions in the same

¹⁸ See *supra*.

register. The template of the Type II sarcophagi treats each of the four different compositions—the Books of Amduat, Gates, Night, and the Litany of Re—as if they were parts of the same text, which alone revolutionizes our understanding of the genre of Underworld Books. Each side of the Type II sarcophagi consists of a number of tripartite units containing a selection of addresses and figures from the Great Litany of Re, a *sbḥ.t*-gateway from the Book of Gates, and an hour from the Book of Amduat. The Litany addresses and *sbḥ.t*-gateways do not precede the full texts from the Book of Amduat on other types of sarcophagi (e.g. Tjaihorpata, Nectanebo II, etc.),¹⁹ nor are they present in any New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period versions of the Book of Amduat. The mixture of scenes and texts from different Underworld Books provides “complementary” elements, allowing a single hour to be represented by more than one composition:

Hours 1-4: Amduat
Hour 5: Amduat and Judgment Hall (Gates, Scene 33)
Hour 6: Amduat
Hour 7: Amduat and Book of the Night
Hour 8: Amduat and Book of the Night
Hours 9-11: Amduat
Hour 12: Book of the Night

Addresses and figures from the Great Litany of Re also appear before most of the first eight hours of Amduat and occasionally accompany the last four hours of the night in Amduat as well. The Type II sarcophagi and the Tomb of Padiamenemope are the only monuments to intersperse parts of the Litany of Re within the hours of Book of Amduat; along with the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre, they preserve an otherwise unknown organization of the Addresses from the Great Litany. The Late

¹⁹ However, *sbḥ.t*-gates and addresses from the Litany of Re do precede complete copies of the hours of Amduat in the Tomb of Padiamenemope, TT33 (Piankoff, *BIAFO* 46 [1947]: 74).

Period version of the Great Litany, fully described and translated for the first time here, contains several important features. Not only are the addresses divided amongst the hours of the night, the numbers of the addresses precede backwards through the night: Address 74 and 75 appear before the First Hour of Amduat, while Addresses 8 and 14 precede the Eleventh Hour. The title of the Litany of Re as well as several passages within the New Kingdom versions of the text attest to its liturgical nature.²⁰ The Litany of Re also contains overt remarks about the usefulness of the texts on earth,²¹ a feature it shares with the Books of Amduat and Gates, suggesting that the Underworld Books were a component of temple ritual (see *infra*). The title of the Litany of Re refers to its recitation during the evening,²² and the arrangement of the addresses on the sarcophagi transforms them from “funerary” texts into a nocturnal counterpart to litanies recited to the diurnal sun (see the comments on ritual use, below). In several cases, the addresses from the Litany of Re on the Type II sarcophagi contain themes present in the hours of Amduat which they proceed, demonstrating connections between the two compositions never before suspected.

The Type II sarcophagi conclusively demonstrate the interchangeability of the different sections of the compositions collectively termed the Underworld Books. The decorative scheme on those sarcophagi further disproves any distinction between the chthonic and heavenly books, since scenes from the Book of the Night are inextricably combined with hours from the Book of Amduat, and in one case replace the entire

²⁰ Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher für den verstorbenen König*, p. 15.

²¹ Wente, *JNES* 41 (1982): 161-79; see also the discussion *infra*.

²² Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 1-2.

Twelfth Hour of the latter composition. Even more surprising is the division of Addresses from the Great Litany into an hourly structure, greatly augmenting the available evidence for its liturgical use.

The Type III sarcophagi employ fewer netherworldly compositions, using only the Book of Amduat and the Litany of Re. Unlike the Type II sarcophagi, the figures and/or addresses from the Great Litany do not appear in the same register as the hours from the Amduat, but rather occupy their own region of the sarcophagus—a register beneath the Amduat hours on the sarcophagi of Usermaatre and Nectanebo II, and the sides of the lid on the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer. As in the Type II sarcophagi, the addresses from the Litany of Re on the sarcophagi of Usermaatre and Nectanebo II progress backwards, and the addresses common to both sarcophagus types follow a nearly identical order. The sarcophagi of Usermaatre and Nectanebo II are unusual in choosing six hours from the Book of Amduat—First, Second, Third, Sixth, Eighth, and Ninth—while omitting the final hours of the night. However, the presence of the Late Period version of the Great Litany used during each hour of the night may explain such an omission. On the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer, all hours, except for the Eighth Hour, are present on interior and exterior of the *cune*, while the lid contains only the figures from the Great Litany with request formula, rather than the late version of the Addresses.

A final notable feature of the decoration of the Type III sarcophagi, also relevant to the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (Type IV), is the omission of the Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat (with the exception of Wereshnefer). The architectural significance of the sarcophagus itself may interchange with the texts and scenes which adorn the sarcophagus to create this omission. The regions of the Underworld portrayed in the

Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat exerted tremendous influence on funerary architecture, particularly the sloping passageways of tombs, possibly beginning already in royal burials of the Middle Kingdom,²³ and certainly present in New Kingdom royal²⁴ and private tombs.²⁵ On the Late Period sarcophagi, the Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat would not possess the same architectural relevance as in earlier tombs. Furthermore, the sarcophagus itself may serve as a replacement for the egg of Sokar or the entire Land of Sokar, one of the most important elements in those two hours of the night. The shape of the sarcophagi fulfills one of the primary functions of the depictions within the Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat, leading to their omission on several of the Late Period sarcophagi.

The single Type IV sarcophagus, that of Tjaihorpata, contains a greater variety of Underworld Books than the other sarcophagus types, but like the Type III sarcophagi, each composition on Type IV is assigned to a separate register. The majority of the decoration on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata derives from the Book of Amduat, and the interior walls of the sarcophagus contain only the Ninth through Twelfth Hours of that text and no other composition. The hours of Amduat on the *cune* of the sarcophagus represent ten of the twelve hours of the night, omitting only the Fourth and Fifth hours.

²³ Rößler-Köhler, in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, pp. 76-88. The sloping passageways of the Middle Kingdom tombs and the depictions in the Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat might also share a common Old Kingdom ancestor, the template on which pyramid chambers were based (see the discussion of *ip.wt* in the Introduction, *supra*).

²⁴ F. Abitz, *Die religiöse Bedeutung der sogenannten Grabräuberschächte in den ägyptischen Königgräbern der 18. bis 20. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1974), pp. 92-99.

²⁵ K.-J. Seyfried, "Kammern, Nischen und Passagen in Felsgräbern des Neuen Reiches," in H. Guksch and D. Polz, eds., *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens* (Mainz, 1998), pp. 387-406; F. Kampp, *Die Thebanische Nekropole—Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie* (Mainz, 1996), pp. 82-94.

A single scene from the lower register of the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates represents those two hours; Scene 21 of Gates, placed above the Eighth Hour of Amduat, emphasizes the Horus-Osiris constellation in the Netherworld, complementing the centrality of Re-Osiris in most of the Amduat. Furthermore, the falcon-headed Horus-Mekhentyirty in Scene 21 of Gates may substitute for the god Sokar, whose realm appears in the Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat. Only the juxtaposition of texts on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata elucidates the relationship between those two deities in their manifestations in the Books of Amduat and Gates.

The placement of the Litany of Re on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata further enhances our understanding of that text relative to the Book of Amduat. All seventy-four forms of the sun god from the Great Litany, accompanied by texts from the Third and Fourth Litanies, appear directly above the Sixth and Seventh Hours of Amduat on Side Three. While the Type II and some Type III sarcophagi demonstrate the use of the Great Litany as an hourly ritual, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata relates the seventy-four forms of the sun god to the changing manifestations of Re as he combats Apep in the Seventh Hour of Amduat. The solar corpse in the Sixth Hour of Amduat is also appropriate to the explicit unification of Re and Osiris, which the Third and Fourth Litanies so thoroughly describe. The placement of excerpts from the Litany of Re on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata indicate previously unsuspected connections between the forms of the sun god and Re's activities in the Sixth and Seventh Hours of the night.

The lowest register on the exterior of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata contains an abbreviated version of the First and Second Divisions of the Book of Caverns, while the goddess Shetayt from the Fifth Division fills the floor of the sarcophagus and an excerpt

from the Sixth Division appears on the upper portion of the lid. The distribution of the text from the Book of Caverns seems to be independent of the hours of Amduat, particularly since the texts from the First and Second Divisions on Sides One and Two meet in the center of those sides, in the middle of the First and Eighth Hours of Amduat. Instead, the different texts from the Book of Caverns create a second solar cycle encompassing the vertical axis of the sarcophagus to complement the Amduat cycle on the horizontal axis. Prior to this work, the excerpts from the Fifth and Sixth Divisions remained unrecognized, so this represents an entirely new presentation of the relationship between the Books of Amduat and Caverns.

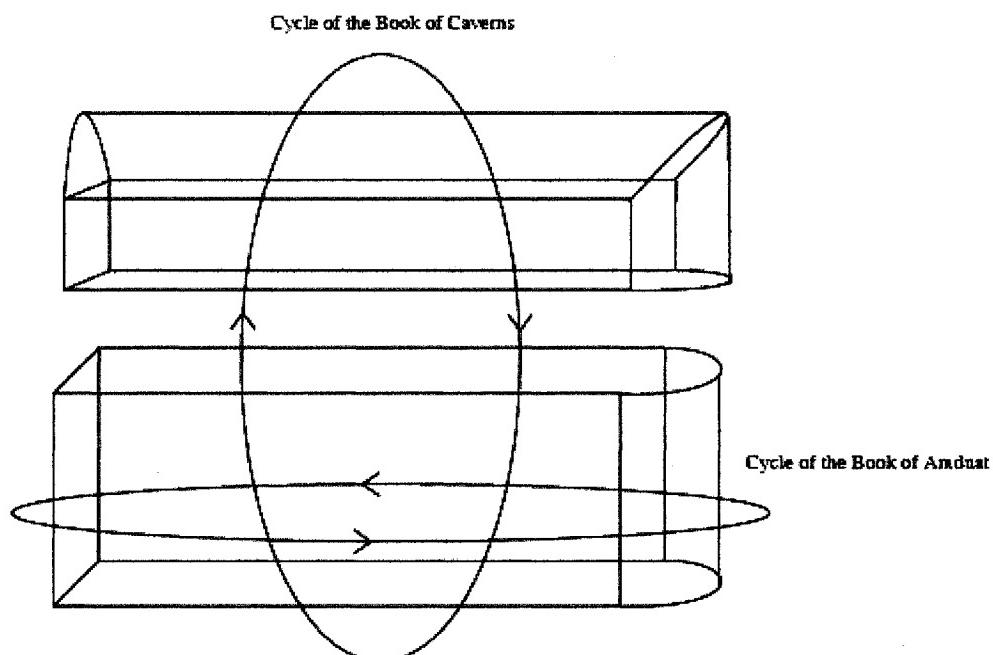


Fig. 78: The two cosmic cycles on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306)

The survey of the four sarcophagi types presented above conclusively demonstrates the existence of an underlying theological principle behind all the Late Period sarcophagus templates—interchangeability of parts. This first examination and presentation of the corpus of Late Period sarcophagi revolutionizes our understanding of

the different components of the Underworld Books. The four types of sarcophagi prove that the Underworld “Books” are actually components of a larger unified composition, and particular sections within a particular “book” can function independently of its original text to create new treatises with parts of other “books.” Fortunately, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata also provides an ancient title for a text that combines parts of several Underworld Books: *ss n ḥ.t imnt.t* “writings of the hidden chamber.”²⁶ To the ancient Egyptian, all these books expressed a facet of the journey of the sun through the Underworld, with emphasis on particular aspects of the journey and the denizens encountered therein. The principle of “interchangeability of parts” can now be established as an important aspect of the Underworld Books, and perhaps can shed light on the use of other ancient Egyptian religious texts.²⁷

III. LATE PERIOD UNDERWORLD BOOKS

The importance of the Late Period sarcophagi for the study of Egyptian religion is not restricted to the study of Late Period religion. The layout of the texts and use of the Underworld Books in innovative and creative ways sheds light on the inner workings of the compositions. The investigation of the decoration of the Type I sarcophagi, in conjunction with New Kingdom predecessors on sarcophagi and tomb walls, has also

²⁶ For this overarching title, one might also compare the use of the title *mdʒ.t imy dwʒ.t* “Book of what is in the Underworld,” for compositions other than the Book of Amduat on Third Intermediate Period funerary papyri (Niwinski, *Theban Funerary Papyri*, pp. 159-162, 192-196).

²⁷ Compare the presence of Pyramid Texts on Middle Kingdom coffins alongside the newer Coffin Texts (T.G. Allen, *Occurrences of pyramid texts, with cross indexes of these and other Egyptian mortuary texts* [Chicago, 1950]). For editing in the Coffin Texts and a general discussion of these issues, see D.P. Silverman, “Textual Criticism in the Coffin Texts,” in W.K. Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 29-54.

resulted in the identification of a new composition, which consists of excerpts from different Underworld Book and is here called “The Book of Resurrection through Decomposition.” The present work maintains the common use of the term “book,” although the Late Period sarcophagi bear witness to a shift in the definition of an Underworld Book. In the New Kingdom, each Underworld Book consists of either twelve hours (Amduat, Gates, Day and Night) or six divisions (Caverns), with Creation of the Solar Disk and Litany having unique structures. The Late Period sarcophagi create new “books” by reassembling parts to craft a new whole—each stage of the solar journey is represented, but different books are used for each part of the night, as described above.

The examination of the Late Period sarcophagi has made a number of significant contributions to the understanding of each individual Netherworld book and the constituent parts thereof, particularly reinterpretations of the earlier texts, passages not preserved in other copies, and other features of the Late Period copies which enhance our overall comprehension of Egyptian religion. The following discussions comment briefly on the relation of the Late Period copies of the Underworld Books to the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period texts, but do not address the precise process of textual transmission in the extant monuments. The most important link between the New Kingdom royal tombs and the Late Period sarcophagi, the tomb of Padiamenemope (TT 33), remains unpublished, so any analysis of the manuscript tradition would be seriously flawed until the texts in TT 33 are fully examined. It is hoped that the present investigation will lay the foundation for the application of text critical methods²⁸ to the Late Period Underworld Books.²⁹

²⁸ Such as those presented for the New Kingdom copies of the Litany of Re and Book of Gates in Schenkel, *Das Stemma der altägyptischen Sonnenlitanei* and Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, vol. 1.

However, the process of translating the Late Period texts with reference to earlier copies does allow for a few general observations on the textual transmission of the texts. The hieroglyphic copies on the Late Period sarcophagi often provide interesting re-interpretations or variants to the text, but only rarely suggest a misinterpretation of a sign from a hieratic manuscript. The papyrus original for the sarcophagi was probably written in hieroglyphic script or semi-cursive hieroglyphs, since no evidence suggests a hieratic original.³⁰ In some cases, one of the Late Period copies of a text will closely follow one of the New Kingdom copies of the text, but then a few passages later will contain text omitted from that early copy. Each portion of a given Late Period Underworld Book probably had its own complex history of transmission. For example, the Book of Amduat on the Late Period sarcophagi almost certainly does not derive from a single earlier source, but rather each hour or groups of hours can probably be traced back to different New Kingdom manuscripts. A large number of the differences between New Kingdom copies of the Underworld Books and their Late Period counterparts are the result of careful study of the texts and their adaptation to the funerary monuments of private individuals, specific examples of which are discussed for each text below. The original texts, in whatever manner they reached Late Period scribes, continued to be edited and altered for their application to sarcophagi. The final and single most important conclusion to be drawn from the Late Period copies of the Underworld Books is as

²⁹ A few brief forays into Late Period Underworld Books have appeared: Schenkel, *GM* 37 (1980): 37-39; J. Kahl, with M. von Falck, "Die Rolle von Saqqara und Abusir bei der Überlieferung altägyptischer Jenseitsbücher," in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí, eds., *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (Praha, 2000), pp. 214-228.

³⁰ J.F. Quack, Review of Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, *BibOr* 57 (2000): 546-547 has a brief paleographical discussion of the New Kingdom versions, which derive from a cursive hieratic original.

follows: in a majority of instances, the extant Late Period texts derive from a common template; even in cases when a sarcophagus text differs from this template, the Late Period text usually remains distinct from all attested New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period copies.

BOOK OF AMDUAT

The composition most frequently and extensively used on Late Period sarcophagi, with the exception of the Type I sarcophagi, is the Book of Amduat. The texts and scenes to most of the twelve hours of the night on the sarcophagi greatly augment the number of extant copies of the Book of Amduat, and more importantly, offer exciting variants and entirely new texts known only from the Late Period sarcophagi. Based on comparisons between the hours of Amduat on the Type II, III, and IV sarcophagi, at least two and possibly even three Late Period versions of the Book of Amduat were in existence by the time of the Thirtieth Dynasty.

Outside of textual variants, new interpretations, and additional text composed in the style of the Book of Amduat, outlined below, the editions of Amduat on the sarcophagi exhibit three overall differences with the New Kingdom copies. First, there is no example of the Egyptian phrase *gm ws* “found missing” on any of the Late Period sarcophagi. In passages where the New Kingdom texts are faulty, such as the problematic Second Hour of Amduat, the Late Period sarcophagi employ a number of solutions. In rare cases, such as the middle register of the Second Hour of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer, spaces are left where signs are omitted in the New Kingdom copies. Other sarcophagi, such as Nectanebo II, compose new texts or rearrange other

parts of the composition to compensate for the missing signs. Most frequently, obscure or difficult passages in the New Kingdom text are altered orthographically or lexicographically to create a clearer text on the Late Period sarcophagi. One might even characterize this practice as ubiquitous among all three sarcophagi types containing the Book of Amduat. Secondly, the Late Period copies of Amduat contain a much greater number of insertions involving the deceased in the events in the Underworld than any earlier versions.³¹ Such additions on the Late Period sarcophagi are quite different from the text appended in the New Kingdom versions; the insertions on the different sarcophagi types also differ from one another and often provide details on the transformation of the deceased into the unified Re-Osiris. Finally, the Late Period sarcophagi avoid cryptographic writings within the Book of Amduat,³² and replace such orthographies in two ways, either correctly transcribing the signs into *Normalschrift* (e.g.

 becomes  or reading the cryptographic signs with their normal

values (e.g.  *irw* “visible forms” becomes  *hw.t* “to protect”³³).

³¹ For insertions in the New Kingdom books, see Abitz, *Pharaos als Gott*, pp. 23-25, *passim*; W. Barta, “Zur Überlieferung des Amduat,” *JEOL* 20 (1968): 27-32. As Barta describes, in the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX there are two places where the ancient scribes interpreted *mn* “to remain” as *mn* “so and so” and put in the king’s name by mistake; no examples of this appear to exist on the sarcophagi, although in one instance on the Type II sarcophagi, the name of a toponym including the name “Osiris” caused the name of the deceased to be added (see *supra*).

³² Compare also the “translation” of the cryptographic text from Scene 33 of the Book of Gates on Louvre D9; the avoidance of cryptography on the sarcophagi is not complete, however, since cryptographic labels accompany the figure of the goddess Shetayt from the Fifth Division of Caverns on the floor of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

³³ Maspero, *Sarcophages*, vol. 1, p. 278, l. 22.

The value of the Late Period sarcophagi for our understanding of the Book of Amduat is tremendous—new texts appear in almost every hour, and the complete versions on the Type III and IV sarcophagi provide a wealth of variants and reinterpretations of difficult or obscure passages. For example, the hymn to Tatenen at the end of the Eighth Hour of Amduat revolutionizes our concept of the genre of Underworld Books, since no solar hymn within the text has been previously identified.

BOOK OF GATES

The Book of Amduat and the Book of Gates are similar in layout—twelve divisions with three registers each—and possess numerous similarities in content (e.g. Heliopolitan burial of Re in the Sixth Hour, depiction of the drowned in the Ninth/Tenth Hours). Despite these commonalities, the use of the two compositions on Late Period sarcophagi is quite different on each sarcophagus type. The only mostly complete hour taken from the Book of Gates is the First Hour, which fills Side Four of the Type I sarcophagi. One of the registers is omitted and the text is dramatically shortened, but otherwise the layout is that of the New Kingdom versions. The Type II sarcophagi use only the 33rd Scene (the Judgment Hall of Osiris) and the *sbh.t*-portals from the Book of Gates to introduce each hour of Amduat. The longest text from the Book of Gates appears on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (Type IV), where the entire lower register of the Fourth Hour is placed above the Eighth Hour of Amduat on Side Four. Interestingly, each of these scenes enjoyed a certain independence from the book as a whole already in the New Kingdom. Although the arrangement of the hours of the Book of Gates is

superficially similar to the Book of Amduat, the former possessed more discrete elements that could be extracted from the rest of the composition.

The three scenes which appear on the Late Period sarcophagi all aid in our understanding of this composition. The new translation of the First Hour of Gates, a representation of the western horizon, suggests that it is also the location of the disintegration and reassembling of the eye of Horus. Odd lexicography, such as the word *stp* “to remove,” all fit into the context of the dangerous process of the breaking apart of the divine eye, so that it might become whole—like the body of Osiris or the units of time also represented in the eternal process of deconstruction and resurrection on the Type I sarcophagi. The connection between the udjat-eye and the Book of Gates is also apparent in the Judgment Hall of Osiris (Scene 33). The new translation and commentary of the cryptographic text in the New Kingdom and Late Period sources suggests that the eye of Horus is the object being weighed in the empty scales. The “lunar interpretation” of the Judgment Hall connects all the disparate elements of the scene and provides evidence for an entirely new use of lunar imagery within the Underworld Books. Finally, the scene from the lower register of the Fourth Hour of Gates on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata reinforces the Horus-Osiris constellation, in contrast to the Re-Osiris dichotomy. The reliance on metaphors relating to the eye of Horus and lunar theology in other two scenes along with the emphasis on Horus and Osiris in the Fourth Hour all suggests a fundamental difference with the Book of Amduat. Although both books represent the mystery of the union of Re and Osiris, the succession of Horus is also an important component of the Book of Gates.

LITANY OF RE

Some maintain that the addresses in the Litany of Re consist of two “series”—a solar series and an Osirian one.³⁴ There is little evidence from the New Kingdom tombs to support such a division, and the presence of addresses from both “series” preceding hours of the Book of Amduat should finally dispel such notions.³⁵

The figures from the Great Litany of Re serve a function similar to the seventy-seven genies of Pharbaithos—they create a protective shield around the entire sarcophagus. On the Type II sarcophagi, addresses and depictions of the *hprw.w* of the sun god also serve as gate-keepers. The presence of the figures from the Litany of Re in association with portals casts those solar manifestations in the role of the fierce demons who guard the *sbh.t* portals in Chapters 144, 145, and 146 of the Book of the Dead.³⁶ “Cavern dwellers,” a common designation for these forms of Re,³⁷ have precisely that role in Book of the Dead, Chapter 127:³⁸

³⁴ C. Traunecker, F. Le Saout, and O. Masson, *La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak* (Paris, 1981), vol. II, pp. 57-60.

³⁵ For a refutation of separate series, see also Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, pp. 138-39.

³⁶ The association between the Litany of Re and Book of the Dead Chapter 144 is enhanced by their appearance together at Abydos—A. Mariette, *Abydos. Description des fouilles* II (Paris, 1880), pls. 14-17; a similar observation, without the added evidence from the Type II sarcophagi, is made by A. von Lieven, “Mysterien des Kosmos: Kosmographie und Priesterwissenschaft,” in J. Assmann and M. Bommas, eds., *Ägyptische Mysterien?* (Munich, 2002), pp. 53-55.

³⁷ Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, pp. 85, 86, 109. Note especially the parallel in *ibid.*, p. 115: *i.nd hr=tн qrtyw ntr.w imy.w imnt.t.*

³⁸ Naville, *Todtenbuch*, p. 337, Td. U. Verhoeven, *Das saitische Totenbuch der Iahthesnacht* (Bonn, 1993), part 2, p. 86*, 59, 8. For cavern-dwellers as guardian deities and door-keepers, see also Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 106.

*i.nd hr=t_n ntr.w qrt_y.w imy.w imnt.t
i.nd hr=t_n iry.w-³ dw₃.t s₃w ntr pn*
Hail to you, gods, cavern dwellers within the West!
Hail to you, door-keepers of the Underworld, who guard this god!

The numerous additions to the Underworld Books incorporating the deceased are fastidious in maintaining their relevance to the earlier texts. The addresses from the Litany of Re on the Type II sarcophagi each include a final statement associating the corpse of the deceased with the corpse of the particular form of Re being addressed. In most cases, these insertions follow a standard format and lexicography, but the adherence to a common template did not prevent alterations of the formula for specific addresses. For example, the address to the Netherworldly Baboon uses the verb *htt* “to jubilate” in the added text rather than the usual verbs *hkn* or *dw₃*. The verb *htt* appears in the New Kingdom versions of Address 69 but is not present in the address on the sarcophagi, except in the added text. When the additional text to Address 69 was composed at some point between the end of the New Kingdom and the Late Period, the authors had access to the full versions of the text in the royal tombs, be it through original papyrus copies or copies of the tomb walls, and chose to omit certain phrases, but use words from those omitted phrases in the newly composed additional texts. In another exceptional case, Address 8, centered around the “Punished One,” the additional text repeats the content of the address, placing the deceased in the role of the one who punishes the enemies of Re. Such cases conclusively demonstrate that the insertions present on the Late Period sarcophagi were not added mechanically, but grew out of an understanding of the earlier compositions.

It is truly astounding how consistently the Addresses from the Great Litany are used for the progression of the hours through the night. It was already noted above that

the Addresses common to the Type II sarcophagi and the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre follow an identical sequence. The final address on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, below the end of the Ninth Hour of Amduat on Side Four of the sarcophagus, is Address 6. Amazingly, Address 6 also accompanies the text to the Twelfth Hour of Amduat and the final tableau from the Book of the Night on the upper left corner of Side Four of the Type II sarcophagi. Using the addresses on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, we might also surmise that Address 16, 20, 18, and 22 were associated with the Tenth Hour of the night, since those are the only four addresses in the litany not present on the Type II sarcophagi and in no sarcophagus of that type do Addresses appear before the Tenth Hour of Amduat. Such striking correspondences cannot be mere coincidence and repeatedly confirm the existence of a Late Period hourly ritual using the Addresses from the Great Litany.

The columns preceding the Litany figures on the sarcophagus JE 60597, where a figure of Osiris is added before *B3-dmd*, could not state the ritual funerary use of the Litany of Re more forcefully, since in place of the typical *hknw n=k* formula, the sarcophagus JE 60597 uses a *htp di nswt* formula:³⁹

*htp di nswt n Wsir hnty imn.tyw ntr ⲉ₃ m s.t=f nb
pr.t-hrw n ir.t n=k h.t
hft sš pn rdit.n Dhwty m ntr ⲉ₃ ...
hft nis m s.t wr.t r Wsir ⲉnh-hp*

An offering which the king gives on behalf of Osiris,
foremost of the Westerners, great god in all his places,
invocation offerings for the making for you of rituals

³⁹ The anthropoid sarcophagus JE 60597 is unpublished; the following transliteration is based on photos taken by the author at the Cairo Museum. A complete publication of this monument will appear in C. Manassa and I. Régen, *Huit sarcophages tardifs du musée du Cairo, MFAO*, forthcoming.

according to this writing, which Thoth placed for the great god ...
according to the invocation in the Great Place for the Osiris Ankhhap.

BOOK OF CAVERNS

The Book of Caverns appears on only one Late Period sarcophagus—Tjaihorpata—but the information that monument provides is weighty indeed. Until the present work, the image of Shetayt from the Fifth Division on the floor and an extensive text from the Sixth Division on the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata remained entirely unrecognized. Both of these newly identified texts on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata provide important alternate readings and signs not extant in the other versions. Additionally, the changes made to the Sixth Division text in particular sheds new light on an understanding of the entire Book of Caverns since its first use by Merneptah in the Osireion.

The First and Second Division of Caverns, which fill the lowest register of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata contain all of the depictions of those two divisions placed in a single register, but lacking the depictions of enemies and the damned. The continuous annotation which runs above the depictions not only provides new variants, but represents a “short” version of the Book of Caverns. The names of all the divinities and the most important speeches are reproduced, but lengthy and often repetitive addresses are omitted. The present examination not only provides the first commentary to these divisions (including the recognition of important features such as the “rotting” sun disks), but demonstrates the existence of another ancient edition, which one might term the “Short Caverns” in comparison with the “Short Amduat (*Kurzfassung*).” Unfortunately,

one cannot determine when this short version was created, or if it was even edited specifically for the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata.

The cryptographic annotations to the goddess Shetayt on the floor of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, however, offer one of, if not the only, definitive evidence for variants being created during the Late Period. Some of the cryptographic orthographies not present in any earlier version, including the tomb of Padiamenemope, are wholly unexpected for a pre-Late Period date. Since the version of the text in the tomb of Padiamenemope agrees with the two New Kingdom versions (Ramesses VI and the Osireion), one may surmise that the text was edited at some point between the Twenty-Sixth and Thirtieth Dynasties. Additionally, parts of the annotation to the goddess Shetayt are preserved on the floor of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata that are damaged in all other extant copies.

In the New Kingdom versions of the Book of Caverns, the deceased king does not travel through the Underworld with the sun, rather he is the corpse that the sun visits.⁴⁰ In the tomb of Ramesses VI, the Book of Caverns occurs on the “Osirian” side of the upper part of his tomb; it also appears in the lowest register of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. Rather than being filled with images of the punished enemies, the sarcophagus interprets the lower registers as the place of the regeneration of Osiris; the negative qualities of the lower bowels are hell are interpreted as the positive regenerative powers of the egg of Sokar rather than the eternal punishment for the enemies of Re. Tjaihorpata provides some of the clearest evidence for the characterization of the Book of Caverns as the identification of the deceased individual with Re and the corpse of Re.

⁴⁰ Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' VI*, p. 77.

The transposition of the speeches from the Sixth Division from the solar god to the deceased himself required an editing process far beyond the relatively simple addition of wishes known from the Caverns text in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

BOOK OF THE NIGHT

Only three scenes from the Book of the Night appear on the Late Period sarcophagi, specifically the Type II sarcophagi. Although the texts annotating the scenes are normally brief, their location within the decorative scheme of the Type II sarcophagi as well as the detailed re-examination of each iconographic element present in Chapter 3, significantly contributes to our understanding of this composition.

The Seventh Hour of Amduat on Side Three of the Type II sarcophagi is flanked by two scenes from the Book of the Night—Horus in the act of spearing from the lower register of the Seventh Hour and the enthroned Osiris from the lower register of the Eighth Hour. The odd label to the scene from the Seventh Hour—*qm3* determined with a dying man and a child—can now be read as an allusion to the emergence of Horus from the corpse of Osiris, a form of creation surprisingly common in the Underworld Books and other religious texts. The text to the spearing Horus describes his actions for his father Osiris, all of which are closely paralleled in the lower register of the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates. These two scenes and their emphasis on the transfiguration and justification of Osiris by Horus (and not Re) must have held much importance for Late Period theologians, because the lower register of the Fourth Hour of Gates is the *only* excerpt of that composition to appear on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. Two scenes from different Underworld Books, the Book of the Night and Gates, with parallel texts

are used on two sarcophagi types—a striking occurrence which cannot be mere coincidence. Finally, the new reading of the cryptographic label to Horus in the bottom register of the Eighth Hour of the Book of the Night is the first to use non-acrophonic principles of derivation and to be supported by parallels in other Underworld Books. The translation of the text demonstrates an even stronger connection with the Judgment Hall of Osiris than previously suspected. Furthermore, the joint occurrence of the enthroned Osiris scenes from Book of Gates and the Book of the Night demonstrates that the same connections were made by ancient scholars.

The scenes from the Book of the Night on the Type II sarcophagi, like the scenes from the Book of Gates on the Type II as well as Type IV sarcophagi, emphasize the Horus-Osiris constellation in the Netherworld, again providing a pendant to the predominant Re-Osiris dichotomy in the Book of Amduat.

BOOK OF THE CREATION OF THE SOLAR DISK

The Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, often called the Book of the Earth and thought to encompass parts of the Book of the Aker remains one of the least understood of the Underworld Books. It lacks an original title and the organization of the scenes has thus far escaped precise determination. Only the tomb of Ramesses VI contains an extensive amount of material from this composition, but one cannot assume that the sarcophagus chamber contains the entirety of the book. The so-called “miscellaneous scenes” in the sarcophagus chambers of Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX are almost certainly part of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk as well. The sarcophagi offer exciting insights into the use and identity of this composition.

The scene on the head end of the Type I sarcophagi as well as their New Kingdom predecessors indicate that certain scenes from the Creation of the Solar Disk possessed alternate annotations. Similarly, text from the Creation of the Solar Disk appears on the underside of the lid of the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, but the scene it accompanies is entirely different than in the tomb of Ramesses VI. The lid of Tjaihorpata also offers a different version of the text, enhancing our understanding of the annotation and the two scenes which accompanied it.

In summary, the designation “Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk” encompasses a multiplicity of different texts and scenes, which may form parts of other unified compositions. The sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses VI as well as those of Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX were probably considered such unified compositions, using scenes and texts drawn almost entirely from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. However, the ancient theologians also considered scenes from this “book” interchangeable with scenes from other Underworld Books. Scenes and texts from the Creation of the Solar Disk combine with the First Hour of the Book of Gates on the Type I sarcophagi. These sarcophagi further demonstrate the unity of the texts in the sarcophagus chambers of the tombs of Ramesses VI, VII, and IX, since scenes on the Type I sarcophagi as well as their New Kingdom predecessors draw from images in each of these tombs—the giant arms only appear in the tomb of Ramesses VI, while the scenes on Sides Two and Three appear in the sarcophagus chambers of the later Ramesside rulers.

IV. NETHERWORDLY COSMOGRAPHY: SARCOPHAGUS AS COSMOS

The first appearance of extensive funerary texts in the Fifth Dynasty pyramid of Unas also gives birth to the use of those texts, through their specific arrangement, to transform a burial chamber into a model of the Underworld.⁴¹ During the Middle Kingdom, the distribution of Coffin Text spells and other elements, such as star clocks on the Book of the Two Ways, similarly converted private coffins into microcosms. This combination of pictorial and textual elements around a single, six-sided monument provides the ultimate origin of the decoration of Late Period sarcophagi. In fact, at no time between the Middle Kingdom and Late Period are private coffins and sarcophagi conceptualized clearly as representations of the cosmos, since during the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Periods, an entire tomb, or set of coffins and papyri fulfill this function rather than the coffin or sarcophagus alone.⁴² While the cosmographic qualities of Middle Kingdom coffins have received detailed commentary,⁴³ a similar analysis of the Late Period sarcophagi included in this work is entirely lacking. Considering some

⁴¹ See *supra*.

⁴² For the orientation of coffins, see A.K. Heyne, “Die Szene mit der Kuh auf Särgen der 21. Dynastie,” in A. Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel: ägyptologische Beiträge für Erik Hornung* (Berlin, 1998), pp. 62-67; Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, pp. 84ff.; *idem*, “Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen religiösen Ikonographie der 21. Dynastie (3). Mummy in the Coffin as the Central Element of Iconographic Reflection of the Theology of the 21st Dynasty in Thebes,” *GM* 109 (1989): 53-55. Jenni, *Das Dekorationsprogramm*, pp. 42-43, briefly compares the orientation of New Kingdom sarcophagi with Late Period sarcophagi.

⁴³ Willems, *Coffin of Heqata* (the conclusions of which are summarized below); Hermsen, *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits*, pp. 100-103. Note also an earlier article by P. Barguet, “Les textes spécifiques des sarcophages du Moyen Empire,” *RdE* 23 (1971): 15-22 that suggests that the arrangement of texts on several Upper Egyptian coffins might have been intended to transform the coffin into a boat, elaborated upon by Willems, *Chests of Life*, pp. 242-43 n. 15. Compare also the texts specific to each wall of the sarcophagus translated by Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages*, pp. 49ff.

surprising similarities (and differences) between these two sets of funerary monuments, it is necessary to first present the system of the earlier coffins, before examining the decoration of their later stone heirs.

According to Willems, two factors effect the position of a text on a coffin:⁴⁴

- 1) outward orientation on the surrounding world, which can be broken down into
 - a) a cosmological approach (sides of the coffin being parts of the universe)
 - b) a cultic approach (sides of the coffin represent offering places)
- 2) inward orientation to the occupant of the coffin

His examination of the texts on the inside and outside of the coffin of Heqata demonstrates that the decoration of the front and back long sides are mostly determined by the principle of outward orientation, the back being the west, the front the east, and the front also being linked with funerary offerings. The decoration of the head and foot, on the other hand, are dominated by Isis and Nephthys and based on inward orientation to the mummy.⁴⁵ The most significant aspect of the coffin decoration is the overwhelming concern with the nocturnal journey of the sun; even the lid contains texts relating to the night bark and the stars, and the journey between the eastern and western horizons is simply not represented.⁴⁶

The two factors of outward and inward orientation also apply to the Late Period sarcophagi. In the outward orientation of the sarcophagi, the decoration encapsulates two different cosmic trajectories. Around the lower portion of the sarcophagus, the sun

⁴⁴ Paraphrased from Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, p. 365. Although Willems intends these conclusions solely for the sarcophagus of Heqata, future examinations may well demonstrate their applicability to many Middle Kingdom coffins.

⁴⁵ Summary of conclusions in Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, pp. 364-65.

⁴⁶ Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, p. 365; *idem*, *Chests of Life*, p. 233.

travels through the twelve hours of the night, as the various Underworld Books explicitly describe the nightly solar peregrination. As in the Middle Kingdom coffins, each side of the sarcophagus is associated with a cardinal direction. The second cosmic trajectory on the Late Period sarcophagi is an essentially vertical axis, linking the floor and lid of the sarcophagus, a journey wherein the sun travels between the upper and lower heavens; in this cycle, the sarcophagi represent the totality of the solar journey and differ from the conception of Middle Kingdom coffins. These two trajectories on each sarcophagus type are enumerated below, including the orientation of each of the sides to the cardinal points.

Although the Late Period sarcophagi use Underworld Books rather than Coffin Texts, the arrangement of the text around the mummy and on specific walls of the sarcophagi is conceptually related to Middle Kingdom coffins. No direct lineage exists, but the survival of Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts in Late Period tombs suggests that the priestly scribes who were involved with the decoration of the late sarcophagi did indeed study the earlier corpora.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the sequence of Pyramid Texts spells in Late Period sources correspond to identical liturgical Pyramid Text sequences on Middle Kingdom coffins;⁴⁸ at times rubrics on Late Period papyri attribute these liturgies to

⁴⁷ The division of Coffin Text Spells among the various walls of the chamber in Late Period tombs is debated. G. Soukiassian, “Textes des Pyramides et formules apparentées: remarques à propos des tombes saïtes,” in *L’Egyptologie en 1979. Axes prioritaires de recherches* (Paris, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 55-61 argues in favor of distribution of the texts based on the orientation of the tomb walls with the cardinal points. L. Gestermann, “Zu den spätzeitlichen Bezeugungen der Sargtexte,” *SAK* 19 (1992): 120-24, on the other hand, maintains that the Coffin Texts in Late Period tombs (primarily of 25th or 26th Dynasty date) occur in specific sequences of spells, which do not appear on particular walls of the tomb.

⁴⁸ Assmann, in Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, pp. 8-13, primarily describing *sʒh.w* II.

scrolls found in New Kingdom temples at Abydos.⁴⁹ The possibility certainly exists that scrolls containing the ancient religious texts in the “House of Life” at Heliopolis, Memphis, and other temples throughout Egypt may have also transmitted the proper layout of these texts in three dimensions. Ultimately, without further discoveries of papyri, there is no way to prove if Late Period scribes had knowledge of Middle Kingdom coffin decoration. However, the sarcophagi themselves provide a demonstrable foundation for the layout of the texts.

The orientation of the Type I sarcophagi is clear—the foot end corresponds to the western horizon while the head represents the east. Thus, the First Hour of the Book of Gates serves as an “opening” scene and the scene from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk as the accompanying “closing” image, itself serving as a means to being the cycle anew. Since the scenes on the long walls of the sarcophagus do not represent specific hours of the Netherworldly journey, one cannot assign the directions of north or south to a particular side. However, the representations of the inner portions of the Netherworld between the two depictions of the horizon enhances the symbolic portrayal of the solar journey on the Type I sarcophagi. The association of the head end with the east on the Late Period Type I sarcophagi also coincides with the orientation of the New Kingdom royal sarcophagi with similar decoration.⁵⁰

Most of the three remaining sarcophagi types share a common orientation, identifying the head end with the western horizon and the foot with the eastern horizon,

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁰ Reeves and Wilkinson, *Complete Valley of the Kings*, pp. 26-27. In contrast, in the royal sarcophagi of the Eighteenth Dynasty (and private Middle Kingdom coffin predecessors), the “eye panel” is placed on the long side, representing the east, while the head lies in the north (Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 64-66).

the opposite of the Type I sarcophagi. The placement of the hours of Amduat around the sarcophagus Types II, III, and IV enables one to correlate each side, or parts thereof, with a cardinal direction, since the New Kingdom versions of Amduat contain directions for the placement of each hour inside the “hidden chamber.” The first four hours of Amduat should appear on the west wall, the Fifth and Sixth Hours on the south wall, the Seventh and Eighth on the north, and the last four hours on the east wall. As noted in Chapter 3, the Type II sarcophagi are the only extant monuments, except for the tomb of Thutmose III, that precisely follow the directions within the Book of Amduat;⁵¹ the orientation of the four walls fits perfectly with that of the “Hidden Chamber.” The interesting selection of hours on the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre are arranged so that the head end represents the west and the foot end the east, but Side Two is split in half between west and south and Side Two is split between west and north.⁵² Although Nectanebo II and Usermaatre do not represent a model of the “Hidden Chamber” in the same way as the Type II sarcophagi, they maintain a similar orientation to the four cardinal points.

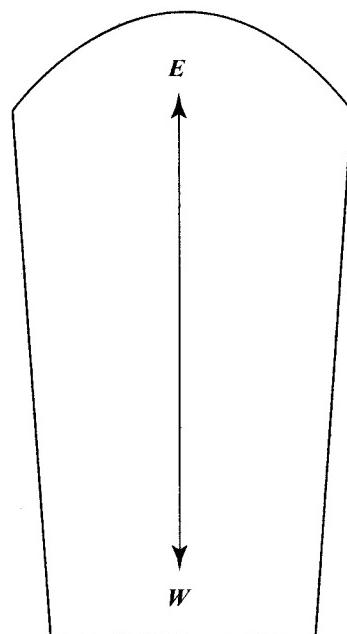
The orientation of the sarcophagi of Wereshnefer and Tjaihorpata are more complex, since they contain hours of Amduat on the interior as well as the exterior surface of the *cave*. On both sarcophagi, the Ninth through Twelfth Hours, corresponding to the eastern wall of the “Hidden Chamber,” are located inside the sarcophagus, although the order of the hours is not identical. They also both place the Sixth and Seventh Hours, representing south and north respectively, on Side Three. Such a mixture of directions suggests that Sides Two and Three cannot be assigned specific cardinal directions, rather are placed in such a way as to create a continuous cycle of

⁵¹ See *supra*.

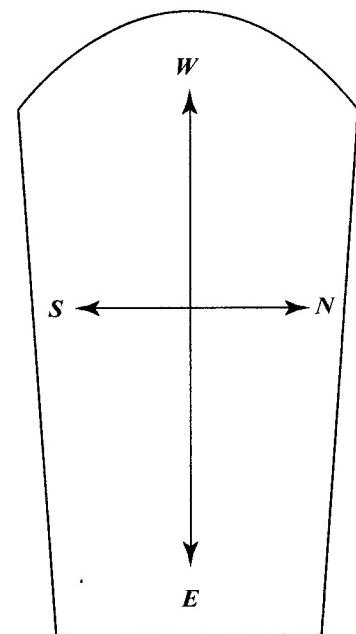
⁵² Jenni, *Das Dekorationsprogramm*, p. 41.

hours around the exterior of the sarcophagus. The one hour on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata which breaks the exterior cycle, the Eighth Hour, is omitted from the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer; the two hours omitted on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata are replaced by a scene from the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates on the foot end, the Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat, appear on the foot end of the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer. The placement of the hours of Amduat on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata still suggest an identification of the head end with the western horizon through the First Hour of Amduat and the foot end with the eastern horizon, since the Twelfth Hour appears on the interior of Side Four.

Type I



Type II



Type III (Nectanebo II)

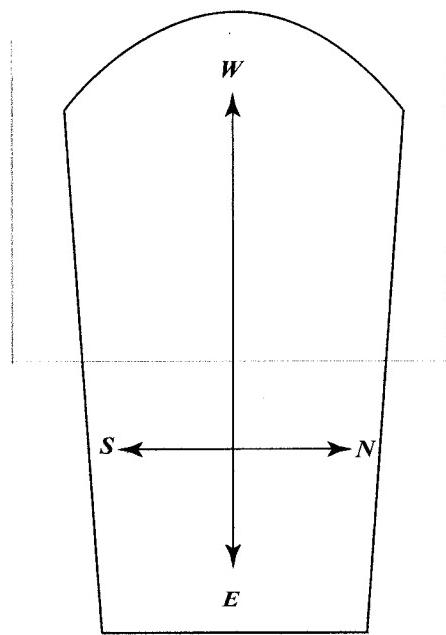


Fig. 79: Orientation of the sides of Type I, II, and III sarcophagi

The lid and the floor of the Late Period sarcophagi, on the other hand, represent the totality of the sun's journey. Re rises over the lid in the body of Nut and sets into the West, the goddess shown on the floor, then continues his journey around the walls of the sarcophagus.⁵³ The twin manifestations of the goddess Nut not only embrace the mummy, but represent the womb-like space of the sarcophagus itself. These two aspects of the goddess Nut are already found in the layout of Pyramid Text spells in the two chambers of the sarcophagus of Unas, which transform the space into the macrocosm/universe and microcosm/burial chamber/sarcophagus.⁵⁴ From the Pyramid Texts, Nut is identical with the coffin.⁵⁵ Similarly, short texts on the lid of Middle Kingdom coffins describe how Nut spreads herself over the deceased as she does for Osiris.⁵⁶ The association of the coffin with the goddess Nut transforms the receptacle for

⁵³ This feature is not limited to the large rectangular sarcophagi treated here, but also appears on anthropoid sarcophagi (Billing, *Nut*, pp. 140-147; for an additional example, see L. Kákosy, "Ein Sarkophag aus der Ptolemäerzeit im Berliner Ägyptischen Museum," in W. Müller, ed., *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 113-8 and pls. 13-15. In the Third Intermediate Period, coffins often contain representations of an (anthropomorphized) *dd*-pillar on the inner bottom portion, with a depiction of Nut on the inside of the lid (A.-M. Amann, *WdO* 14 (1983): 46-62; note especially the Nut as *tit*-amulet on p. 57 [for more on the *tit*-amulet, see *supra*]). For a general treatment of the relationship between Nut and the sarcophagus, see Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, pp. 220-230. For a summary of the meaning of anthropoid sarcophagi for the deceased, see A. Niwinski, "Sarg NR-SpZt," *LÄ* V (1983): cls. 459-461. These two trajectories are likewise found in the tomb of Nefertari, which contains a chthonic axis and solar axis, as analyzed by H.C. Schmidt, "Szenarium der Transfiguration — Kulisse des Mythos: Das Grab der Nefertari," *SAK* 22 (1995): 237-270.

⁵⁴ Billing, in Hawass, ed., *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century*, vol. 2, pp. 131-134; *idem*, *Nut*, pp. 151-156.

⁵⁵ S. Schott, "Nut spricht als Mutter und Sarg," *RdE* 17 (1965): 81-87; Billing, *Nut*, pp. 181-184. Osiris, as a feminine counterpart to Re, can also serve the function of the womb/sarcophagus—see Barta, *JEOL* 29 (1985-86): 98-105.

⁵⁶ Willems, *Chests of Life*, pp. 133-135, on p. 233 he also notes the passage from Sinuhe B 193, where the lid of a sarcophagus is called *p.t* "sky."

the mummified body into a life-giving uterus—death becomes *regressus ad uterum*.⁵⁷

Nowhere is the function of Nut more explicitly described than on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre:⁵⁸

*ink mw.t=k Nw.t
pd.n=i hr=t m rn=i pwy n p.t
'q=t m r3=(i) pr=t m iḥ.ty=i
m irt.n R' r' nb*

I am your mother Nut.

In this my name of sky have I stretched over you.

As you shall enter into my mouth, so shall you emerge from my thighs,
exactly as Re does each day.

Representations of the goddess Nut do not cease to appear as elements of coffin decoration until Egyptian religion itself declines, although by the Roman period she can be surrounded by figures of the zodiac rather than the usual manifestations of the solar divinity.⁵⁹ In the Ptolemaic period, she is also not restricted to the funerary realm, and her appearance on the ceilings of temples offers further insight into the dual representation of Nut on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata. In one of many examples at the Temple of Dendera, the goddess arches over the horizon, a sun disk poised at her mouth and genitals; from the latter disk emanate rays which illumine a depiction of the horizon flanked by two trees and containing the iconic image of Hathor herself. These representations extend the efficacy of the ritual of uniting with the solar disk, by

⁵⁷ J. Assmann, “Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt,” in W.K. Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 139-40; *idem*, *Tod und Jenseits*, pp. 220-230.

⁵⁸ C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre* (Copenhagen, 1937), p. 118.

⁵⁹ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3, pp. 203ff. and pp. 204-05 for the list of coffins belonging to the Soter family.

representing the illumination of the cult image.⁶⁰ The same conclusion applies precisely to the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, who has captured the solar cycle within his own sarcophagus. The twin sky goddesses who embrace his mummy represent the totality of the sun's journey through the cosmos and thus harness the untold energy of the ever-repeating cycle. Between those two images, all knowledge, power, and regeneration are accessible, and the deceased is transformed in the giant unified Re-Osiris who fills the entire cosmos.⁶¹

The ability of the sarcophagus to become the cosmos, through the representation of the two goddesses who form the path of the solar cycle is stated explicitly on the sarcophagus lid of Merneptah. There the goddess Neith addresses the dead king, detailing her specific function as sarcophagus:⁶²

*sšm=î n=k îtn r hny=î
‘pp ‘hm=f hr šnb.t=k
I conduct to you the sun disk along my skin/inside me.
It is over your breast that his image passes.*

The sun disk travels along the body of Neith, the sarcophagus itself (l. 4, *mw.t=k im=î* “Your sarcophagus am I”), thus illuminating the mummy day and night. Numerous

⁶⁰ F. Daumas, “Sur trois représentations de Nout à Dendara,” *ASAE* 51 (1951): 373-400.

⁶¹ Compare Niwinski’s similar conclusion concerning the presence of Nut and Imenet/Djed-pillars on the lids and bottoms (respectively) of Third Intermediate Period coffins (*GM* 109 [1989]: 54): “The deceased is therefore identified with the Great God himself in both of his main unified aspects: the Osirian one and the solar one. He is not only the mummy-shaped Osiris who became king of the dead after his sacred revival, but as an incarnation of the sun the deceased travels eternally the space of the visible upper sky during the day and that of the invisible lower sky by night, being at the same time the luminous atmosphere that fills the world and is the source of life.” For a detailed description of the properties of the giant unified Re-Osiris, see Darnell, *Engimatic Netherworld Books*, Chapter 6.

⁶² Assmann, *MDAIK* 28:1 (1973): abb. 1, l. 10; J. Assmann, “Neith spricht als Mutter und Sarg,” *MDAIK* 28:2 (1973): 120-21, 125-26.

allusions in the text on the sarcophagus of Merneptah suggest that Neith is both the heavenly and underworldly skies,⁶³ and the twin depictions of the heavenly and chthonic Nuts on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata are a manifestation of this doctrine. The different stages of the sun disk traveling along her body allude to the three aspects of the illumination of the corpse, as elucidated in P. Vatican 38608 and the east chapel, no. 3 on the roof of the temple of Dendera: the morning sun unites with the mummy, the midday sun illuminates the face of Osiris or the tomb, while the evening sun unites with the shrine/corpse.⁶⁴ After the sun sets into the western horizon, which is a hypostasis of the Osirian corpse, the two divinities become a single entity.

The capturing of the solar cycle within the sarcophagus has a further effect. Once the sun disk shines upon the mummy, it is transformed into an image of Re himself. A few lines after Neith describes the sun disk traversing the mummy, she transforms him into the sun itself:⁶⁵

*qd=i tw m R^c
wts=i tw hr ḡ.wy=i ...
iry=i hpr.w=k mi nb st.wt
I shall fashion you as Re.
I shall lift you upon my two arms ...
I shall make your manifestation like the Lord of rays.*

⁶³ Assmann, *MDAIK* 28:1 (1973): 58, n. 4, 62, n. 22; *idem*, *MDAIK* 28:2 (1973): 116-17 on the cosmic qualities of Neith.

⁶⁴ These three stages are taken directly from Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 108 n. 157, see pp. 108-110 for other references to the solar cycle and the illumination of the Osirian corpse.

⁶⁵ Assmann, *MDAIK* 28:1 (1973): abb. 1, l. 12.

Thus, the individual within the coffin becomes the solar god—the mummy is both surrounded by a cosmos and participates within it.⁶⁶

In all four types of Late Period sarcophagi, the distribution of the texts and scenes transform the stone walls and lid into a veritable model of the cosmos. The correspondences between the parts of the sarcophagus and sections of the cosmos differ between the different sarcophagus types, but several basic principles of representation remain constant. The chthonic travels of the sun form the main decorative component of the bottom portion of the sarcophagus, although the starting point of the journey differs. On the Type I sarcophagi, Re sinks into the western horizon on the foot end of the sarcophagus and rises between the time-destroying arms on the head end. The Type II, III, and IV sarcophagi all reverse this orientation, aligning the head end with the western horizon and the foot with the eastern horizon. A great number of the sarcophagi reserve the floor of the sarcophagus and the underside of the lid for depictions of the goddesses of the West and the Sky (Nut) respectively; the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata replaces the figure of the goddess of the West with Shetayt from the Fifth Division of the Book of Caverns—the sky goddess Nut hovers above him and the personification of the nethersky rests below him. These goddesses are not merely protective deities who embrace the mummy, but are also the very course of the sun—Nut arching over the mummy implies that Re himself travels over the inert body, reawakening it with his golden rays.

V. NETHERWORLDLY TEMPLE RITUAL

⁶⁶ Compare the mummy *as* underworld and the presence of the deceased within the bark of the sun god during the twelve hours of the night.

Surrounded by the dual pathways of the solar journey, the mummy of the deceased is guaranteed the life-giving rays of the sun disk. The presence of the Underworld Books ensures that the deceased is not merely a passive recipient of divine grace, but also actively participates in protecting the sun god from the dangers of the Underworld. On most sarcophagi, a small figure of the deceased kneels in the bark, his arms raised in praise of the ram-headed sun god.⁶⁷ The presence of the Underworld Books around the mummy indicates the deceased's knowledge of the inner workings of the cosmos; his representation *within* those same Underworld Books, both textually and pictorially demonstrates his active role in aiding the continuation of the cosmos. The pairing of ritual knowledge and ritual action pervades Egyptian theology, and the following discussion seeks to connect the Late Period exemplars of the Underworld Books with rituals performed within temples.

In a striking passage from a New Kingdom solar hymn, a man uses a *mdʒ.t*-book in order to participate in the solar journey and aid Re in his cosmic battles:⁶⁸

$\underline{di} = k \ m33 = i \ nfrw = k \ hr - tp \ dw3y.t$
 $\underline{st}i = k \ s\ddot{s}.(w) \ hr \ \check{sn}b.t = (i)$
 $\check{sp} = (i) \ h3t.t \ mskt.t \ pht.t \ m\acute{e}nd.t$
 $t3i = i \ md\acute{z}.t$
 $\underline{sh}ri = (i) \ hfty.w$
 $\underline{di} = i \ sbi \ r \ nm.t = f$
 $m33 = i \ Hr \ m \ iry - hm.t \ Dhwty \ M3\acute{c}.t \ hr \ c.wy = f$

May you cause that I see your perfection at dawn.
 your rays having spread out upon my breast,
 so that I might take up the prow rope of the night bark,

⁶⁷ E.g. CG 29305, Berlin 49, and Louvre D9; In the one non-royal copy of the Amduat from the New Kingdom in the tomb of Useramun, Useramun is depicted in control of the rudder, a privileged position (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 22).

⁶⁸ Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 18 = Text 17 (TT 23), ll. 10-12.

the stern rope of the day bark.
 I am taking hold of the book,
 so that I might drive away the enemies,
 so that I might place the rebel at his slaughtering place.
 I see Horus as the rudderman, Thoth with Maat on his arms.

The knowledge within the “book” mentioned in the solar hymn enables the man to participate in the solar arcana. Another composition, known as the “Cult-Theological Treatise” describes the cosmographic knowledge of the king—the actual content of that knowledge is the entire corpus of Underworld Books, including the Litany of Re and the so-called Heavenly Books. This treatise does not appear on the Late Period sarcophagi, but it is present in the tomb of Padiamenemope,⁶⁹ and the claims of knowledge within the Cult-Theological treatise encompass the range of Underworld Books used on the Late Period sarcophagi:⁷⁰

*īw=f rh.(w) mdw pn št₃
 dd b₃.w i₃btiw hzi-sn il₃ n R^c
 wbn=f h^c=f m ȝht
 wn.n=sn n=f^cȝ.wy-rȝ m sb₃.w nw ȝht i₃b.t
 sqd=f hr wȝ.wt hr.t
 īw=f rh.(w) bsi.w=sn hpr.w=sn niw.wt=sn tȝ-ntr
 īw=f rh.(w) bw-ȝh^c=sn im hft ȝsp R^c tp wȝt
 īw=f rh.(w) mdw ddw is.t stȝ=sn wiȝ ȝh.ty
 īw=f rh.(w) ms.wt n.t R^c hpr.w=f imy nwȝ
 īw=f rh.(w) sb₃ pw št₃ prr ntr ȝȝ hr=f
 īw=f rh.(w) nty.w m mȝnd.t sȝsm ȝȝ nty m mskt.t
 īw=f rh.(w) nwȝhw m ȝȝ.t hp.w=k imy Nw.t*

He knows that mysterious language

⁶⁹ Another description of knowledge also occurs in the tomb of Padiamenemope, 1st pillared hall, east wall, north half, ln. 17 (English translation of passage quoted by Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 34):

“He praises you in your *ba*-manifestations, your mummy, and your corpse,
 he says to you what is in the night-bark,
 he repeats to you what is in the day-bark.”

⁷⁰ Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 17-18.

which the eastern souls speak, they singing chatter for Re
so that he might rise and he might appear in glory in the horizon
they having opened for him the two door leaves of the portals of
the eastern horizon,
so that he might navigate upon the celestial roads.
He knows their emergences (transitional form) and their (final)
manifestations, their locales within the divine land.
He knows the place in which they stand when/after Re sets out.
He knows the words which the crew speaks when they haul the bark
of He-of-the-horizon.
He knows the births of Re and his manifestations within the floodwaters.
He knows that secret portal through which the great god passes.
He knows those who are in the day bark,
the great image which is in the night bark.
He knows the towrope in the horizon and your course within Nut.

Knowledge, particularly that described by the Egyptian word *rh*, is not only the memorization of names and places in the Underworld, but represents a deeper understanding of the structure of the cosmos. Furthermore, the cosmographic knowledge encompassed by the word *rh* also includes the ritual actions necessary to maintain the order of the created world and has formed the basis for the descriptions of “mysticism” in ancient Egypt.⁷¹ Initiation into the solar mysteries involves both types of knowledge, which are contained in texts classified as “cosmographic” and “liturgical.”⁷² For example, the Books of Amduat, Gates, Caverns as well as the Book of the Day and Night are considered cosmographic compositions, while the Hour Ritual is a liturgical text. According to Assmann, only the liturgical texts are translated into action: “it would be too much to suppose that the Amduat or its Heliopolitan model was enacted in the cult: it

⁷¹ A. von Lieven, in Assmann and Bommas, eds., *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, pp. 47-58; Wente, *JNES* 41 (1982): 161-79; J. Baines, “Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions,” *JARCE* 27 (1990): 10-17. The earlier study of W. Federn, “The ‘Transformations’ in the Coffin Texts, a New Approach,” *JNES* 19 (1960): 241-257, also remains important for this topic.

⁷² Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, pp. 16-37.

does not belong to what is said and done, but (and the title make this clear) what is known.”⁷³

Passages within the Books of Amduat, Gates, and Litany unambiguously claim the usefulness of the texts for one on earth, a fact that has been “proven millions of times.”⁷⁴ If these books were strictly cosmological and never translated into ritual, one would expect that the efficaciousness of the books would be limited to the knowledge they contain. Such is not the case—in several instances, the verb *iri* “to act” is substituted for the verb *rḥ* in statements concerning the usefulness of the Book of Amduat.⁷⁵ The use of Underworld Books in temple decoration provides further evidence for ritual use of those compositions. Copies of all the major netherworldly compositions appear in the so-called Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos,⁷⁶ while the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak⁷⁷ and the solar chapel in Medinet Habu⁷⁸ contain excerpts from the Book of the Day and the Night, the Cult-Theological Treatise, and a text describing the solar

⁷³ *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 26.

⁷⁴ Text passages are assembled by Wente, *JNES* 41 (1982): 161-79. Note also the connection between the groups of Underworldly deities in the “Book of Quererts” (a.k.a. BD Chapter 168) and deities who receive offerings in the text “Confirmation of royal power in the New Year” and the “Book of Hours” (von Lieven, in Assmann and Bommas, eds., *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, pp. 49-51). A previously unrecognized copy of the Book of Quererets appears on the sarcophagus CG 29301 (see *supra*).

⁷⁵ Wente, *JNES* 41 (1982): 164-66.

⁷⁶ Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*.

⁷⁷ Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*; K. Cooney, “The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake: Ritual Function and the Rule of the King,” *JARCE* 37 (2000): 15-47.

⁷⁸ S. Voß, “Ein liturgisch-kosmographischer Zyklus im Re-Bezirk des Totentempels Ramses’ III. in Medinet Habu,” *SAK* 23 (1996): 377-396.

baboons.⁷⁹ Each of these chambers represents a “liturgical and cosmographic cycle”⁸⁰ used in the cult of Amun-Re, and may have been the stages for ritual reenactments of the events described in the Underworld Books.⁸¹ The extensive Heliopolitan temples, both for the solar deity and his corpse, are known through only indirect means,⁸² and the immense amount of textual and iconographic material those temples once contained are lost to us. The Late Period sarcophagi, which derive exclusively from the Memphite necropoleis, offer a glimpse into the possible use of Underworld Books in Heliopolitan temple decoration.

⁷⁹ Part of the text about the solar baboons is translated *supra*. For a comparison of the solar chapel at Medinet Habu with the Edifice of Taharqa, see J. Assmann, “Das Dekorationsprogramm der königlichen Sonnenheiligtümer des Neuen Reiches nach einer Fassung der Spätzeit,” *ZÄS* 110 (1983): 91-98. A text similar to the Book of the Night text in the solar chapel of Medinet Habu also appears in the temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel—H. Ernst, “Die Nordkapelle des großen Tempels in Abu Simbel,” *SAK* 28 (2000): 55-65.

⁸⁰ Using the term given to the Medinet Habu solar chapel in Voß, *SAK* 23 (1996): 377-396.

⁸¹ Evidence for such use of the Underworld Books is rare, but disparate pieces of evidence from the New Kingdom and later offer important clues. During the *heb-sed* ritual of Amenhotep III, as described in the tomb of Kheruef, the king sails in the day and night barks and erects the *dd*-pillar of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* [Chicago, 1980], pp. 43ff.; E.F. Wente, “Hathor at the Jubilee,” in G. Kadish, ed. *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* [Chicago, 1969], pp. 83-91). Blocks from the “memorial” temples of Thutmose II and Tutankhamun depict statues of the deceased king being hauled in various barks; Luc Gabolde suggests that the statue rituals reflect the travel of the sun through the Underworld in the Book of Amduat (“Les temples «mémoriaux» de Thoutmosis II et Toutânkhamon,” *BIFAO* 89 (1989): 175-178). A survival of initiation or enactment of a journey through the Netherworld appears in Herodotus; according to the description in *Histories*, Book II, Chapter 122, a festival is celebrated in honor of Rhampsinitus, during which a priest is blindfolded and led to the temple of Demeter (Isis). The blindfold is probably an allusion to the eyeless deity Horus Mehentyenirty (Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II, Commentary* 99-182, pp. 58-59) and the importance of the blind deity in the Underworld Books suggests that those texts also played a role in the proceedings. Compare also J. Quaegebeur, “Diodore I, 20 et les mystères d’Osiris,” in T. DuQuesne, ed., *Hermes Aegyptiacus. Egyptological Studies for BH Stricker* (Oxford: DE Publications, 1995), pp. 157-181 about the connection between the Hellenistic Osiris mysteries and the Book of Breathing.

⁸² E. el-Banna, “Deux études héliopolitaines,” *BIFAO* 85 (1985): 149-171; H. Ricke, “Eine Inventartafel aus Heliopolis im Turiner Museum,” *ZÄS* 71 (1935): 111-133.

The passages within the Underworld Books and the appearance of Netherworldly texts within temple complexes represent the bulk of evidence pertaining to the “initiatory” or “mystical” uses of the Underworld Books. The Late Period sarcophagi, which have never been brought to bear on the discussion of the existence of mysticism in pharaonic Egypt, offer two unique pieces of information: 1) the existence of an initiatory chamber decorated with Underworld Books, which might have been incorporated into one of the Heliopolitan solar temples, and 2) the identification of an hourly liturgy which could have accompanied the reenactment of events in the Underworld.

The Book of Amduat is the only Underworld Book to contain explicit directions concerning the placement of its constituent parts within a chamber—the *t. imnt.t* “Hidden Chamber.”⁸³ In only two cases—the tomb of Thutmosis III and the Type II sarcophagi⁸⁴—do these directions dictate the location of the hours of Amduat; in nearly all other cases, even though the directions are reproduced in the text, the hours are arranged without regard for the intended layout. Amazingly, in *none* of the copies of the Book of Amduat on the Late Period sarcophagi are these directions reproduced,⁸⁵ although they are precisely followed in the Type II sarcophagi. How did the Late Period theologians know the ideal arrangement of the hours of the Book of Amduat? Two answers present themselves—complete papyrus copies of the text and/or access to the

⁸³ In the Litany of Re, the Address to Djeba-demēd is assigned to the *pd.ty* “ceiling,” but no cardinal directions are provided for the other texts (see *supra*).

⁸⁴ Although the tomb of Padiamenemope contains the same sequence of texts as the Type II sarcophagi, the distribution of the hours of the night in Corridor XIII of the tomb does not parallel their placement on the sarcophagi (see *supra*).

⁸⁵ In the Second and Sixth Hours of Amduat, the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata includes the passage mentioning the “Hidden Chamber,” but omits the following passage about the cardinal direction of the wall on which the hour is to be painted/carved.

Theban royal tombs or the existence of an actual “Hidden Chamber” in a temple, possibly in Heliopolis. These possibilities are not mutually exclusive, and the Heliopolitan libraries almost certainly contained many copies of the Underworld Books. However, the *architectural* significance of the Amduat and the thousand-year hiatus between the extant monuments which reproduce the book in its ideal layout suggest a physical template for the Type II sarcophagi.

The addition of the goddess Nut to the underside of the sarcophagus lids, along with chthonic goddesses, such as Imentet or Shetayt, on the floor of the sarcophagus has numerous parallels in funerary contexts, including tombs and coffins. However, these features might also have been part of the model of the Underworld within a temple. A description of the *pr-^fnh* in P. Salt 825, contemporaneous with the Late Period sarcophagi, offers an interesting parallel between a temple chamber and the decoration of the sarcophagi. The *pr-^fnh* described in the papyrus is constructed as a microcosm, with each wall assigned to a divinity, and even more importantly, the floor represents Geb while the ceiling is Nut.⁸⁶ The most explicit description of the *pr-^fnh*, P. Salt 825, emphasizes the secrecy of the chamber:⁸⁷

*wnn=f imn zp snw wr zp snw
nn rh=f nn m33=f
wp m33 itn m s̄st3=f*
It (the *pr-^fnh*) exists very greatly hidden,
it is not known, it is not seen,
except the sun disk who gazes upon his mystery.

⁸⁶ On the architecture of the *pr-^fnh*, see K. Nordh, *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings* (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 111-113.

⁸⁷ Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, Col. VII, l. 1.

The ability of the sun disk to view the mystery within the *pr-ṣnh* appears to contradict the existence of a ceiling.⁸⁸ However, if Nut is indeed painted or otherwise represented on the ceiling of the *pr-ṣnh*, as she appears in countless funerary contexts, then the sun symbolically traverses her body and thus gazes down upon the secret contents of the room.⁸⁹ The hidden quality of the *pr-ṣnh* is expressed in similar terms as the Chamber of Sokar in the Fifth Hour of Amduat, which holds the mystery of solar rebirth. The *ṣ.t imnt.t* shares with the *pr-ṣnh* a cosmic orientation as well as utmost secrecy. It is possible that they were both permutations of the same concept, a repository for theological knowledge. While the *pr-ṣnh* encompassed any number of medical and magical treatises in addition to religious texts, the *ṣ.t imnt.t* could have held texts specific to the Netherworld or other cosmographic books. Although little evidence outside of the Underworld Books conclusively demonstrates the existence of an *ṣ.t imnt.t* within a temple, the presence of a *pr-ṣnh* in temple constructions is undeniable. The profound similarities between the description of the *pr-ṣnh* and the *ṣ.t imnt.t* help establish the existence of the latter, particularly in Heliopolitan temples for which virtually no evidence survives.

Whether the Late Period sarcophagi are models of an initiatory chamber, a room in a temple, or an ideal arrangement projected into the other world, the use of the Underworld Books transforms the sarcophagi into the *ṣ.t imnt.t*, the “Hidden Chamber.” The Late Period sarcophagi also provide evidence of one of the Underworldly rituals

⁸⁸ Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, pp. 49-50.

⁸⁹ A similar idea is proposed by K. Nordh, *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings* (Uppsala, 1996), p. 112, based on the representation of Nut on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre.

which were performed in temples, and might have been enacted within the “Hidden Chamber” itself—the nocturnal hourly ritual of the Litany of Re.

The Litany of Re appears primarily in the first two corridors of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Similarly, in temple contexts, the Litany of Re adorns the stairway of the Edifice of Taharqa, not the innermost chambers, and appears in a fairly exposed wall in the Chapel of Hakoris in front of the first pylon at Karnak.⁹⁰ A tantalizing parallel between a Pyramid Text passage and part of the Litany of Re may even suggest that sections of both corpora derive from an unpreserved liturgy for solar offerings.⁹¹ The Late Period sarcophagi, however, provide the clearest and most persuasive evidence for the liturgical use of the Litany of Re. The division of the Addresses of the Great Litany among the hours of Amduat on the Type II sarcophagi and the preservation of the same sequence of Addresses on the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Usermaatre demonstrate the existence of an hourly ritual employing the Litany of Re. An hourly liturgy including Netherworldly deities also exists in the form of the “Book of Hours,” a Late Period funerary papyrus,⁹² providing an excellent parallel for the Late Period employ of the Great Litany. The recitation of the Litany of Re, and possibly other Underworld Books, during nocturnal rituals probably has its roots in temple practice, but

⁹⁰ Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson, *La chapelle d’Achôris à Karnak*, pp. 55-61 and 138-40, noting that the integration of the Litany of Re into the decoration of the bark shrine of Hakoris is an allusion to the Edifice of Taharqa.

⁹¹ L.D. Morenz, “Brandopfer (*sfr.t/srf.t htp.t*). Eine Parallelüberlieferung in den Pyramidtexten und in der Sonnenlitanei sowie eine hypothetische dritte Quelle,” *LingAeg* 6 (1999): 105-109.

⁹² For more on the Book of Hours, see *supra*, Chapter 6; for more on its identification as an hourly ritual, see also von Lieven, in Assmann and Bommas, eds., *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, p. 51.

was clearly also adapted for funerary use; the same liturgy might have even been performed at the burial.

The information provided by the Late Period sarcophagi significantly augments our evidence for mysticism in Egyptian religion. The template of the Type II sarcophagi in particular might be based on a “Hidden Chamber” actually constructed inside of a Heliopolitan temple. The discovery of a Late Period hourly liturgy employing Addresses from the Litany of Re provides some of the strongest evidence in favor of the ritual use of the Underworld Books in temples and funerary contexts.

VI. THE THIRTIETH DYNASTY SCHOLARLY MOVEMENT: AN ESSAY

The Saite Renaissance of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty is a celebrated period of Egyptian history, well known for its archaism and active scholarly tradition.⁹³ The Nectanebid Period, while not characterized as a “renaissance,” is recognized as a time of architectural achievement, despite the political strife which plagued the final native dynasty of Egypt:⁹⁴

⁹³ Among the many possible references: P. Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty* (London, 1994); Myśliwiec, *Twilight of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 110-134; W.S. Smith, rev. W.K. Simpson, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1998), pp. 232-251.

⁹⁴ Myśliwiec, *Twilight of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 169-76 (quote from p. 171); see also D. Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs* (New York, 1999); D. Eigner, *Die Monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der Thebanischen Nekropole* (Vienna, 1984); A.B. Lloyd, “The Late Period,” in I. Shaw, ed., *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2000), pp. 390-94; W. Niederberger, *Elephantine XX. Der Chnumtempel Nektanebos’ II.* (Mainz, 1999), pp. 11-13; N. Spencer, *The great naos of Nekhthorheb from Bubastis* (London, 2005), Chapter 7 for the broader religious themes of temple building in the Thirtieth Dynasty.

The preserved monuments bearing his [Nectanebo II's] name would suggest, at least, that the last pharaoh was one of the most religious rulers of Egypt. He erected and renovated temples nearly everywhere, and their priesthoods received donations even larger than those made by Nectanebo I.

Despite the wealth of naoi and temple reliefs dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty, little is known of funerary religion during the Nectanebid Period. Conceptions of the Underworld throughout the Late Period have never been the object of scrutiny, but the corpus of sarcophagi and papyri studied in the present work shine new light upon the cultural and religious achievements of the Thirtieth Dynasty, as well as illuminating the Late Period theology of the Netherworld.

While the texts on the Late Period sarcophagi are almost entirely derived from the New Kingdom Underworld Books, they reflect an active tradition of textual editing and continual study by post-New Kingdom scholars.⁹⁵ The sarcophagi contain not only new texts composed in the style of the Underworld Books, but they provide ample evidence for the alteration of obscure passages, transcription of cryptographic writings, and frequent reinterpretations. The lack of a continuous textual tradition for the Underworld Books from the New Kingdom royal tombs through the Thirtieth Dynasty prevents one from determining precisely when particular changes were made, and it is quite unlikely that all of the differences between the New Kingdom Underworld Books and their Late Period manifestations were created simultaneously. Furthermore, some of the variants on the Late Period sarcophagi may even derive from a now lost textual

⁹⁵ Baines, *JARCE* 27 (1990): 12-13 has noted the “academic” qualities of the New Kingdom copies of the Book of Amduat, which include a full version, short version (*shwi*, which Baines likens to an “abstract”), and list of the gods (the “index”). The short version of the Book of Caverns may be a Late Period extension of the different editions of the Book of Amduat.

tradition from the New Kingdom or earlier,⁹⁶ this scenario is more likely for compositions like the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk for which only one New Kingdom copy is preserved and less likely for the Books of Amduat, Gates and Litany, each known in multiple New Kingdom copies. The new readings offered by the Late Period sarcophagi are an invaluable contribution to the understanding of the Underworld Books. However, other textual evidence contributes to the likelihood of a Late Period scholarly movement, specifically during the Thirtieth Dynasty.

Literary evidence, particularly several Greco-Egyptian texts, provides vivid details about the reputation of Nectanebo II, during whose reign most of the Late Period sarcophagi were fashioned. In both Egyptian and Greek sources, Nectanebo II appears as a renowned magician and master of the arcane arts.⁹⁷ For example, the *Alexander Romance*, a tremendously popular novel of the Hellenistic world, begins not with Alexander's Macedonian heritage, but his "real" father Nectanebo II, who is portrayed as a powerful magician. Through his magic, Nectanebo II can repel his enemies, cast horoscopes, and make Olympias believe she is impregnated by Amun (the persona adopted by Nectanebo II).⁹⁸ While the Egyptian context of many of these events is

⁹⁶ Compare "new" Coffin Text spells attested in some Saite tombs, which are probably original Middle Kingdom spells not attested in earlier sources (L. Gestermann, "'Neue' Texte in spätzeitlichen Grabanlagen von Saqqara und Heliopolis," in M. Minas and J. Zeidler, eds., *Aspekte Spätägyptischer Kultur. Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65. Geburtstag* [Mainz, 1994], pp. 89-96).

⁹⁷ S. Aufrère, "Quelques aspects du dernier Nectanébo et les échos de la magie égyptienne dans *La roman d'Alexandre*," in *La magie I, du monde babylonien au monde hellénistique* (Montpellier, 2000), pp. 95-118.

⁹⁸ K. Dowden, trans., Pseudo-Callisthenes, "Alexander Romance," in B.P. Reardon, ed., *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley, 1989); R. Stoneman, "Oriental Motifs in the Alexander Romance," *Antichthon* 26 (1992): 95-113.

apparent, a demotic text has not yet been found,⁹⁹ although the discovery of a demotic original to the Greek text “The Dream of Nectanebo” offers hope that such may soon be discovered.¹⁰⁰ The revival in the Underworld Books precisely during his reign, however, indicates that Nectanebo II was interested in ritually and magically efficacious texts. His own sarcophagus was decorated with the Books of Amduat and the Litany of Re, and the attribution of nearly all the sarcophagi to his reign strongly suggests royal patronage for the “study” of Underworld Books. The use of the Underworld Books on earth provides a link with other popular magical practices, such as the use of Horus cippi, and the combination of magic and Underworldly journeys is a central feature of other literary texts, such as the story of the magician Meryre from Papyrus Vandier.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ R. Jasnow, “The Greek Alexander Romance and Demotic Egyptian literature,” *JNES* 56 (1997): 95-103 has suggested that the verb συγκλονέω “to dash together, confound utterly” (related to κλονέω “to drive in confusion”) translated the demotic *p̄hr*, thus providing evidence for a lost demotic original. While his conclusion regarding the demotic influence on the Greek story is certainly correct, no connection appears to exist between Greek συγκλονέω and demotic *p̄hr*, since the latter never means “to confuse.” For the meaning “to confuse,” Jasnow cites J.H. Johnson and R.K. Ritner, “Multiple Meaning and Ambiguity in the ‘Demotic Chronicle,’” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), vol. 1, p. 502, who are themselves citing Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 93; Faulkner’s entry refers to Prisse 8,7 (Z. Žaba, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* [Prague, 1956], p. 37): *p̄-ib iwty p̄hr-f dd m h.t=f* (L2: *iwty sdm-f n dd h.t=f*) *hpr-f m tzw ds-f* “A trustworthy man, who does not follow (L2: listen to) the dictates of his emotions, will become his own commander.” As the variant in L2 demonstrates, *p̄hr* does not mean “to confuse, to twist” at all, but rather “to follow.” Furthermore, it is known that demotic *p̄hr* was equated with Greek περιφέρω in a magical context (Ritner, *Mechanics*, p. 61).

¹⁰⁰ R. Jasnow, “Recent Trends and Advances in the Study of Late Period Literature,” *JARCE* 39 (2002): 211 and n. 2, particularly K. Ryholt, “Nektanebo’s Dream or the Prophecy of Petesis,” in A. Blasius and B. Shipper, eds., *Apokalyptik und Ägypten: Ein Kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten* (Leuven, 2002), pp. 221-241.

¹⁰¹ G. Posener, *Le papyrus Vandier* (Cairo, 1985); H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, “Der Pharao, die Magier und der General,” *BiOr* 44 (1987): 5-21; E. Brunner-Traut, “Ein Golem in der ägyptischen Literatur,” *SAK* 16 (1989): 21-26; J.F. Quack, “Notes en marge du Papyrus Vandier,” *RdE* 46 (1995): 163-170.

The Late Period sarcophagi provide a crucial missing link between the well-attested Ramesside funerary religion and the distinct features of the afterlife in the Ptolemaic Period. Although this transition is complex and its causes not entirely understood, it can be summarized as follows. At the end of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, the deceased is completely incorporated into the constellation of deities who accompany Re in his journey through heaven and earth, and he or she is often compared with the solar deity. By the time of the Ptolemaic period, the deceased is fully identified with Re and Osiris.¹⁰² The elevation of the individual to the divine realm on an unprecedented scale has been attributed to the influence of Hellenistic mystery religions,¹⁰³ but it is equally the result of the changes taking place in Late Period Egyptian religion.¹⁰⁴ The Late Period is the first time the predominately royal solar hymns of the “solar mysteries” are fully employed in the tombs of private individuals.¹⁰⁵ However, this phenomenon must be understood in conjunction with the simultaneous reuse of the Underworld Books. The deceased is surrounded by representations of the solar journey and in each sarcophagus type is explicitly identified with the sun god. The sarcophagi are the ultimate initiation into the solar arcana necessary for resurrection.

The Thirtieth Dynasty should be remembered as a revival of the Underworld Books, a time of intense scholarship focusing on the journey of the sun during the night.

¹⁰² S. Morenz, “Das Problem des Werdens zu Osiris in der griechisch-römischen Zeit Ägyptens,” in Ph. Derchain, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969), pp. 75-91; L. Kákosy, “Probleme der Ägyptischen Jenseitsvorstellungen in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit,” pp. 58-68 in the same volume.

¹⁰³ Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. 1, pp. 346-347.

¹⁰⁴ See the extensive survey of G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge, 1986).

¹⁰⁵ Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, p. 18.

The first translation and commentary of the Late Period sarcophagi demonstrates a new chapter in Egyptian religion. Shortly before losing political control over Egypt, the Nectanebos, the last native pharaohs, created a religious movement that may be the seed from which the blossom of Ptolemaic religion grew. For the deceased individuals buried within the Late Period sarcophagi, those carefully conceived and elaborately carved monuments function as crucibles combining the raw material of the rotting corpse with the unlimited energy of the solar disk to forge a new manifestation of the resurrected deceased.

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Plate 1

Type I (CG 29302), Side Four

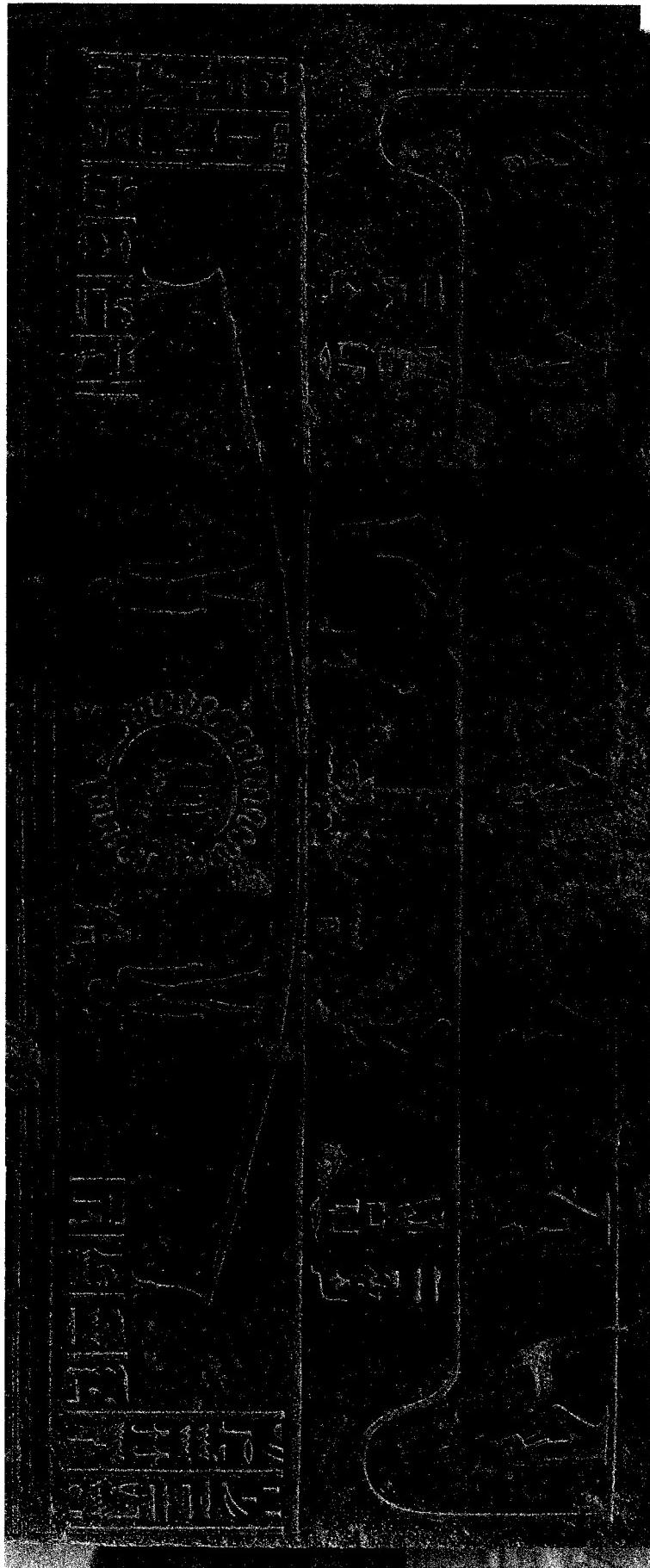


Plate 2

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Four
Book of Gates, First Hour
Upper Register, Left

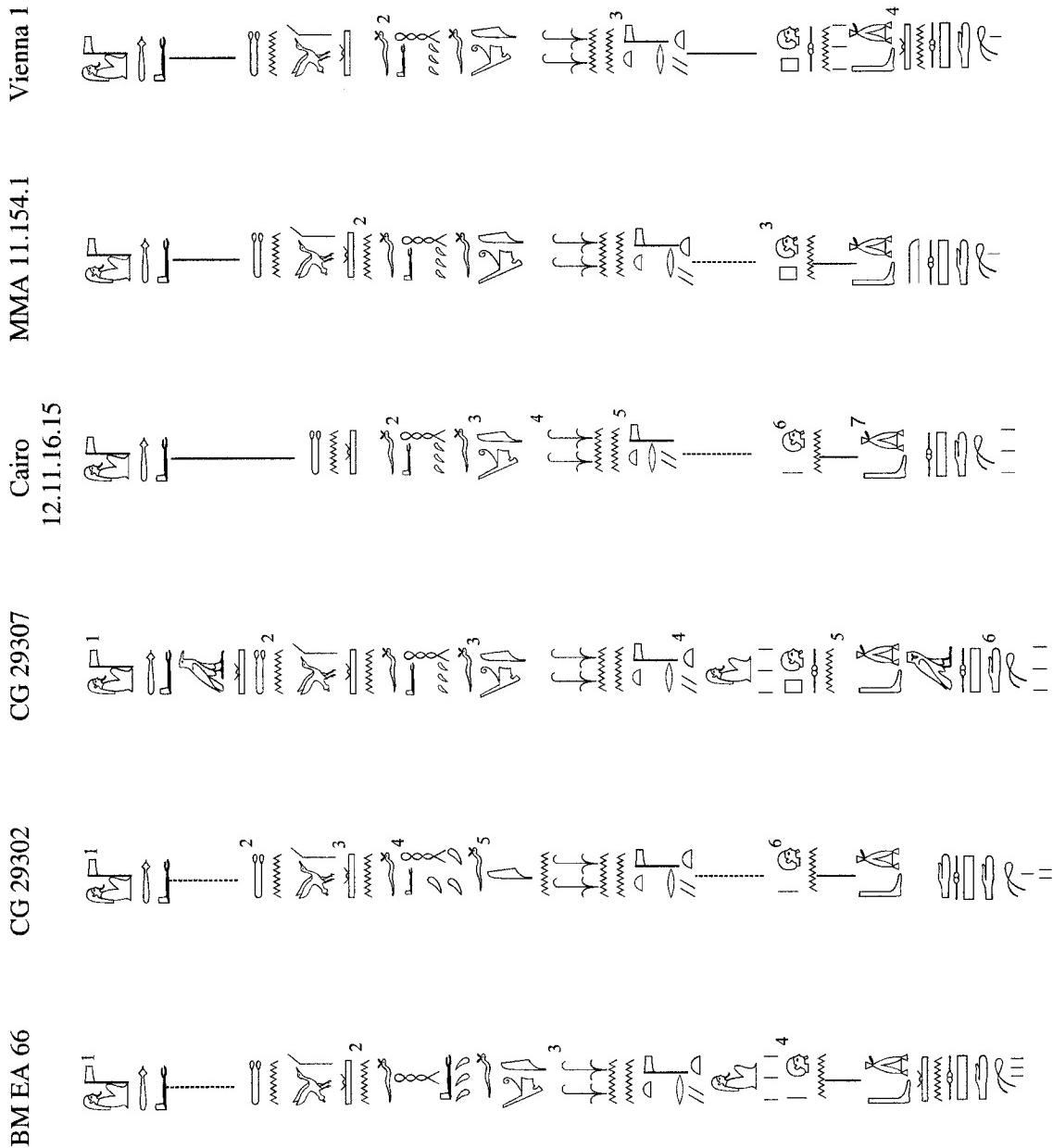


Plate 3

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Four
Book of Gates, First Hour
Upper Register, Right

Vienna 1	
MMA 11.154.1	
Cairo 12.11.16.15	
CG 29307	
CG 29302	
BM EA 66	
Vienna 2	
MMA 11.154.1	
Cairo 12.11.16.15	
CG 29307	
CG 29302	
BM EA 66	
Vienna 3	
MMA 11.154.1	
Cairo 12.11.16.15	
CG 29307	
CG 29302	
BM EA 66	
Vienna 4	
MMA 11.154.1	
Cairo 12.11.16.15	
CG 29307	
CG 29302	
BM EA 66	
Vienna 5	
MMA 11.154.1	
Cairo 12.11.16.15	
CG 29307	
CG 29302	
BM EA 66	

Plate 4

Type I (CG 29302), Side Three

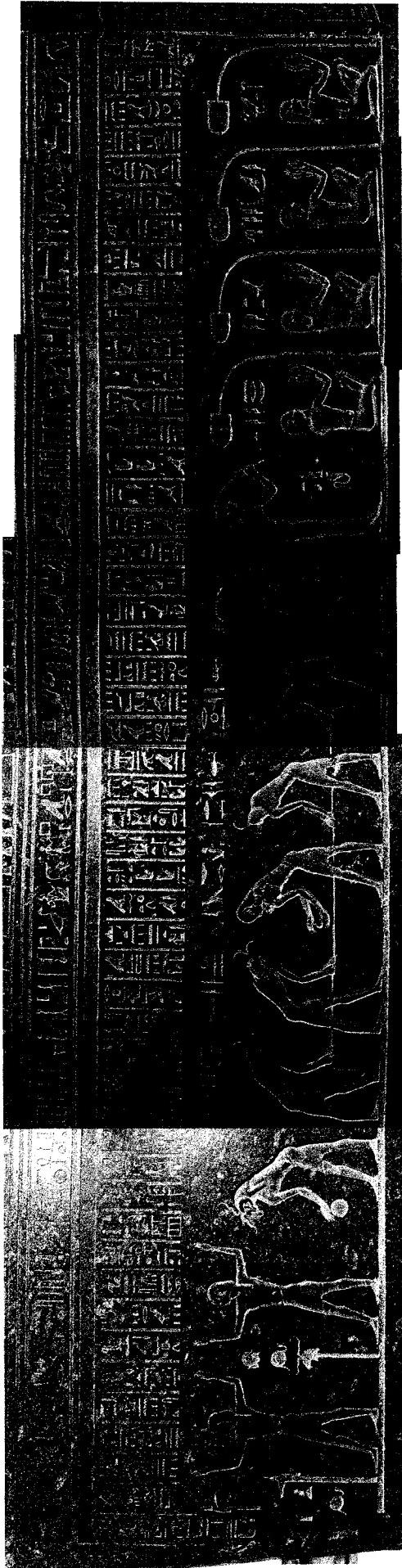


Plate 5

Type I (CG 29302), Side Three, Scene 1

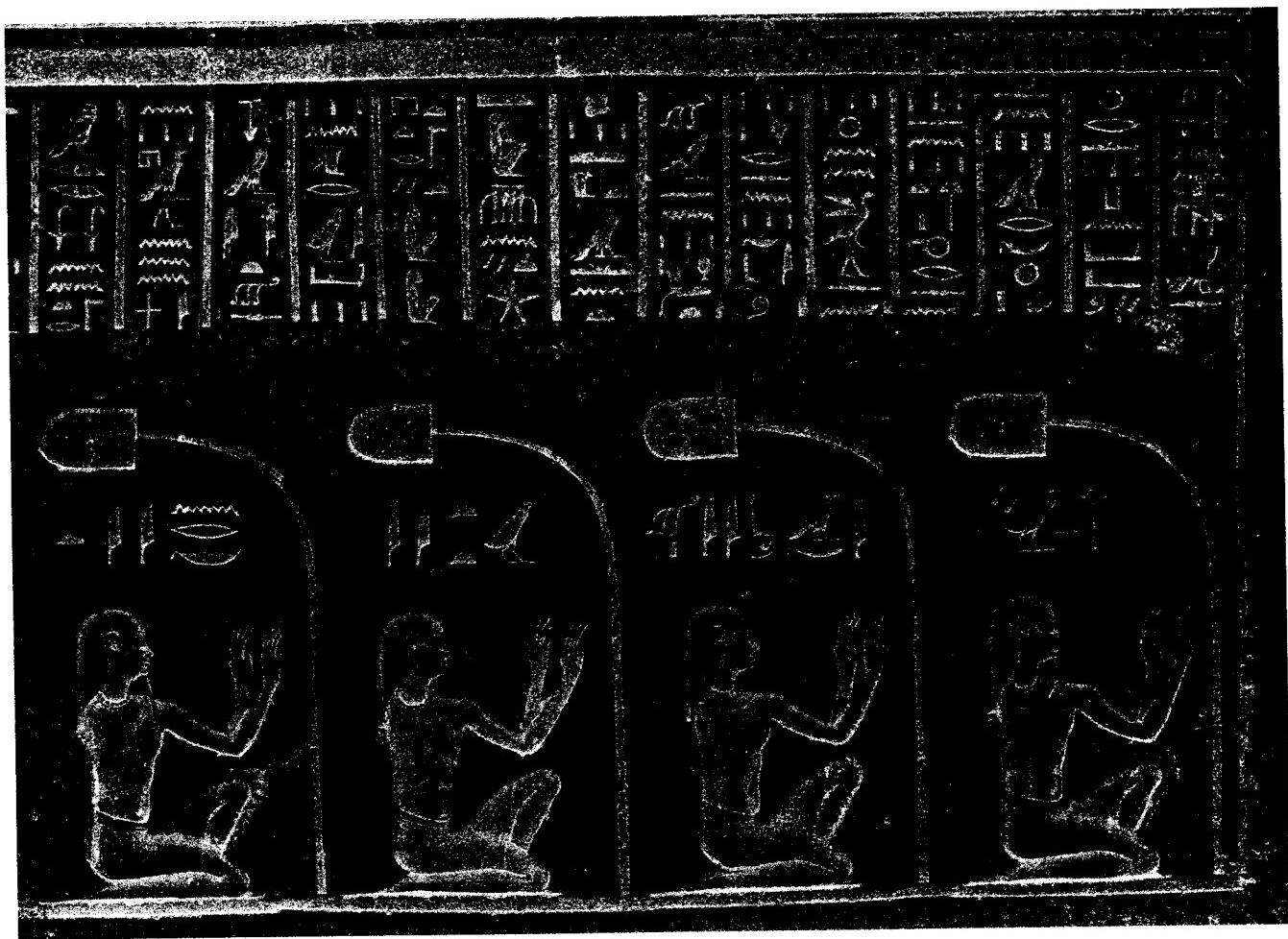


Plate 6

Type I (CG 29302), Side Three, Scene 2

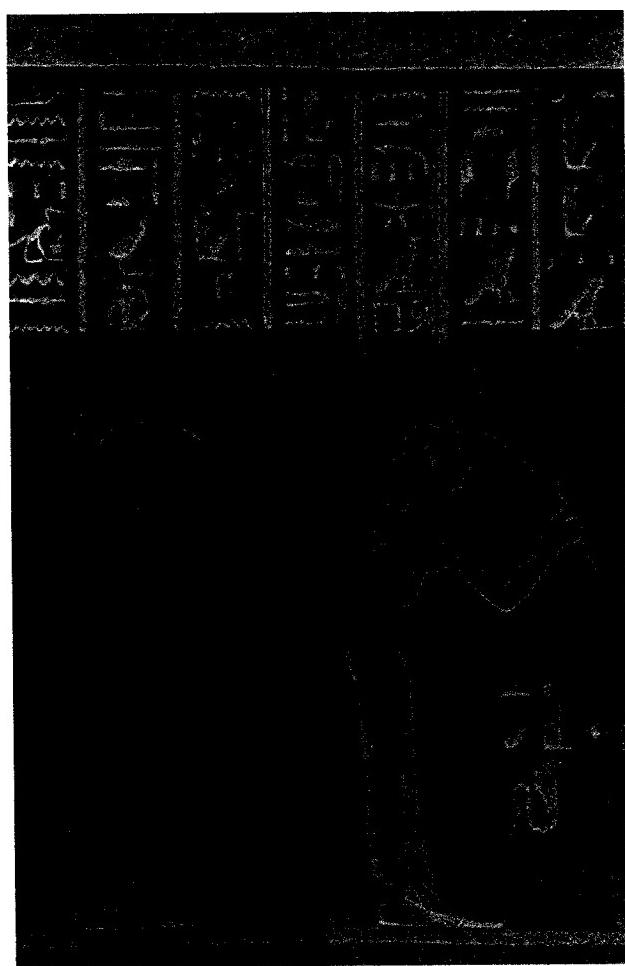


Plate 7

Type I (CG 29302), Side Three, Scene 3



Plate 8

Type I (CG 29302), Side Three, Scene 4

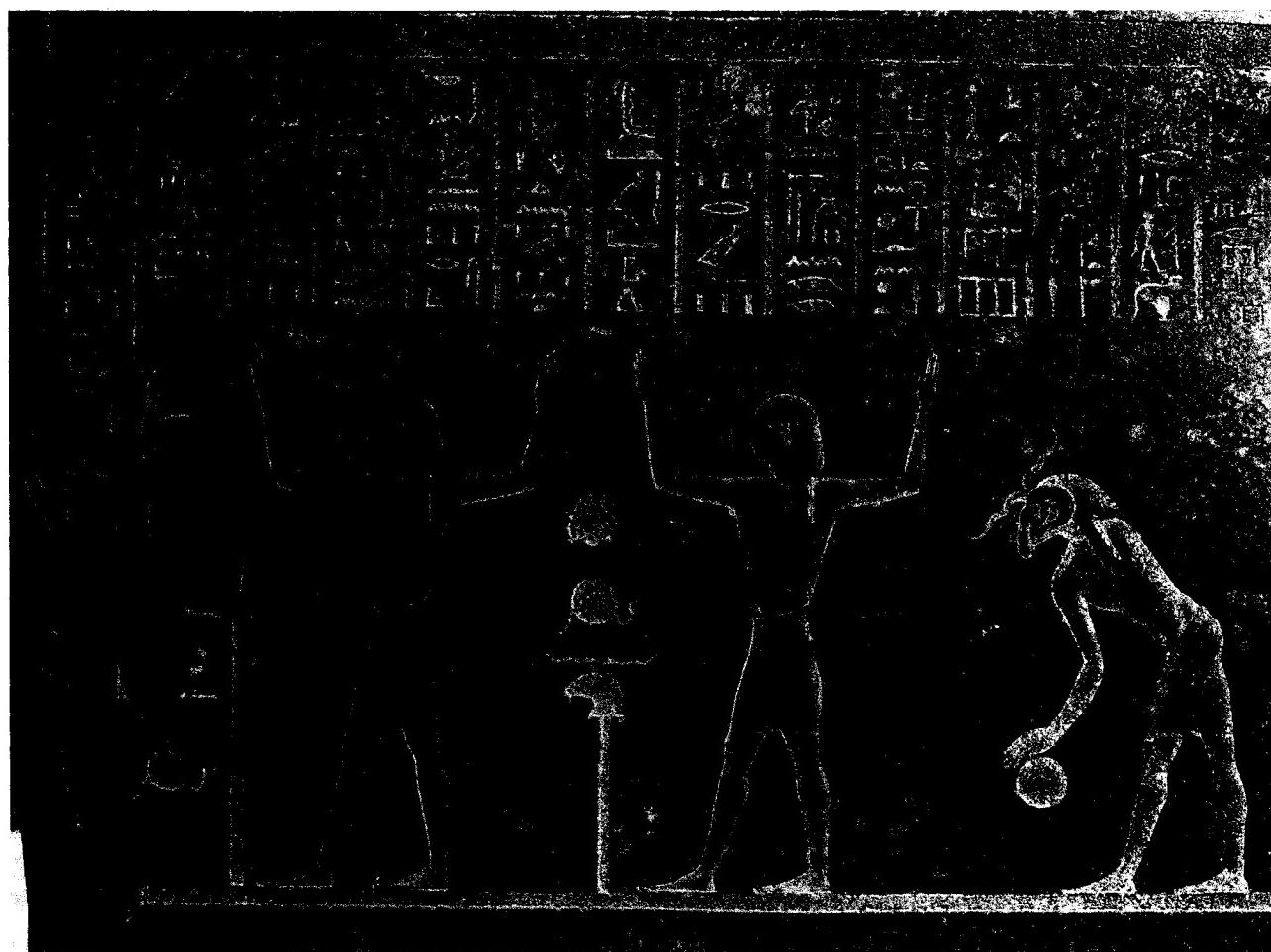


Plate 9

Type I (Louvre D8), Side Two

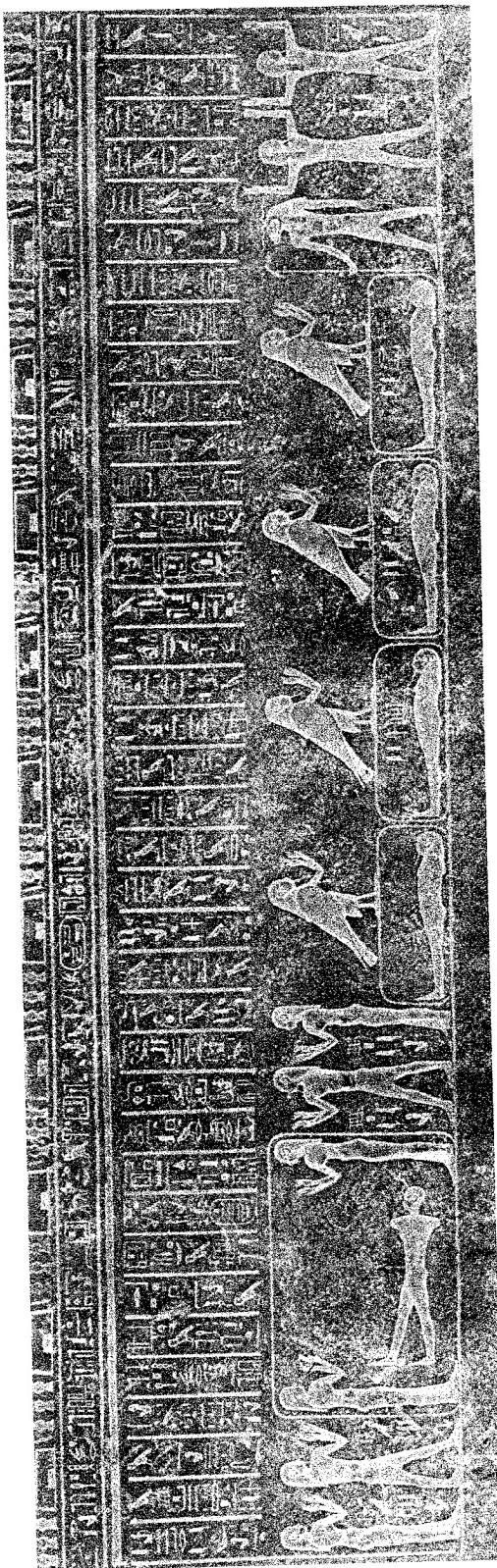


Plate 10

Type I (CG 29302), Side Three, Scene 1

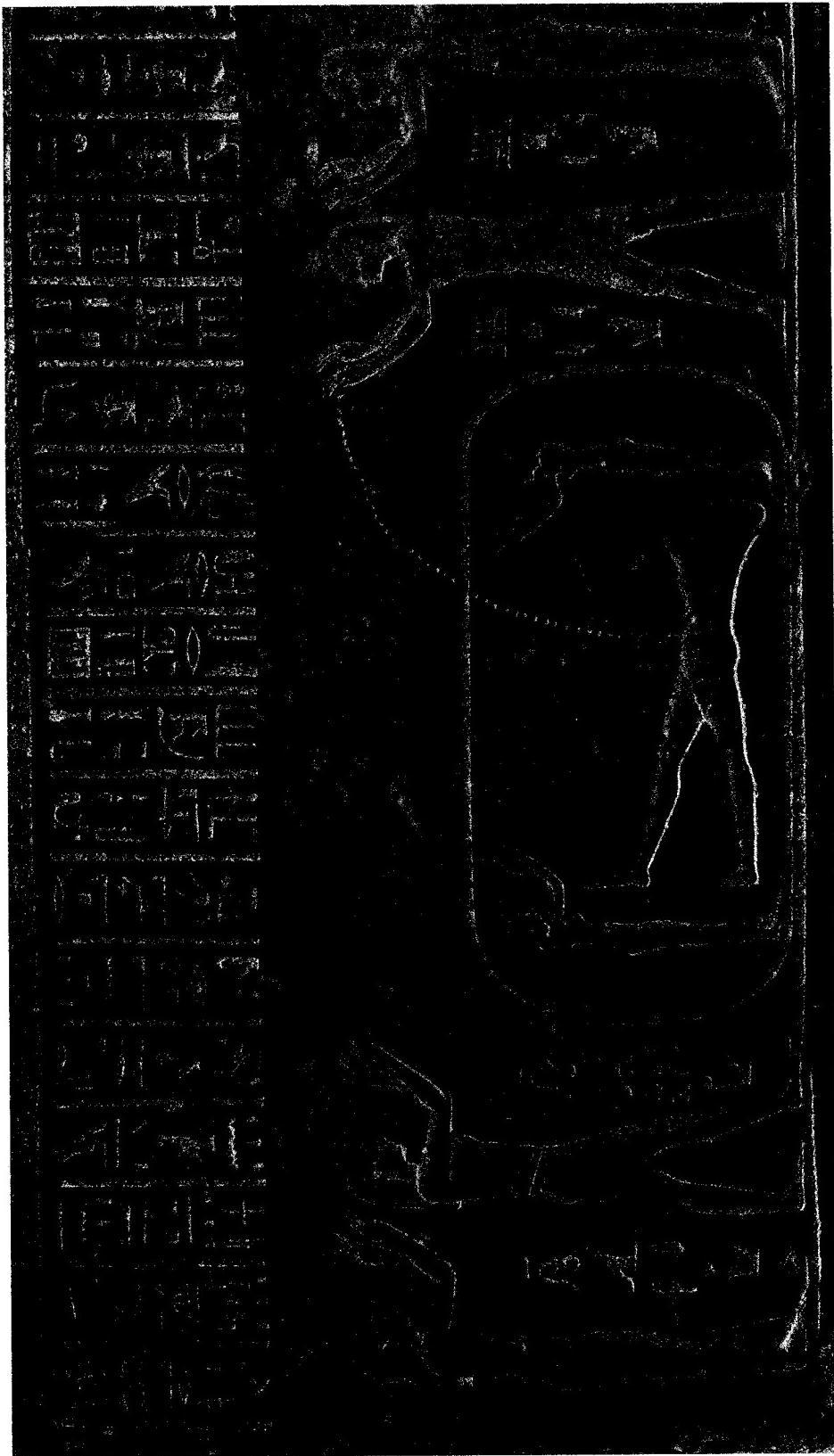


Plate 11

Type I (CG 29302), Side Three, Scene 2

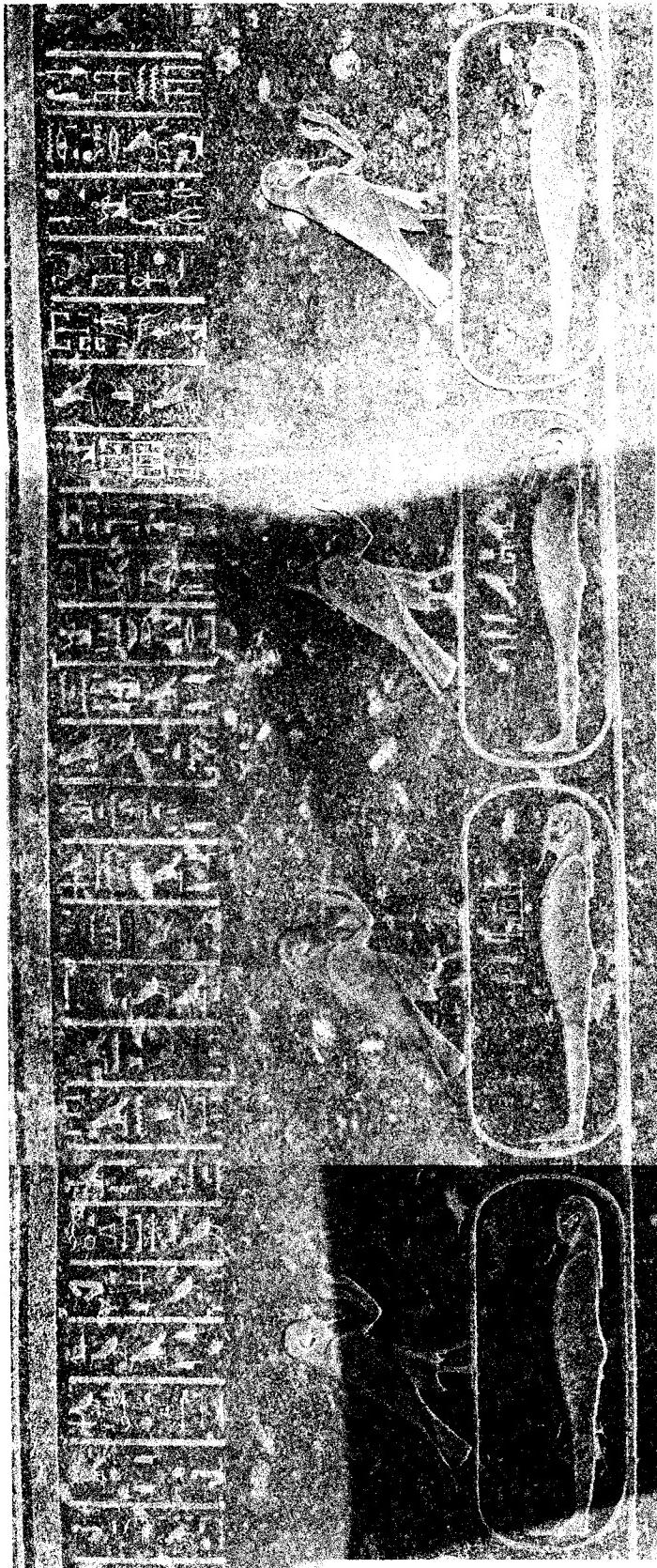


Plate 12

Type I (CG 29302), Side Three, Scene 3

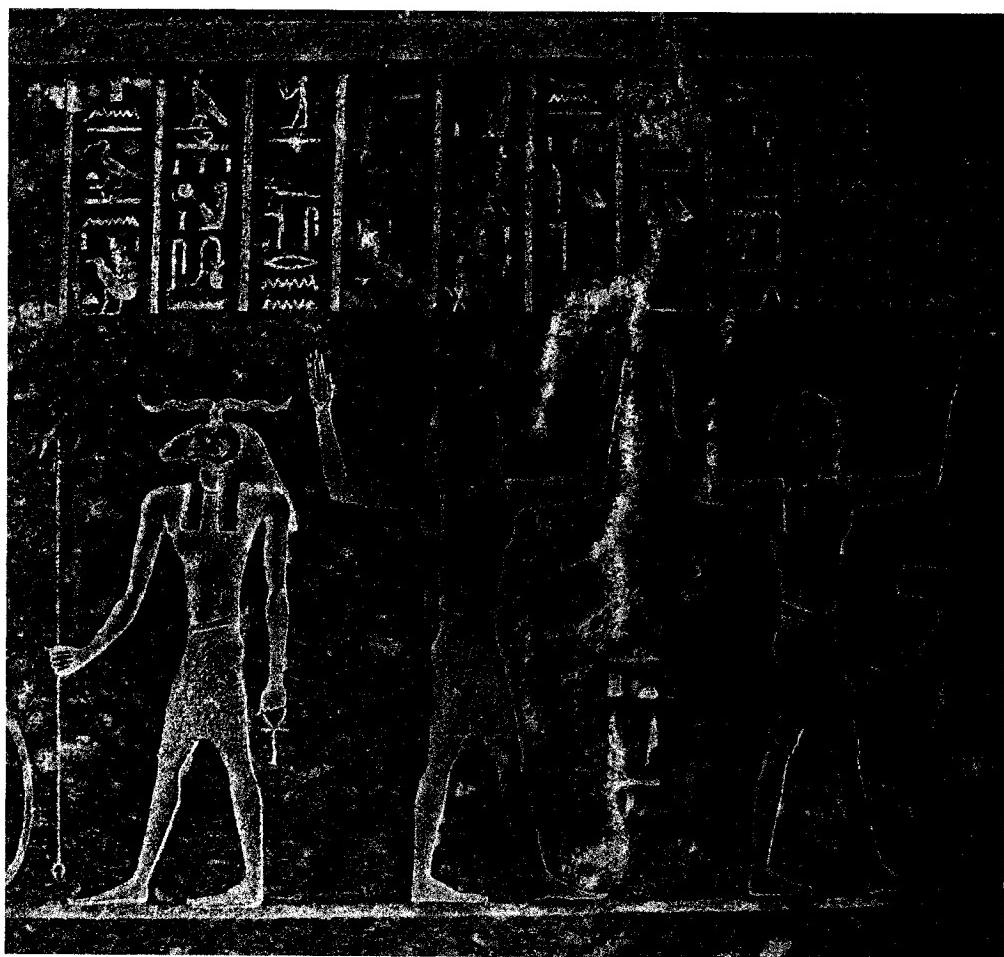


Plate 13

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Three
Annotation

BM EA 66	CG 29302	CG 29307	CG 29317	Louvre D9	MMA 11.154.1
1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4
5					

Plate 14

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Three Annotation

MMA 11.154.1	4	
Louvre D9	4	
CG 29317	4	
CG 29307	4	
CG 29302	6	
BHM EA 66	6	

Plate 15

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Three
Annotation

BMEA 66	CG 29302	CG 29307	CG 29317	Louvre D9	MMA 11.154.1

Plate 16

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Three Annotation

MMA 11.154.1	Louvre D9	CG 29307	CG 29302	BM EA 66
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				

Plate 17

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Three
Annotation

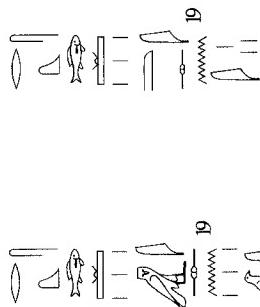
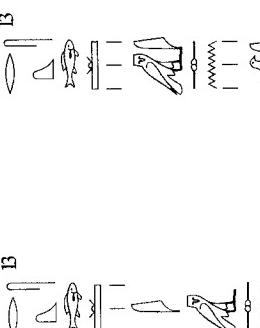
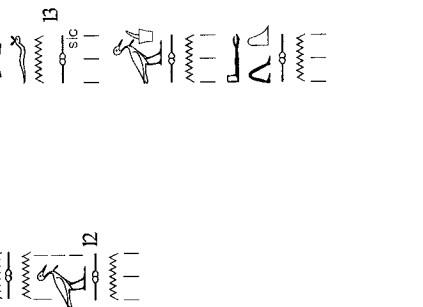
BM EA 66	CG 29302	CG 29307	CG 29317	Louvre D9	MMA 11.154.1
					
19	19	11	12	B	13
20	20	10	14	15	14
21	21	11	16	16	16
22	22	12	17	18	17

Plate 18

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Three
Annotation

BM EA 66

CG 29307

Louvre D9

MMA 11.154.1

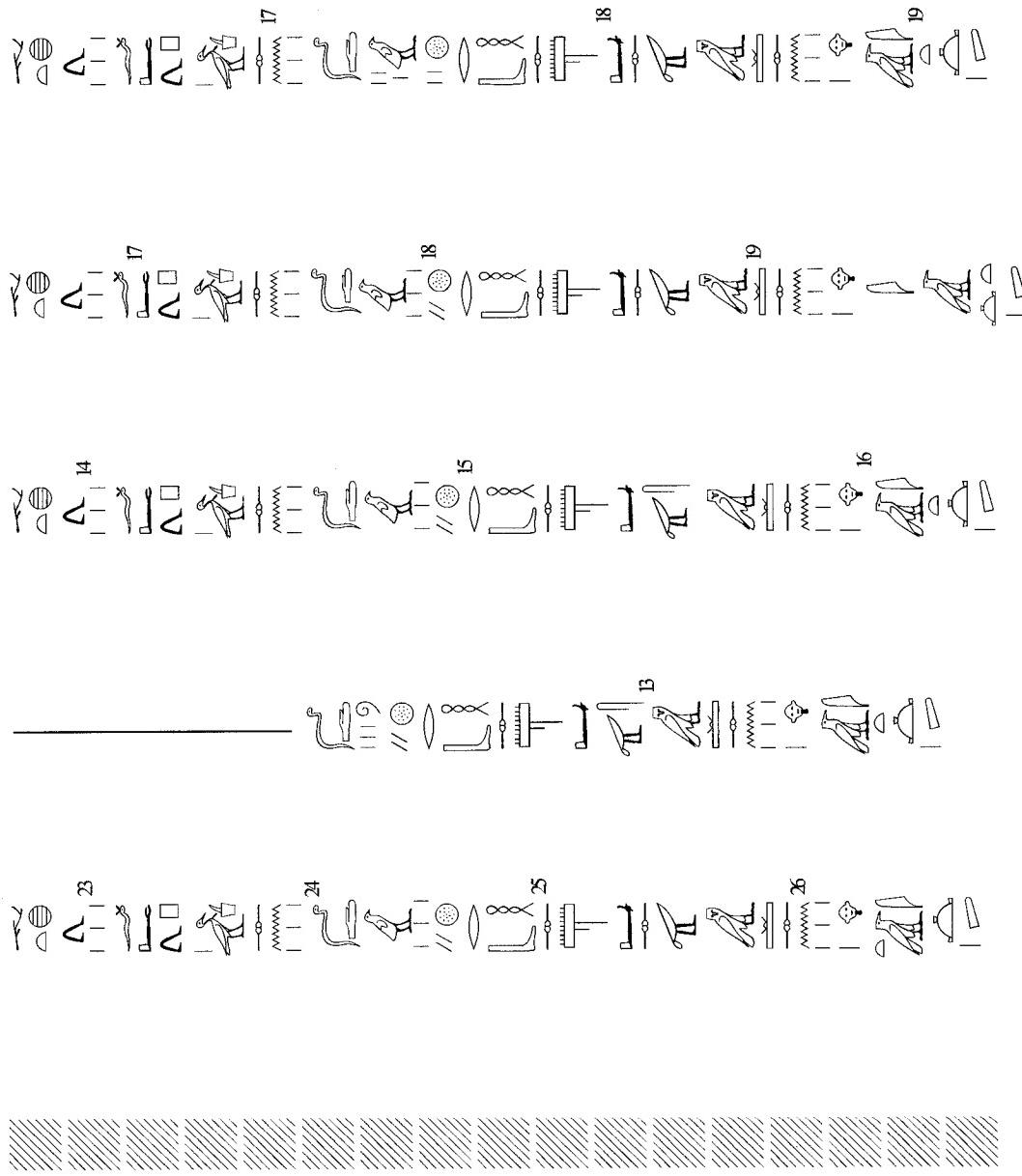


Plate 19

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Three
Annotation

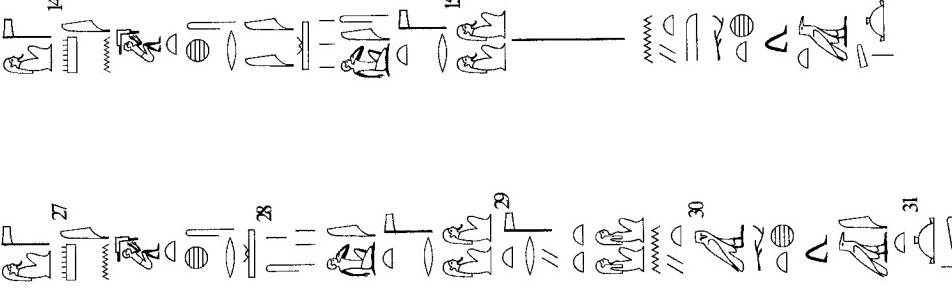
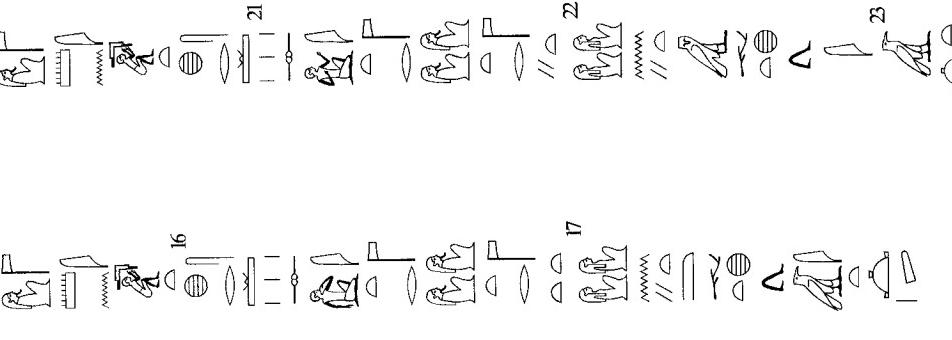
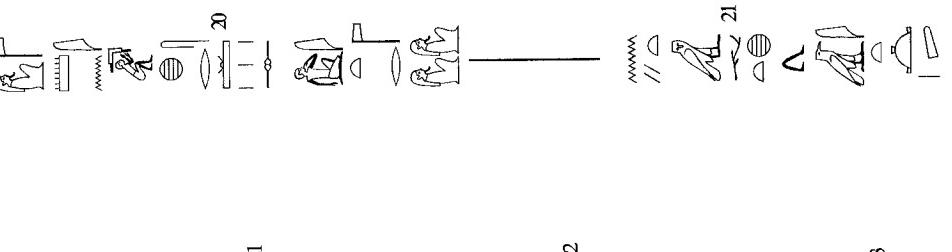
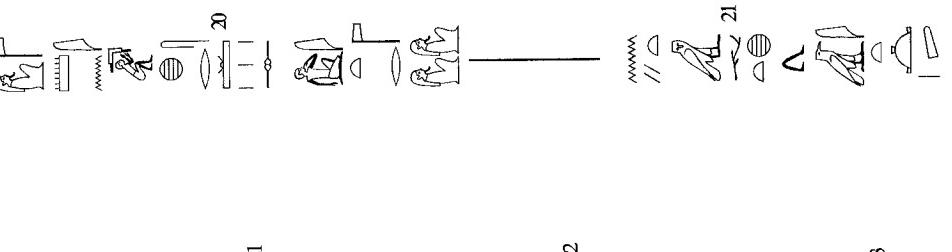
BM EA 66		
CG 29302	CG 29307	
CG 29317	CG 29307	
Louvre D9	CG 29317	
MMA 11.154.1		

Plate 20

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Three
Annotation

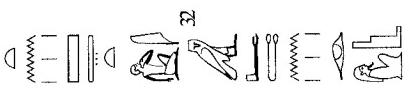
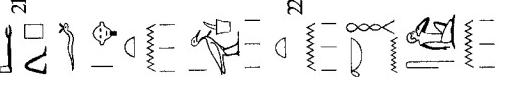
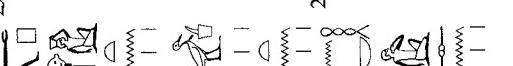
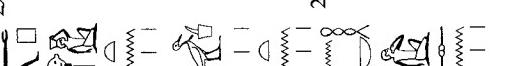
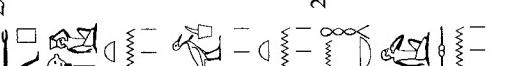
BM EA 66		
CG 29302	CG 29307	 N  N  N 
CG 29307	CG 29317	 N  N  N
CG 29317	Louvre D9	 N  N
MMA 11.154.1		

Plate 21

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Three Annotation

MMA 11.154.1		27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66
Louvre D9		27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66
CG 29317		27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66
CG 29307		27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66
CG 29302		27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66
BM EA 66		27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66

Plate 22

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Three Annotation

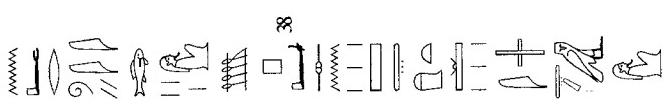
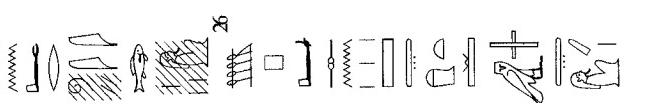
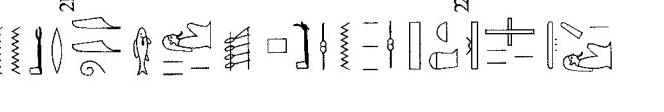
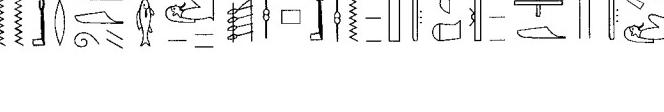
MMA 11.154.1		
Louvre D9		
CG 29317		
CG 29307		
CG 29302		
MEA 66		

Plate 23

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Two
Annotation

BM EA 66	CG 29302	CG 29307	CG 29317	Louvre D9	MMA 11.154.1	Vienna 1
1	2	3	4	2	3	2
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Plate 24

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Two
Annotation

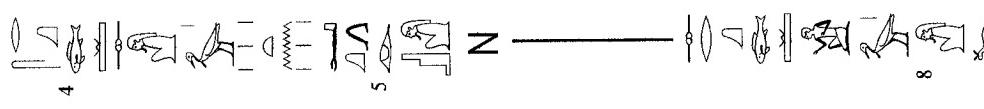
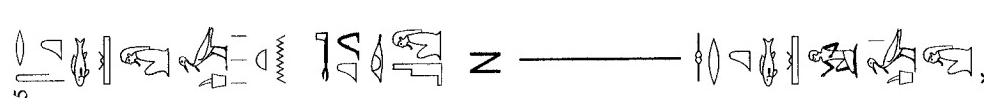
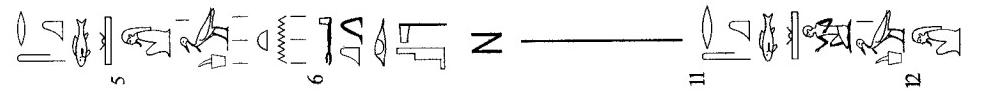
				Vienna 1
				
			MMA 11.154.1	
		Louvre D9	CG 29317	
			CG 29307	
			CG 29302	
			BM EA 66	

Plate 25

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Two
Annotation

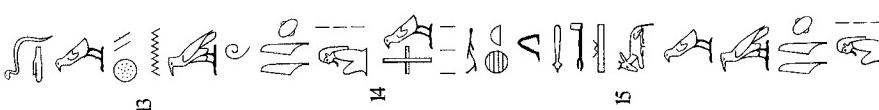
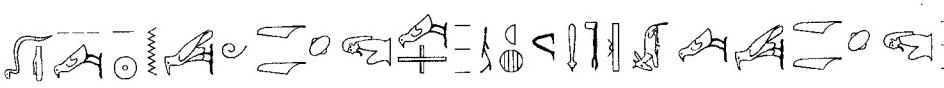
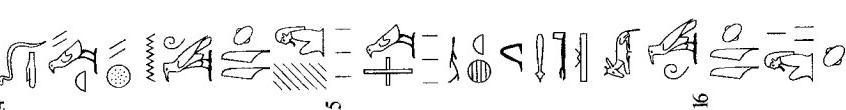
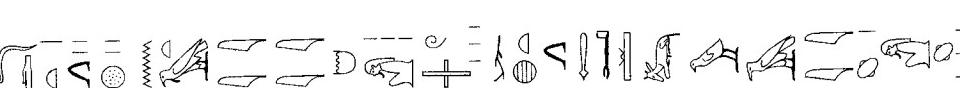
BM EA 66		
CG 29302		
CG 29307	CG 29317	
Louvre D9	MMA 11.154.1	
Vienna 1		

Plate 26

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Two
Annotation

Plate 27

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Two
Annotation

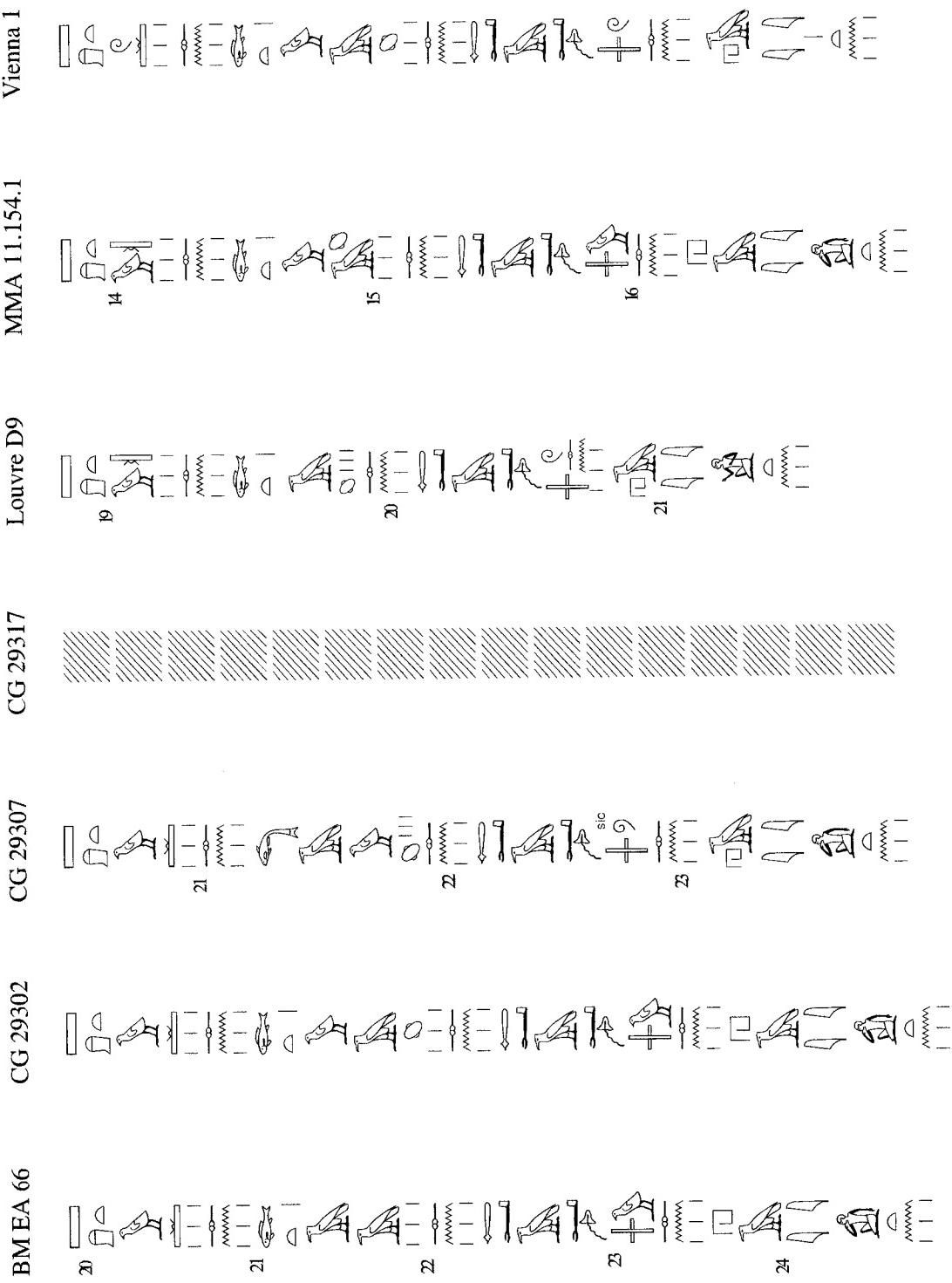


Plate 28

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Two Annotation

Plate 29

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Two
Annotation

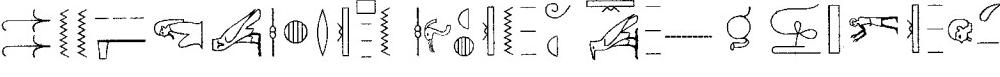
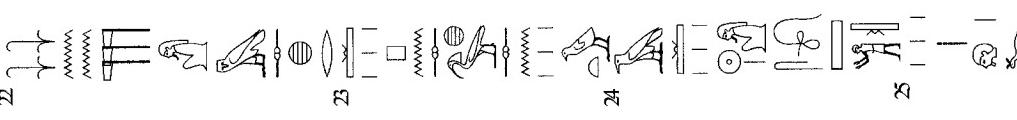
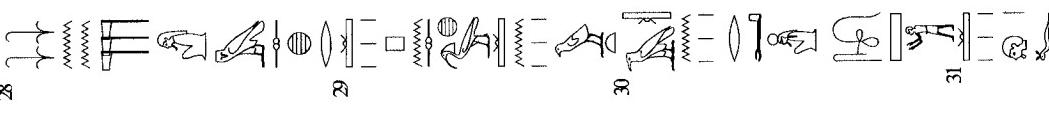
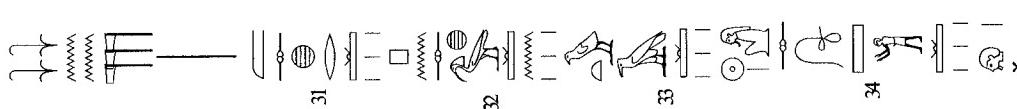
			Vienna 1
			
		MMA 11.154.1	
	CG 29317	Louvre D9	
CG 29307			
CG 29302			
BMEA 66			

Plate 30

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Two
Annotation

BM EA 66 CG 29302 CG 29307 CG 29317 Louvre D9 MMA 11.154.1 Vienna

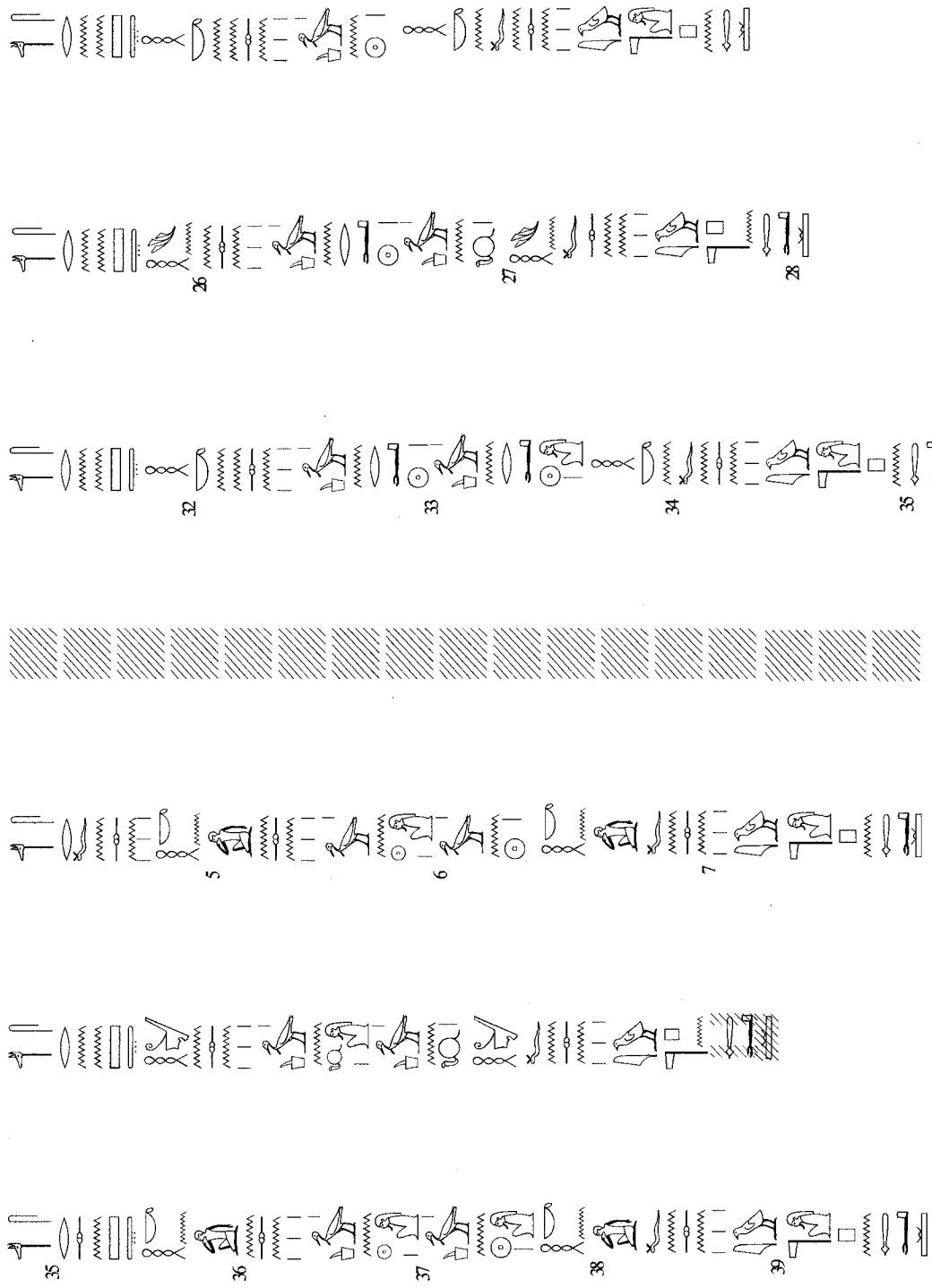


Plate 31

Type I Sarcophagi, Side Two
Annotation

BM EA 66	CG 29302	40	41	42	43	44
CG 29307	CG 29317	8	9	10	11	
Louvre D9	CG 29317	36	37	38		
MMA 11.154.1		20	30	38		
Vienna 1		15	25	35		

Plate 32

Type I Sarcophagi, Side One (CG 29302)

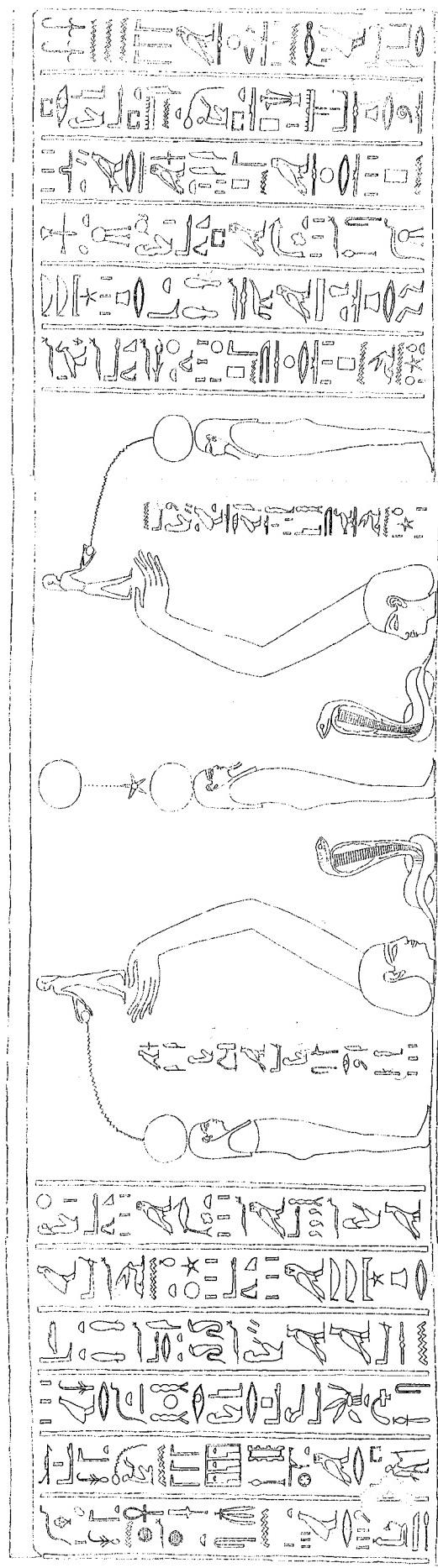


Plate 33

Type I Sarcophagi, Side One, Central Depiction (CG 29302)

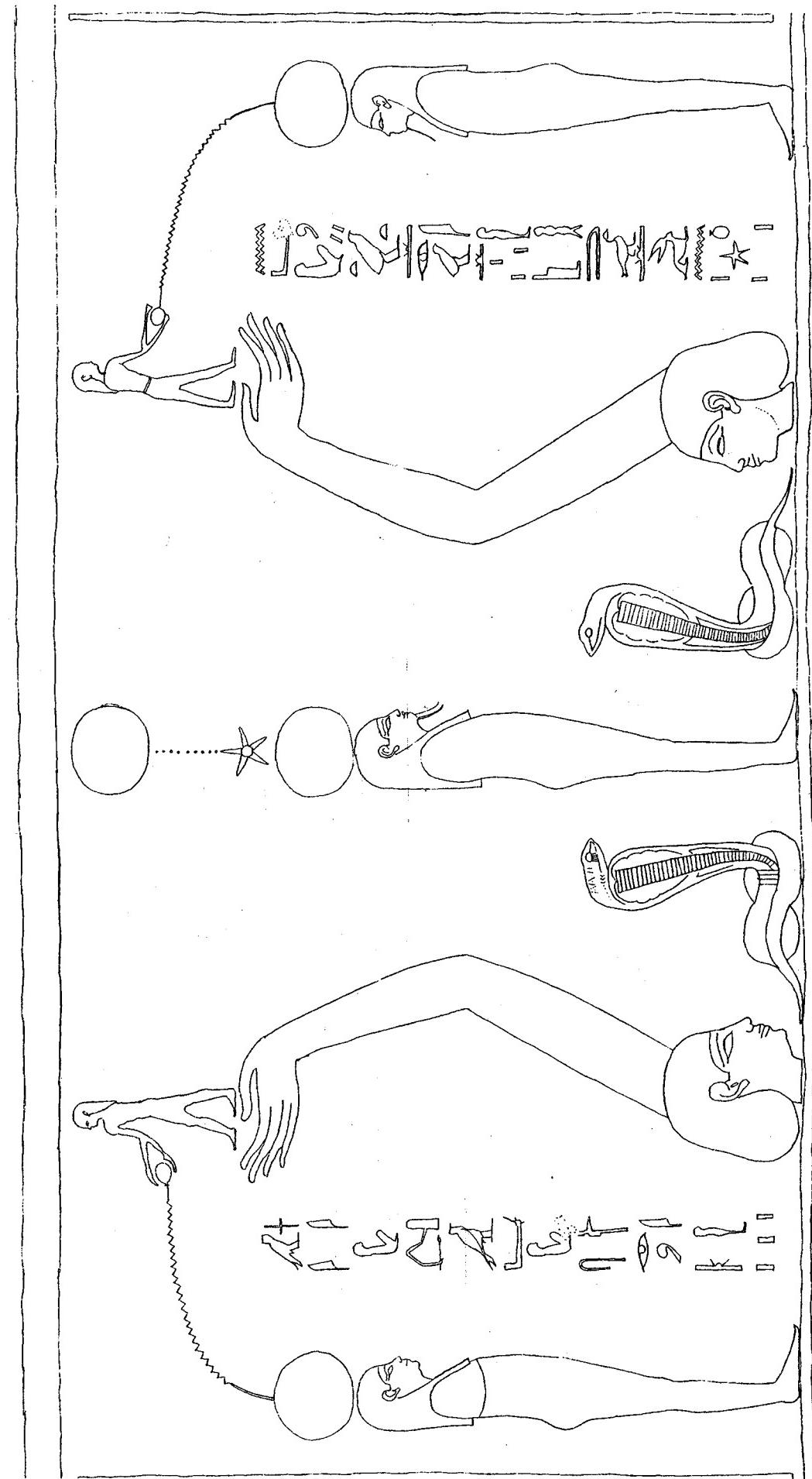
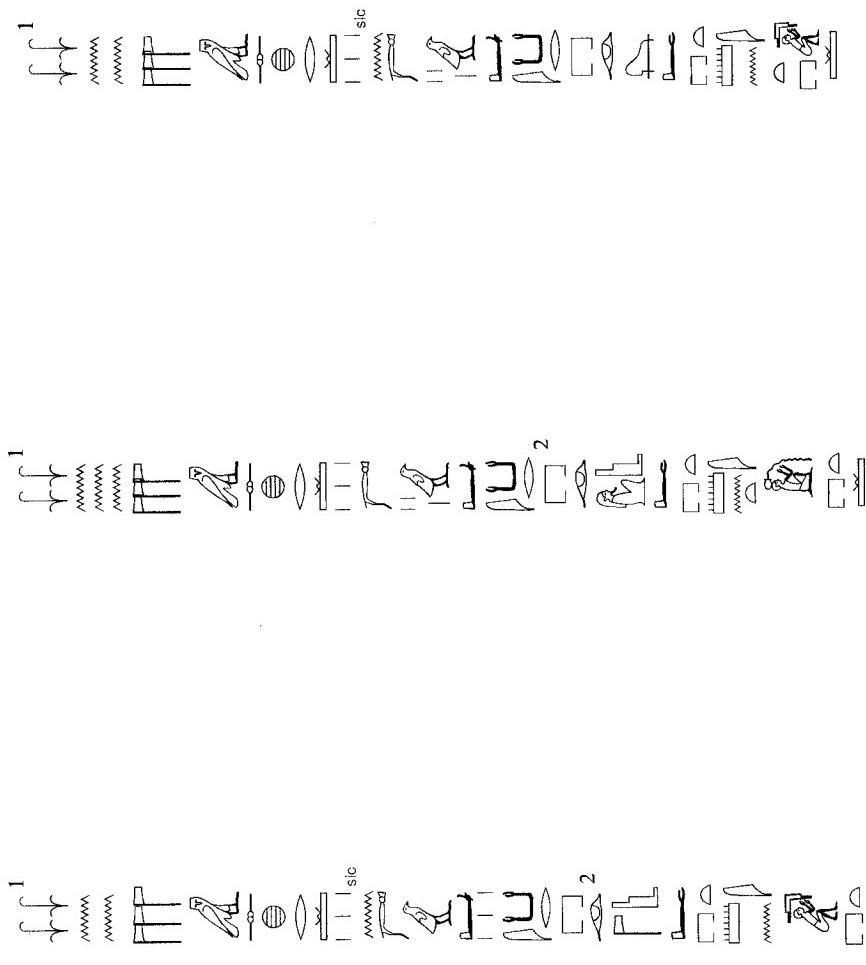


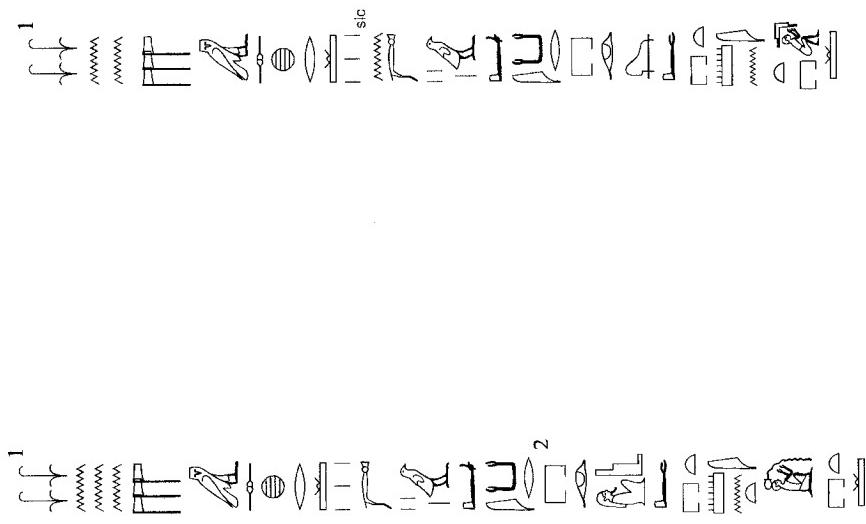
Plate 34

Type I Sarcophagi, Side One
Annotation

BM EA 66



CG 29302



MMA 11.154.1

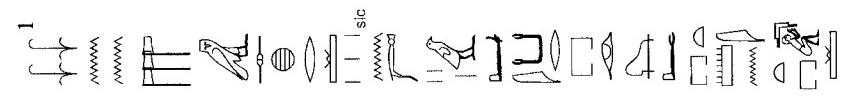
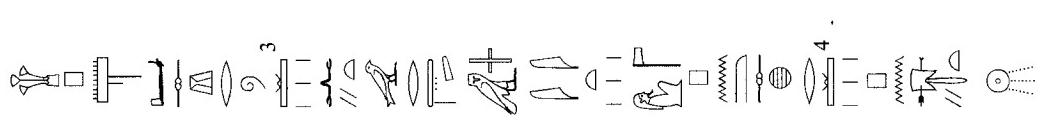


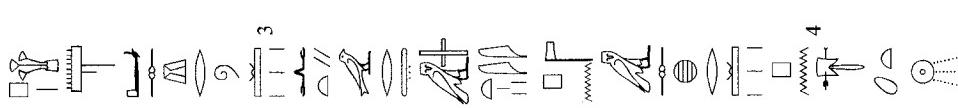
Plate 35

Type I Sarcophagi, Side One
Annotation

BMEA 66



CG 29302

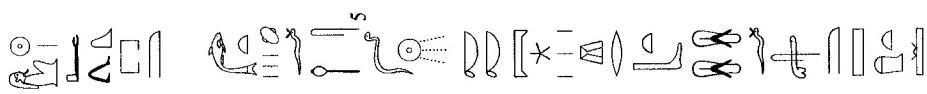


MMA 11.154.1

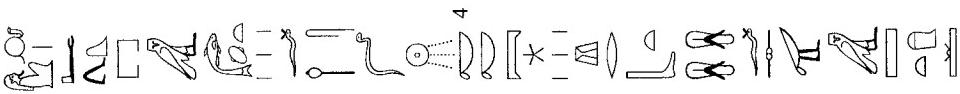
Plate 36

Type I Sarcophagi, Side One
Annotation

BMEA 66



CCG 29302



MMA 11.154.1

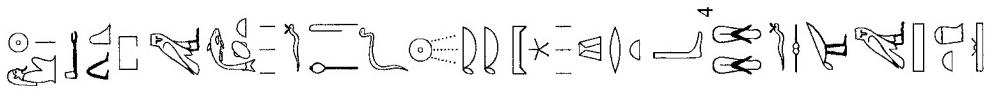
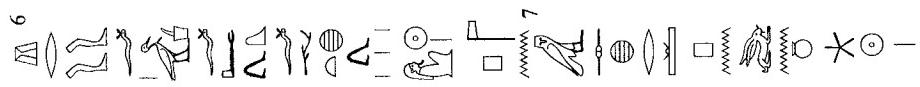


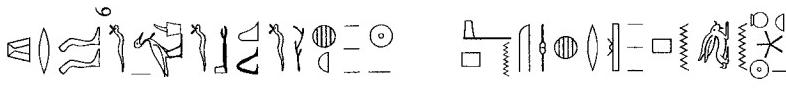
Plate 37

Type I Sarcophagi, Side One
Annotation

BMEA 66



CG 29302



MMA 11.154.1



BM EA 66

⁸

 7

 6

CG 29302

 5

MMA 11.154.1

 4

 3

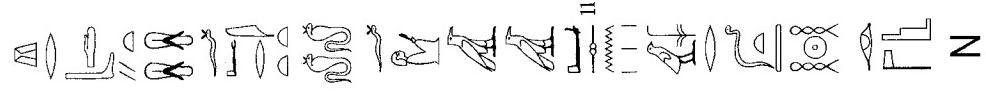
 2

 1

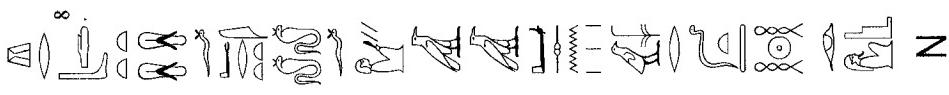
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Type I Sarcophagi, Side One
Annotation

BM EA 66



CG 29302



MMA 11.154.1

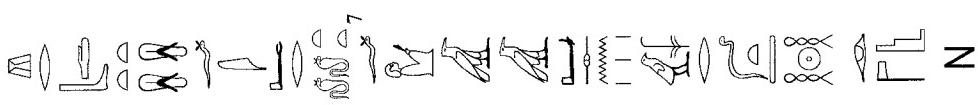


Plate 40

"Unit 1" from Side One of BM 1504: Addresses 74 and 75 from the Litany of Re, *sbh.t*-portal from the Book of Gates, and First Hour of the Book of Amduat

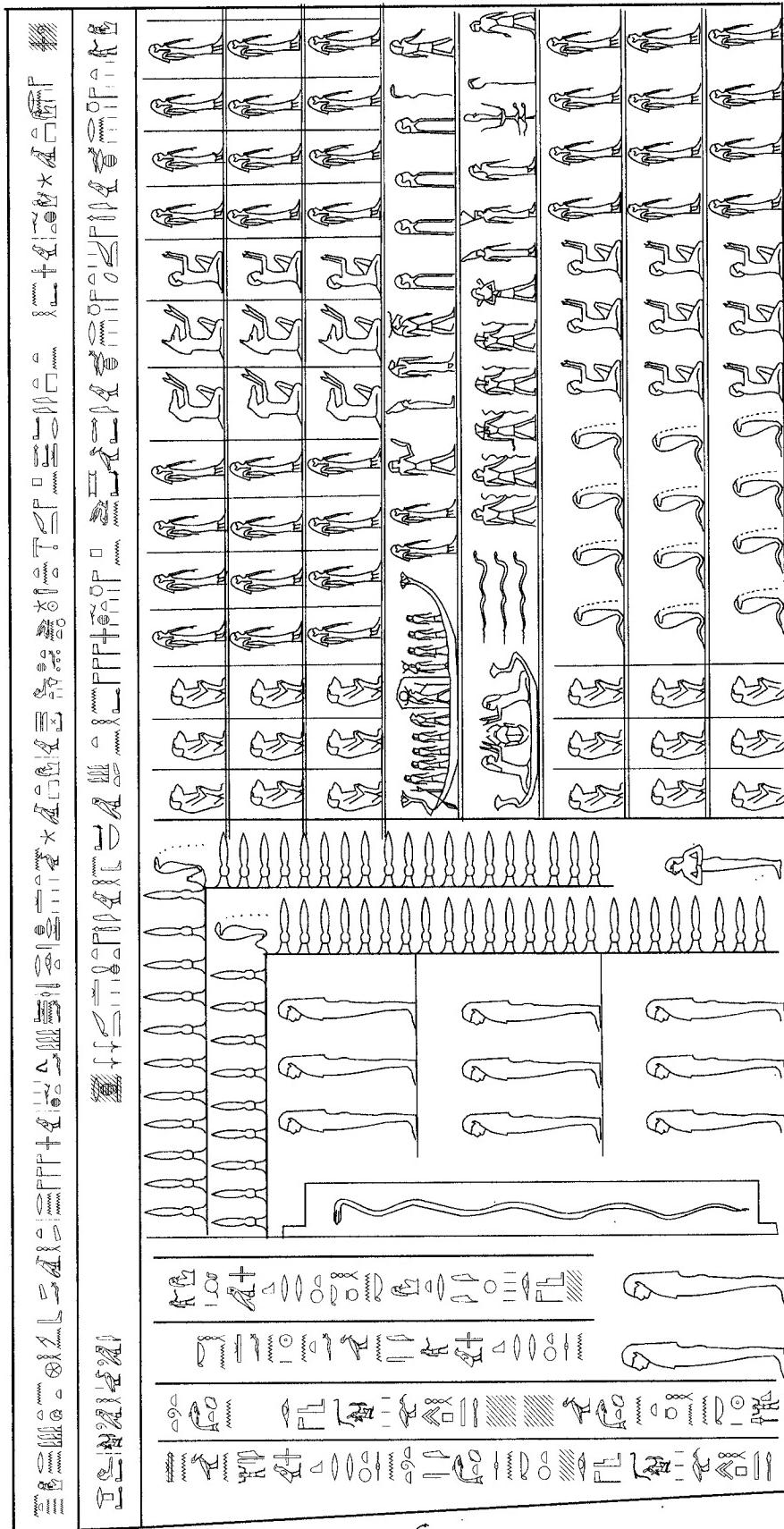


Plate 41

Type II Sarcophagi, Side One
Berlin 49

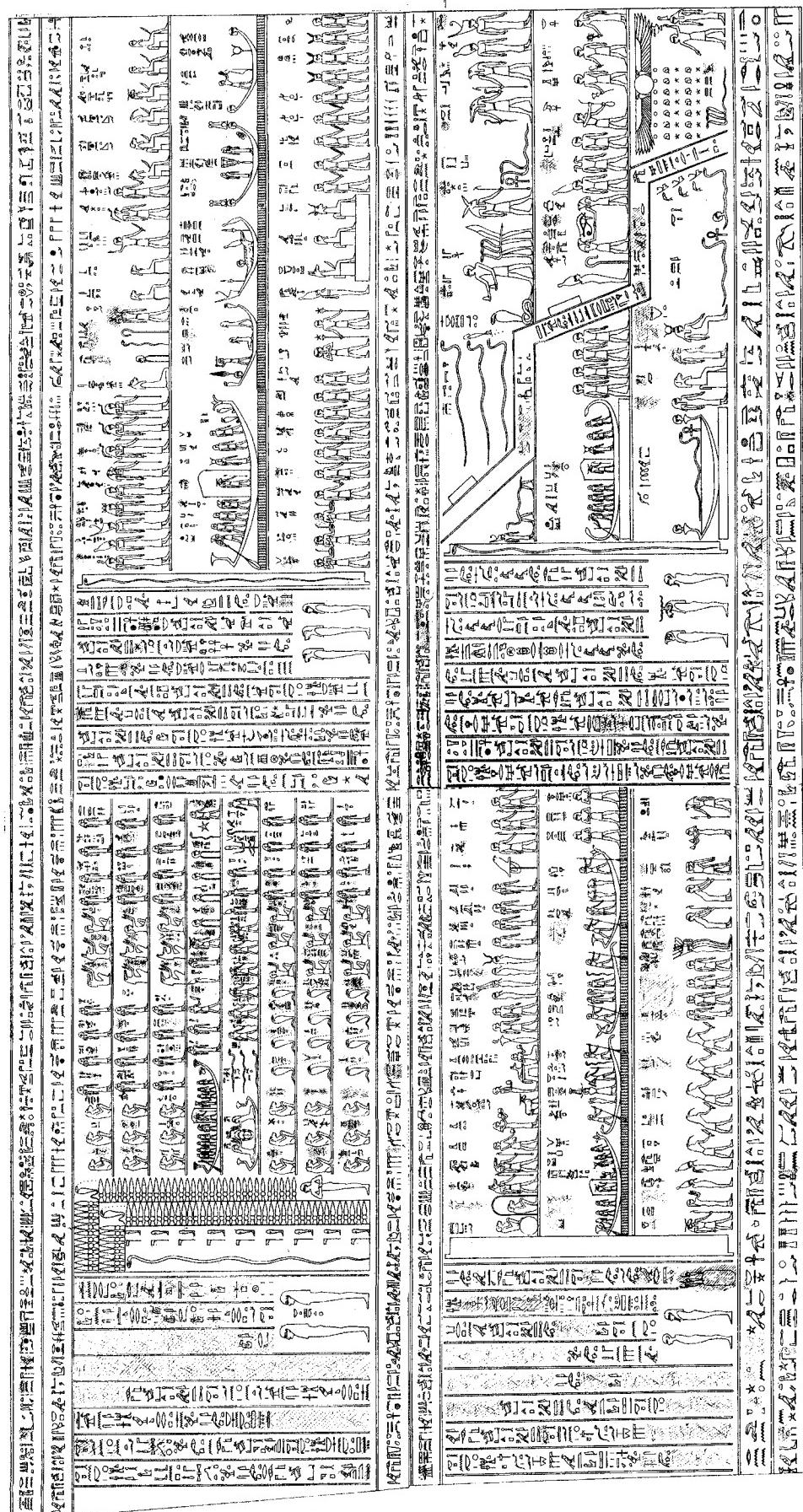


Plate 42

Type II Sarcophagi
Texts Associated with the First Hour of Amduat, Berlin 49

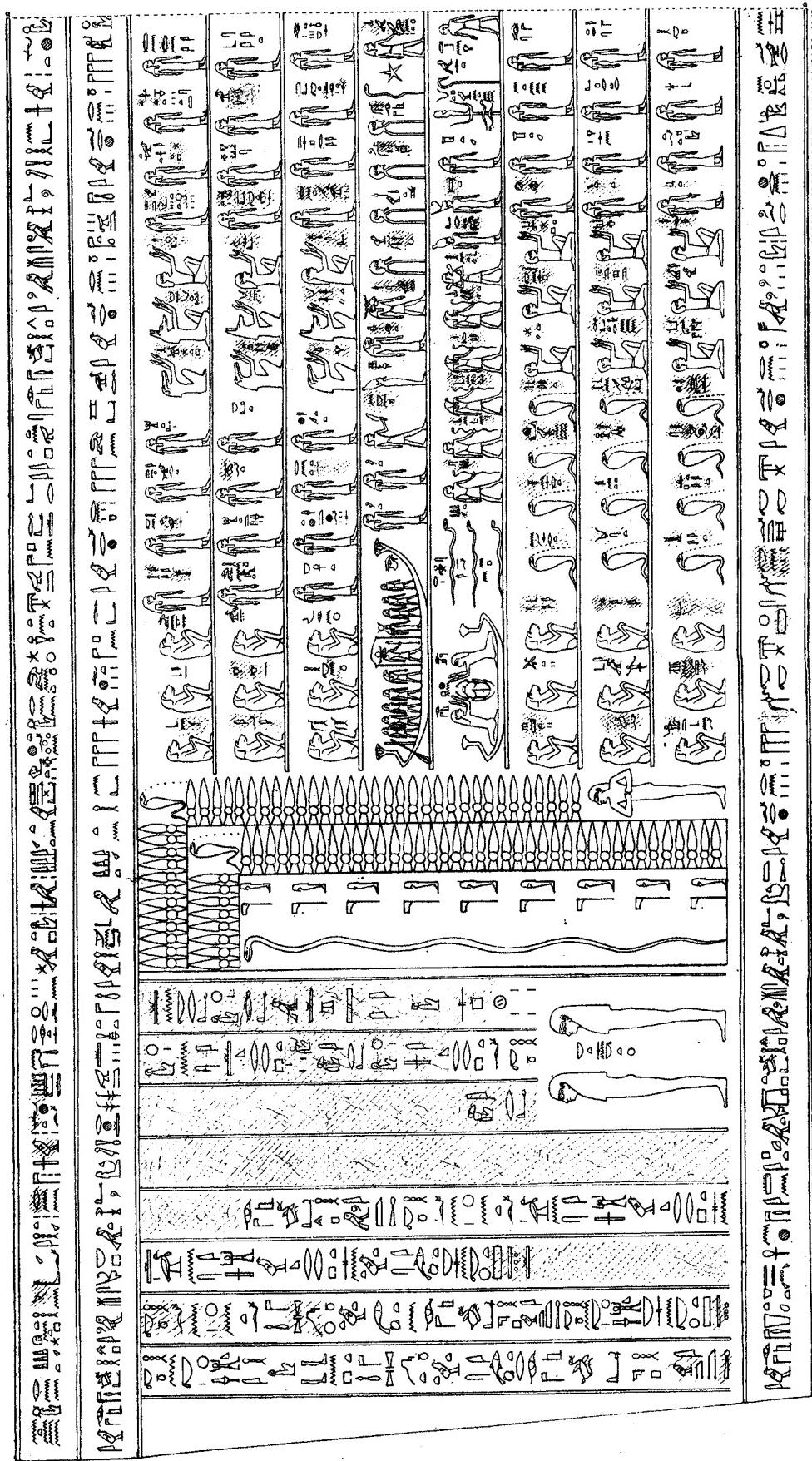
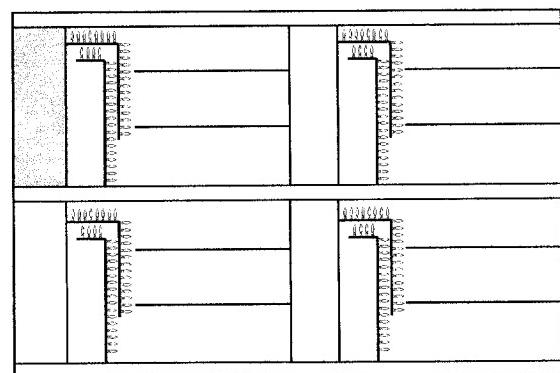


Plate 43

Type II Sarcophagi

Litany of Re before First Hour of Amduat

Addresses 74 and 75



Berlin 49

BM 1504

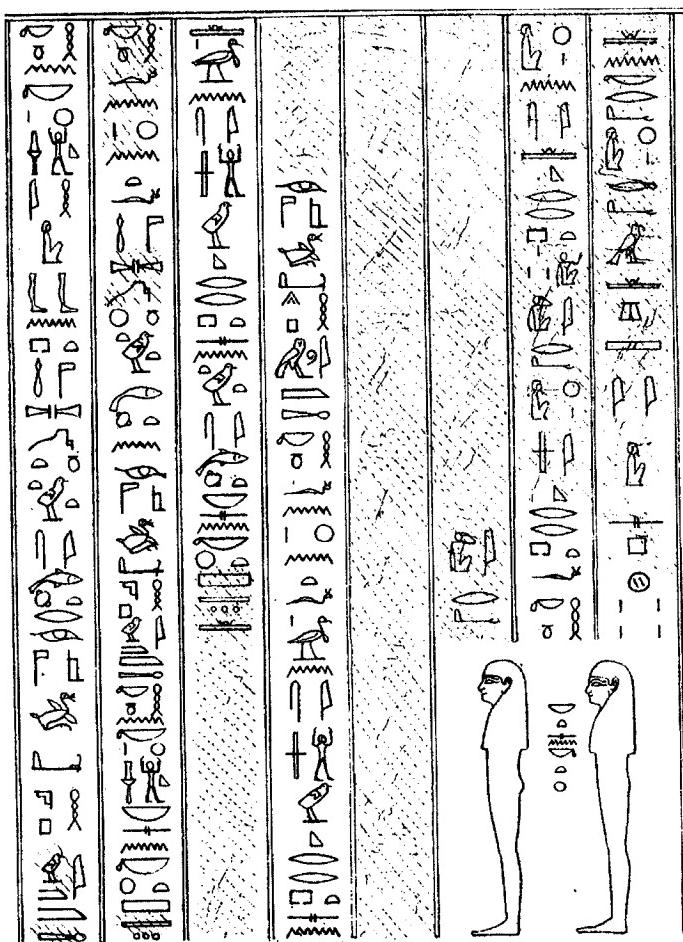
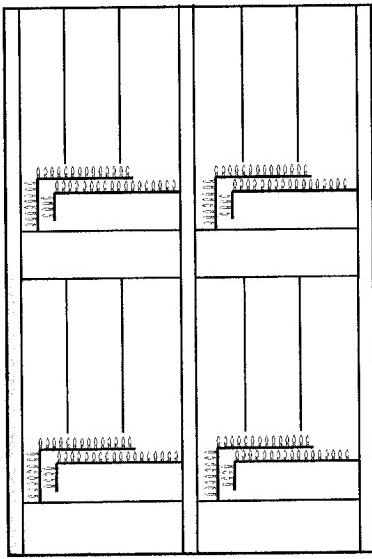


Plate 44

Type II Sarcophagi

First Hour of Amduat

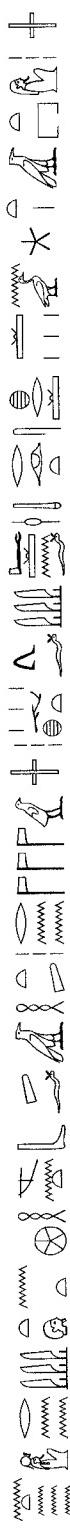
Top Bandau, Line 1



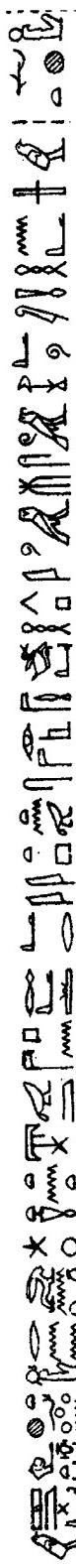
Berlin 49



BM 1504



Berlin 49



BM 1504

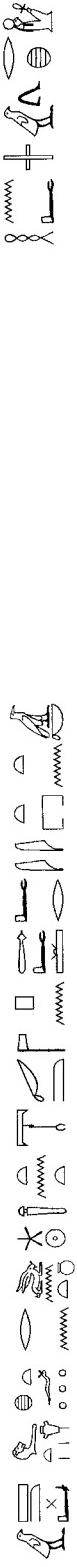
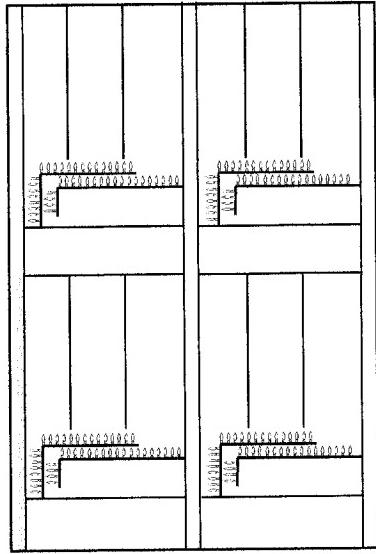


Plate 45



Type II Sarcophagi

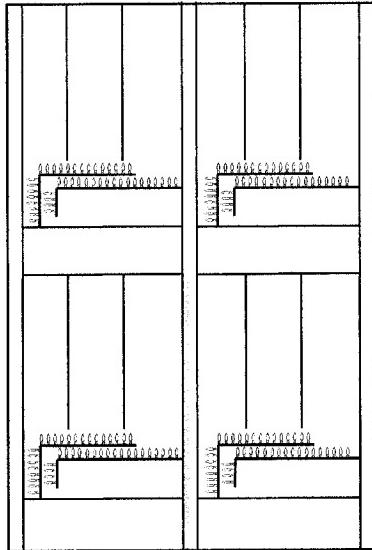
First Hour of Amduat

Top Bandeau, Line 2

Berlin 49

A vertical column of 18 Egyptian hieroglyphs from the BM 1504 tablet, arranged in two rows of nine. The symbols include various animals like a baboon, a dog, and a bird, as well as human figures and abstract signs.

Plate 46



Type II Sarcophagi

First Hour of Amduat

Middle Bandeau, Line 1

Berlin 49



BM 1504



Berlin 49



BM 1504



Plate 47

Type II Sarcophagi
Texts Associated with the Second Hour of Amduat, Berlin 49

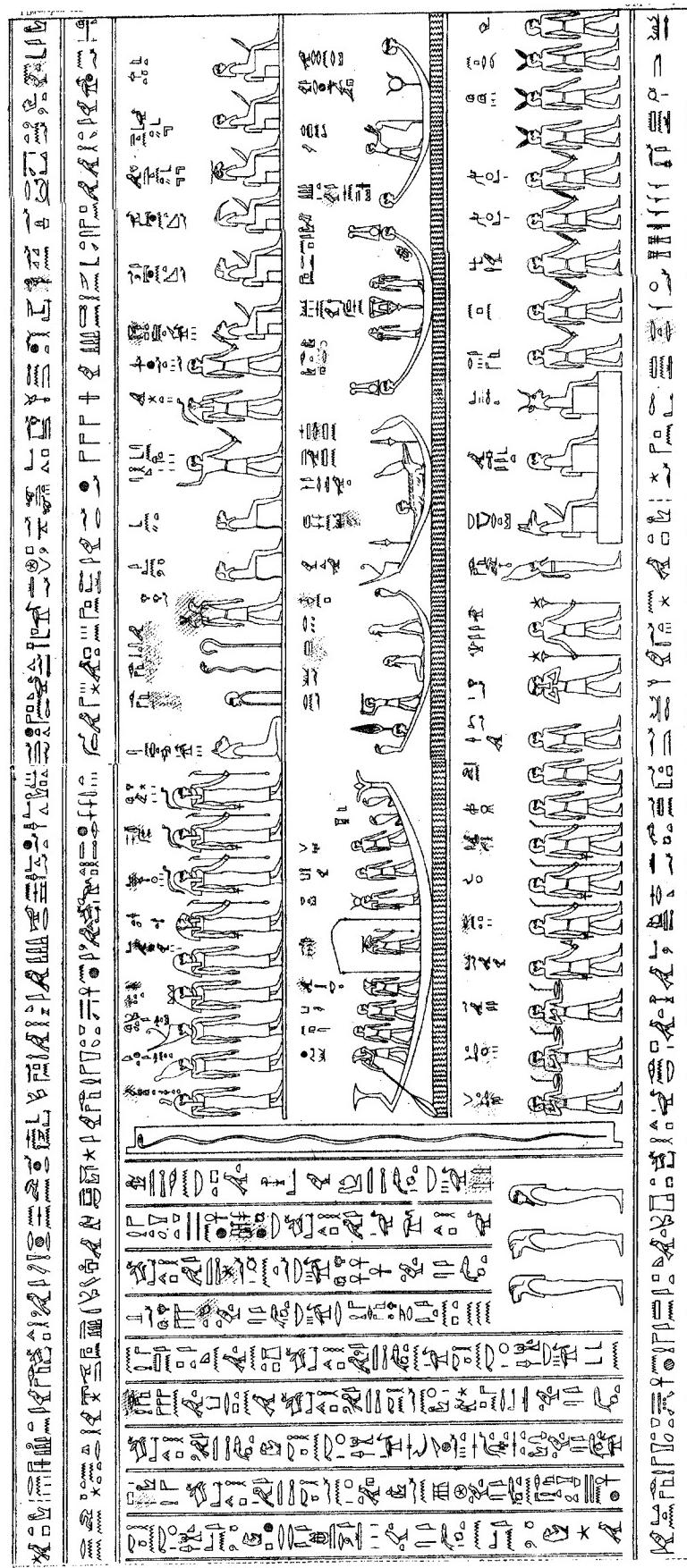


Plate 47B

Type II Sarcophagi, Louvre D9

Second Hour of Amduat

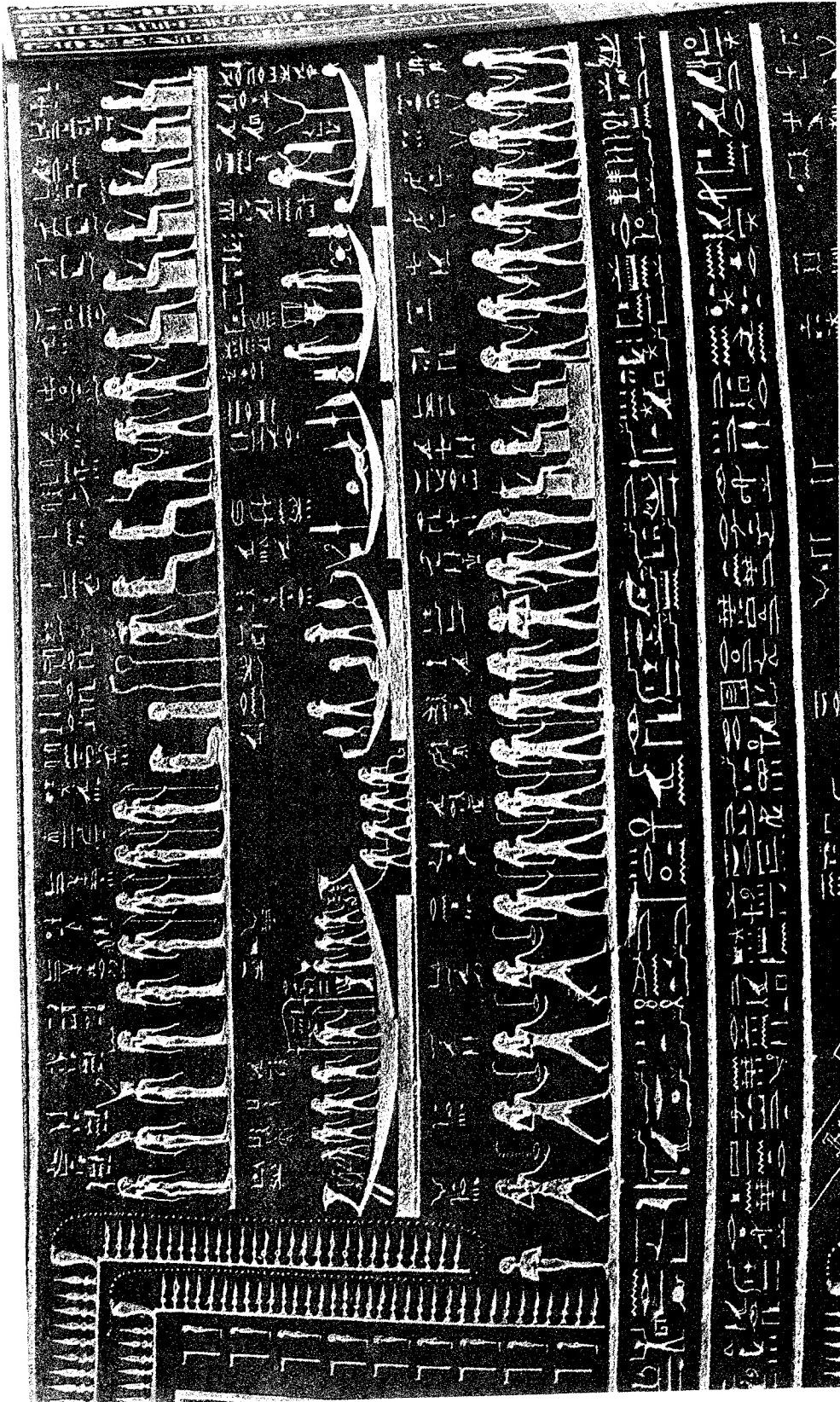
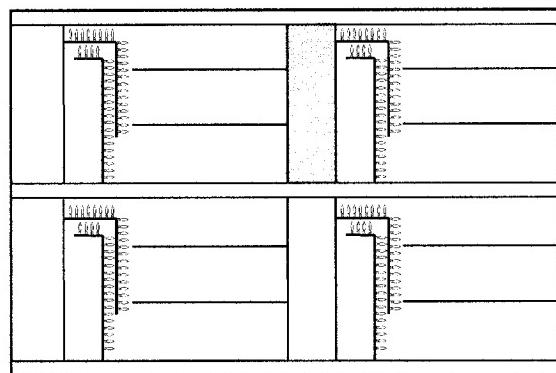


Plate 48

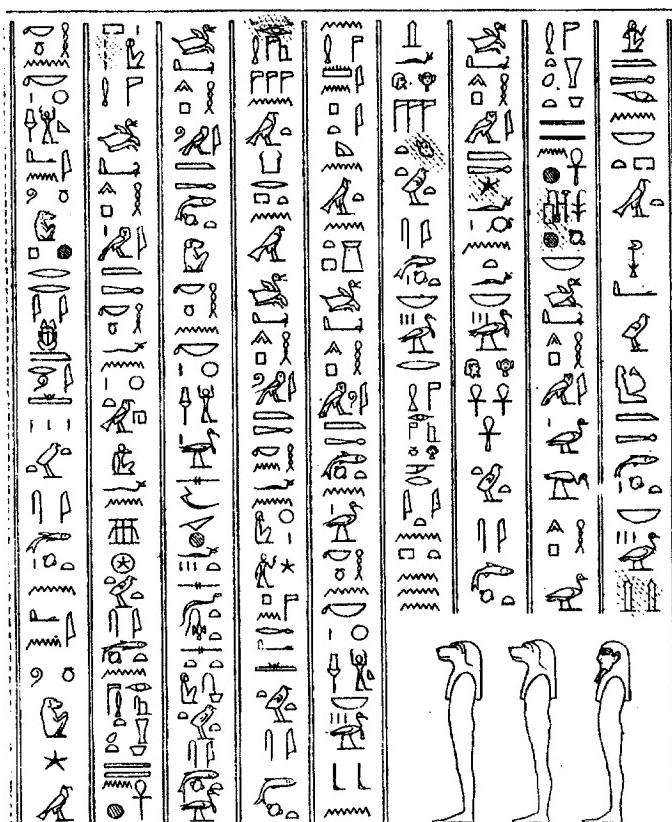
Type II Sarcophagi

Litany of Re before
Second Hour of Amduat

Addresses 69, 71, 73



Berlin 49



BM 1504

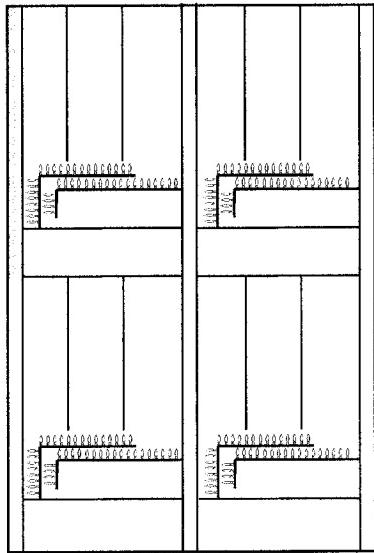


Plate 49

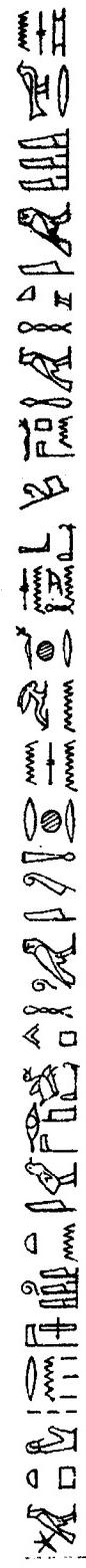
Type II Sarcophagi

Second Hour of Amduat

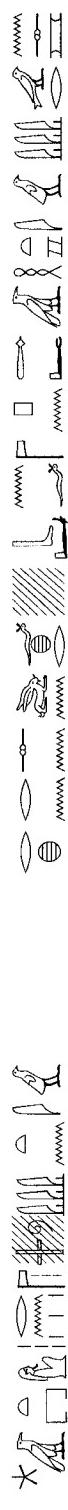
Top Bandeau, Line 1



Berlin 49



BM 1504



Berlin 49



BM 1504

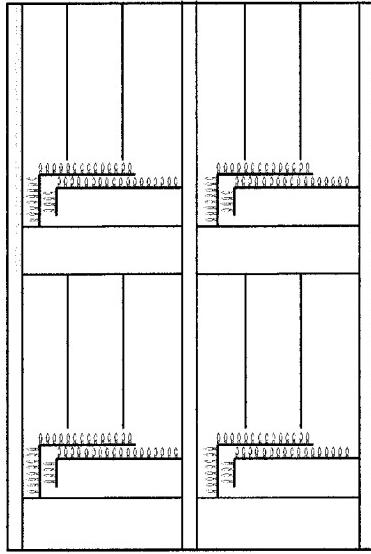


Plate 50

Type II Sarcophagi

Second Hour of Amduat

Top Bandeau, Line 2



Berlin 49

BM 1504

Berlin 49

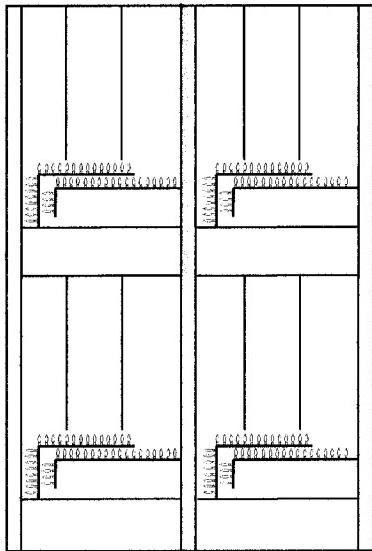
BM 1504

Plate 51

Type II Sarcophagi

Second Hour of Amduat

Middle Bandeau Line 1



Berlin 49

A vertical strip of hieroglyphic text. It features a series of stylized figures, possibly deities or officials, standing in a row. Above them are various symbols like a fan, a square, and a circle.

BM 1504

A vertical strip of hieroglyphic text. It shows a row of stylized figures, some with arms raised, followed by a series of geometric symbols including a fan, a square, and a circle.

Berlin 49

A vertical strip of hieroglyphic text. It features a series of stylized figures, possibly deities or officials, standing in a row. Above them are various symbols like a fan, a square, and a circle.

BM 1504

A vertical strip of hieroglyphic text. It shows a row of stylized figures, some with arms raised, followed by a series of geometric symbols including a fan, a square, and a circle.

Plate 52

Type II Sarcophagi
Texts Associated with the Third Hour of Amduat

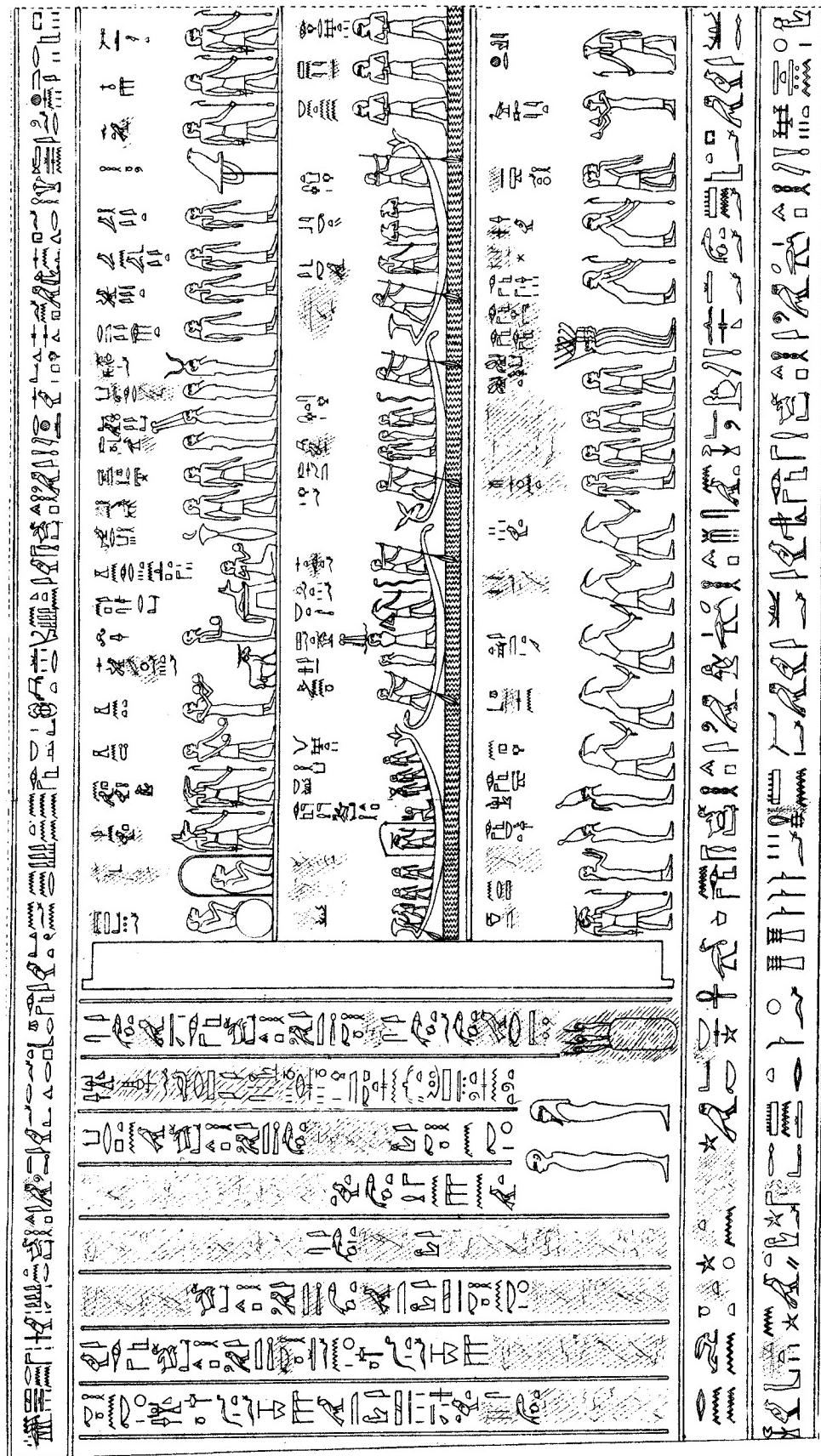


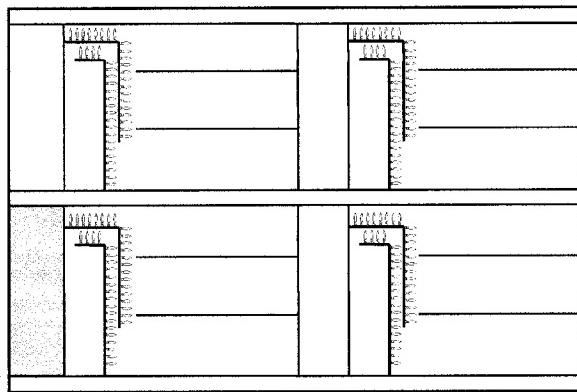
Plate 53

Type II Sarcophagi

Litany of Re before
Third Hour of Amduat

Addresses 63, 65, 67

(Mostly damaged on BM 1504)



Berlin 49

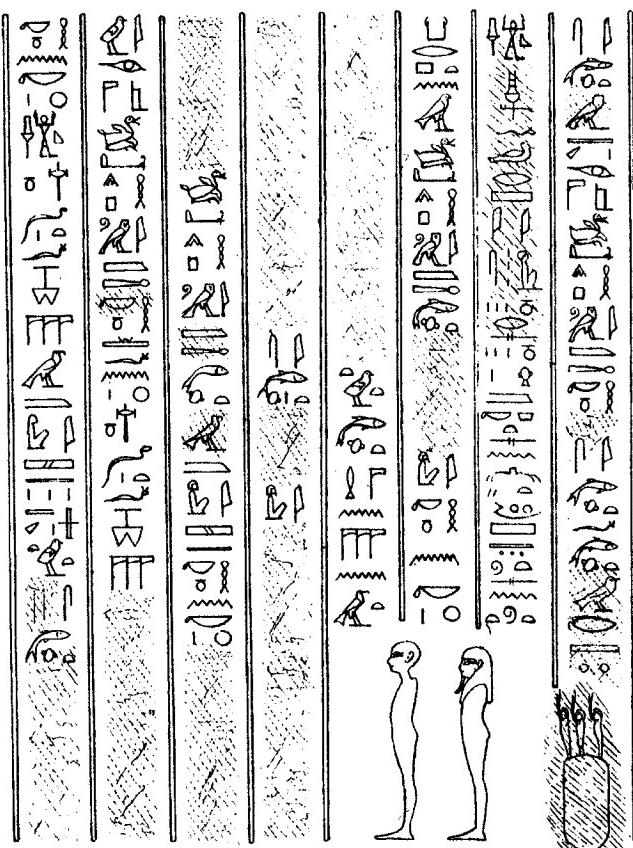
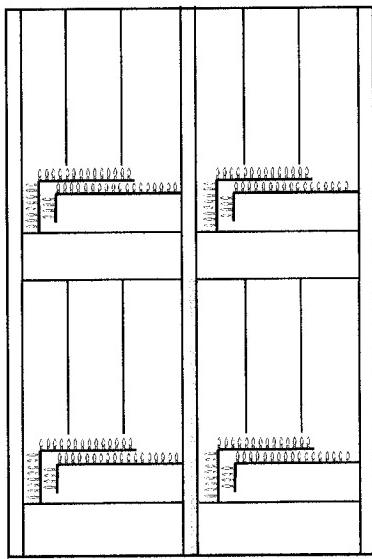


Plate 54

Type II Sarcophagi

Third Hour of Amduat

Middle Bandau, Line 2



Berlin 49
BM 1504



Berlin 49
BM 1504



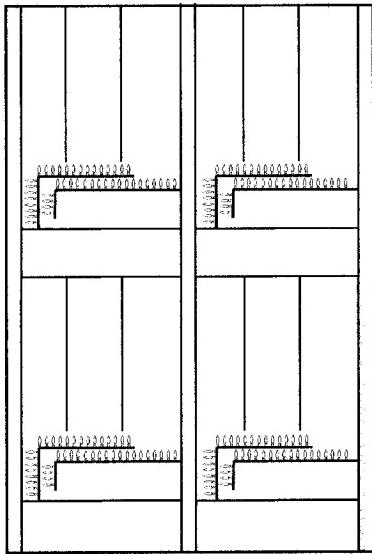
Plate 55

Type II Sarcophagi

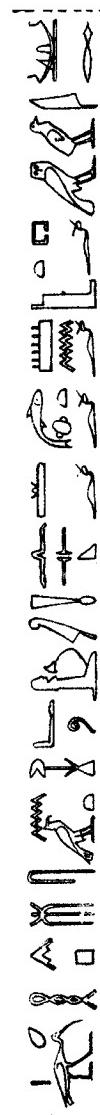
Third Hour of Amduat

Bottom Bandeau, Line 1

(Not present on BM 1504)

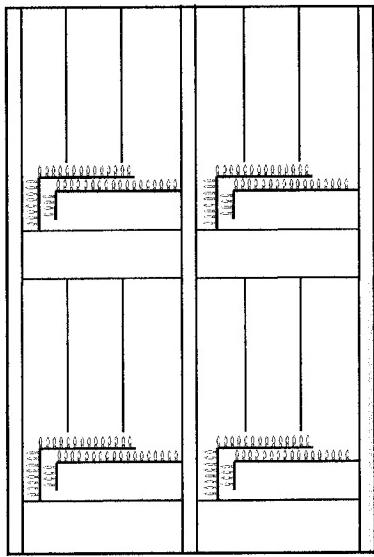


Berlin 49



Berlin 49

Plate 56



Type II Sarcophagi

Third Hour of Amduat

Bottom Bandeau, Line 2

(Not present on BM 1504)

Berlin 49



Berlin 49



Plate 57

Type II Sarcophagi
Texts Associated with the Fourth Hour of Amduat, Berlin 49

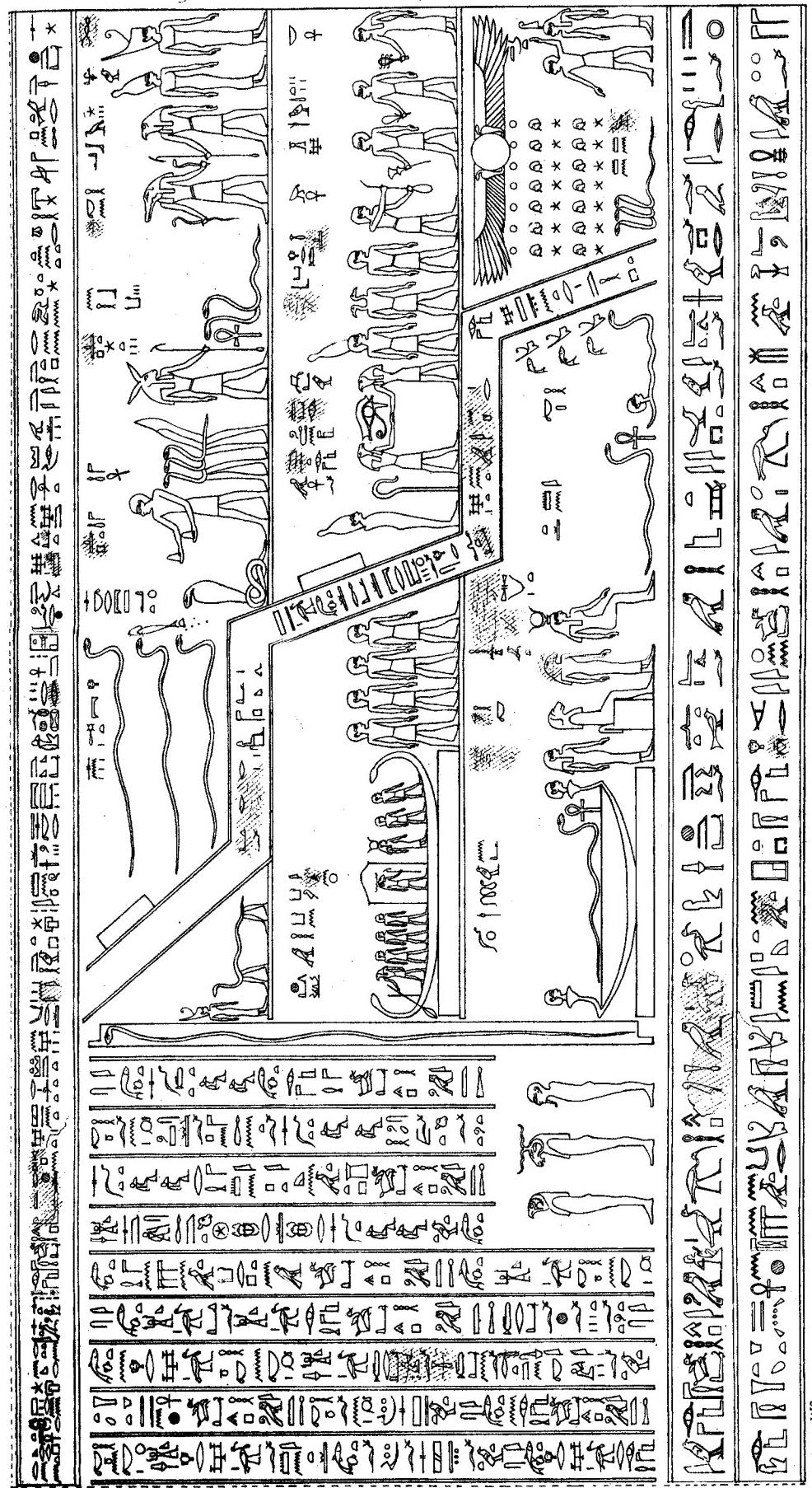


Plate 57B

Type II Sarcophagi, Louvre D9

Fourth Hour of Amduat



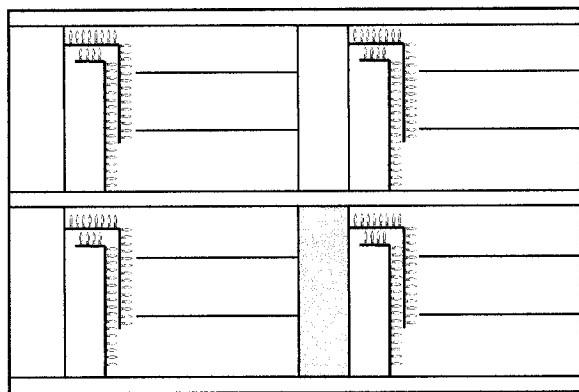
Plate 58

Type II Sarcophagi

Litany of Re before
Fourth Hour of Amduat

Addresses 58, 59, 61

(Mostly damaged on BM 1504)



Berlin 49



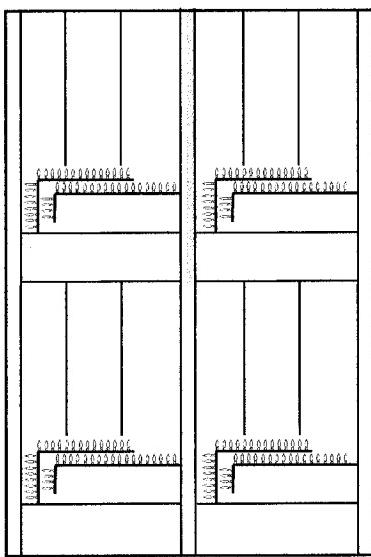


Plate 59

Type II Sarcophagi

Fourth Hour of Amduat

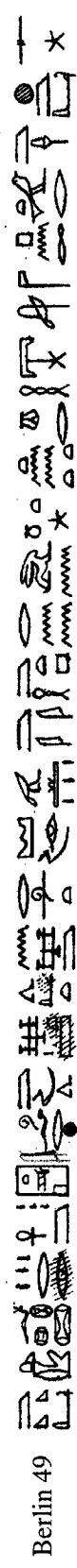
Middle Bandau, Line 2



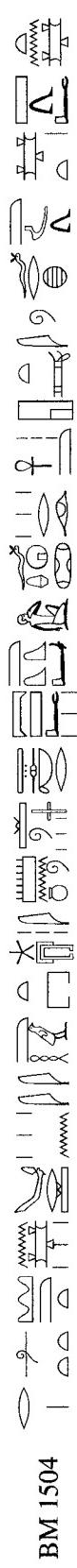
Berlin 49



BM 1504



Berlin 49



BM 1504



BM 1504

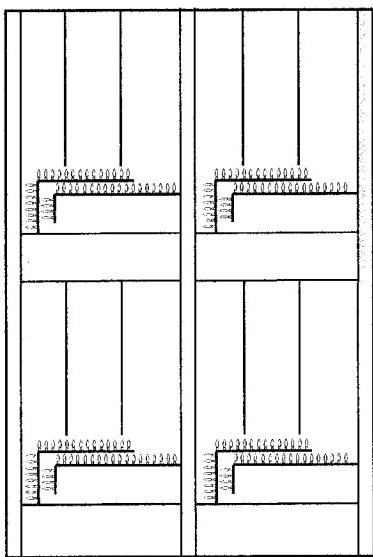


Plate 60

Type II Sarcophagi

Fourth Hour of Amduat

Bottom Bandau, Line 1

(Not present on BM 1504)



Berlin 49



Berlin 49

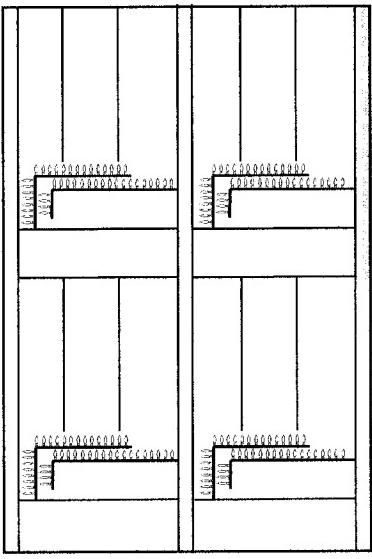


Plate 61

Type II Sarcophagi

Fourth Hour of Amduat

Bottom Bandau, Line 2

(Not present on BM 1504)



Berlin 49



Berlin 49

Plate 62

Type II Sarcophagi, Side Two
Berlin 49

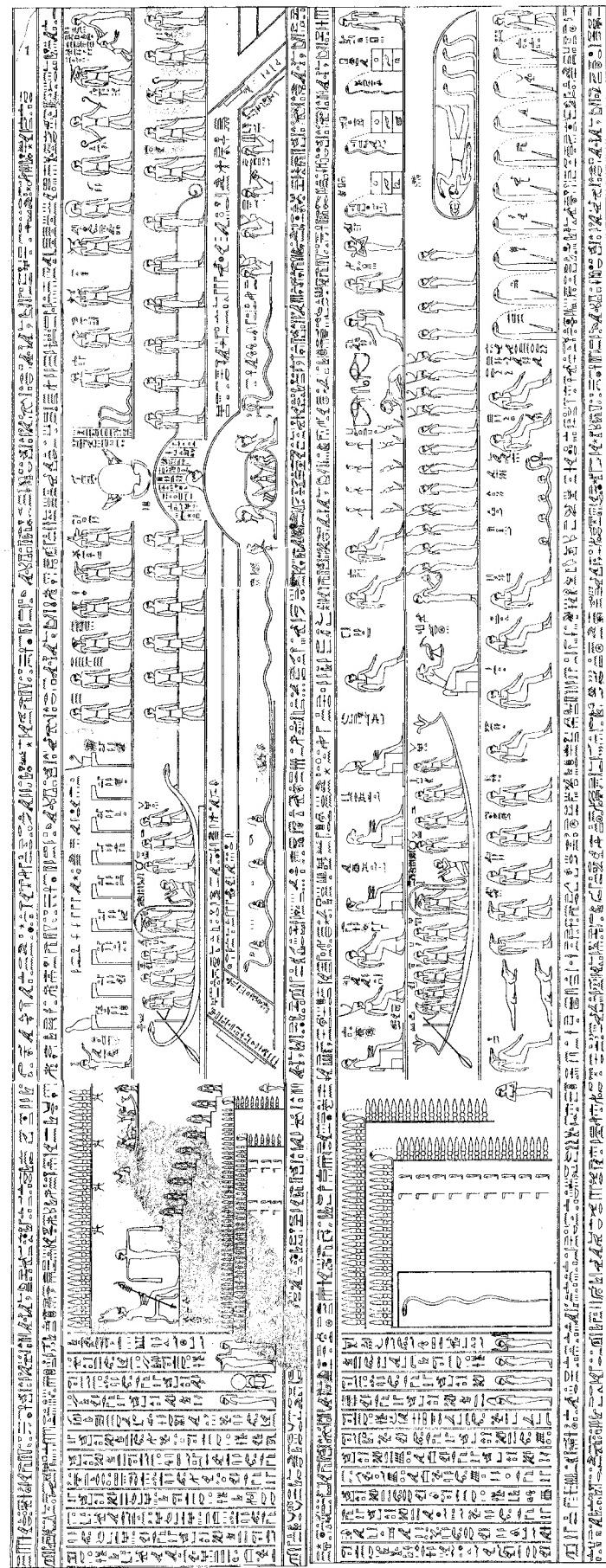


Plate 62B

Type II Sarcophagi, Side Two, BM 1504

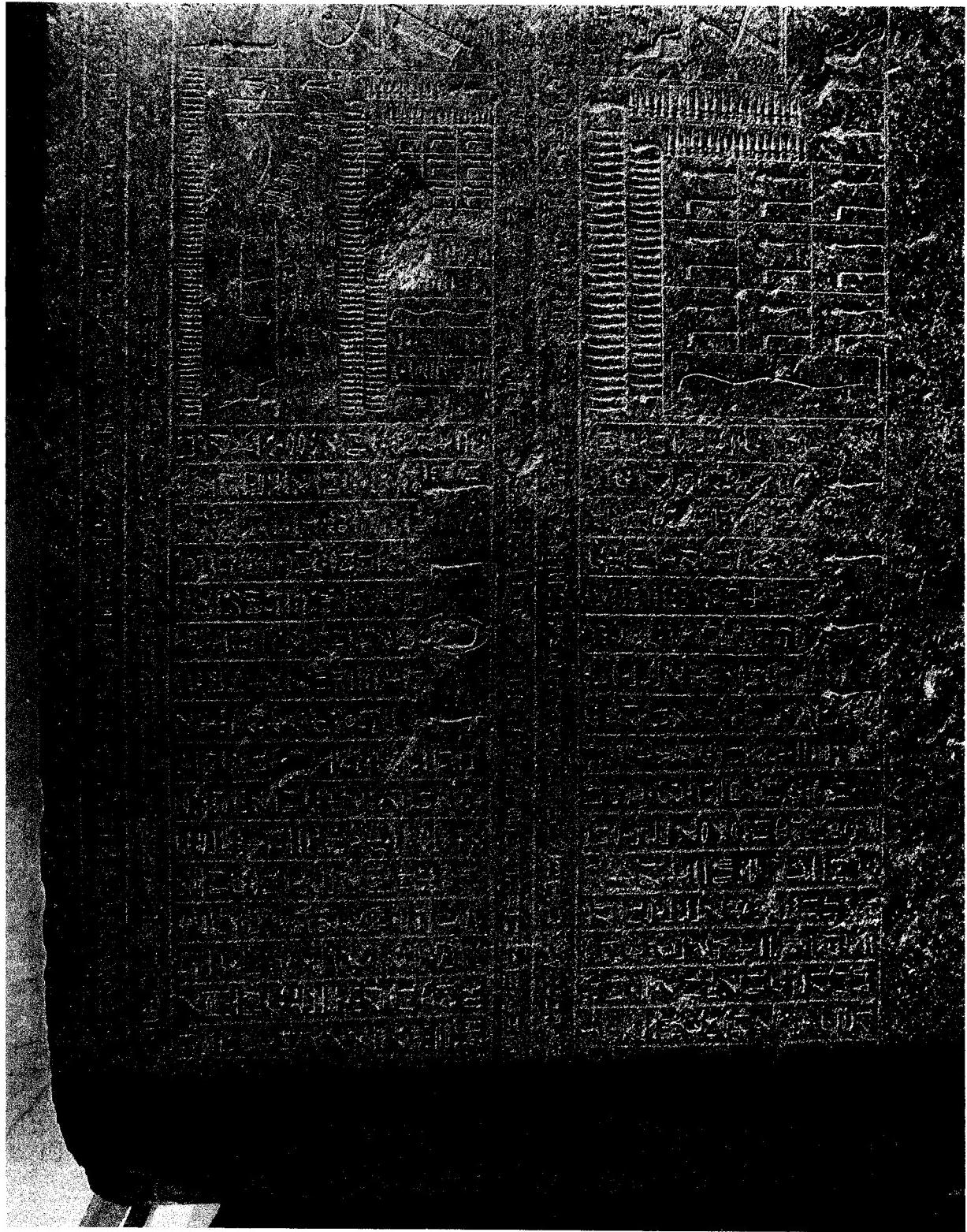


Plate 62C

Type II Sarcophagi, Side Two, BM 1504

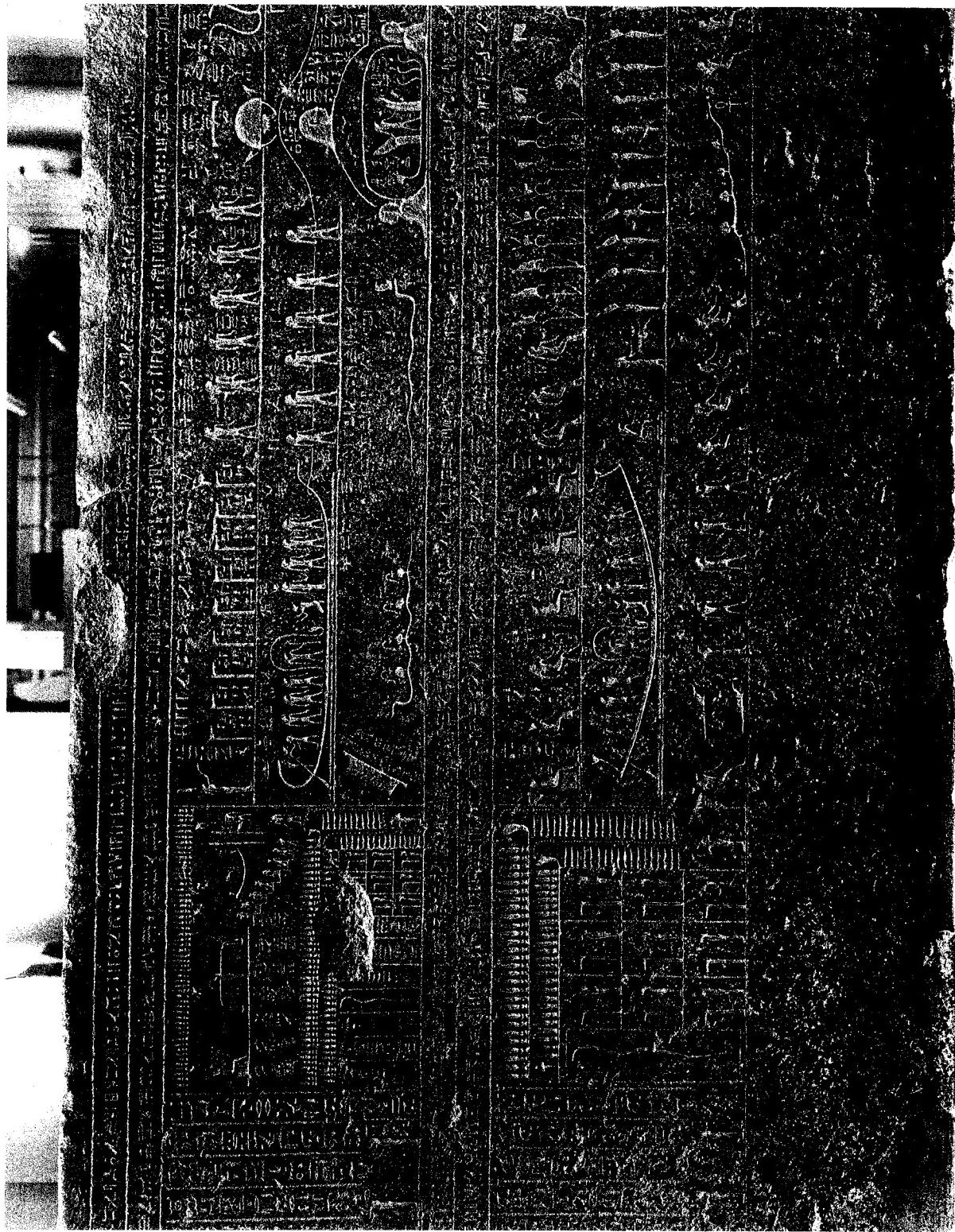


Plate 62D

Type II Sarcophagi, Side Two, BM 1504

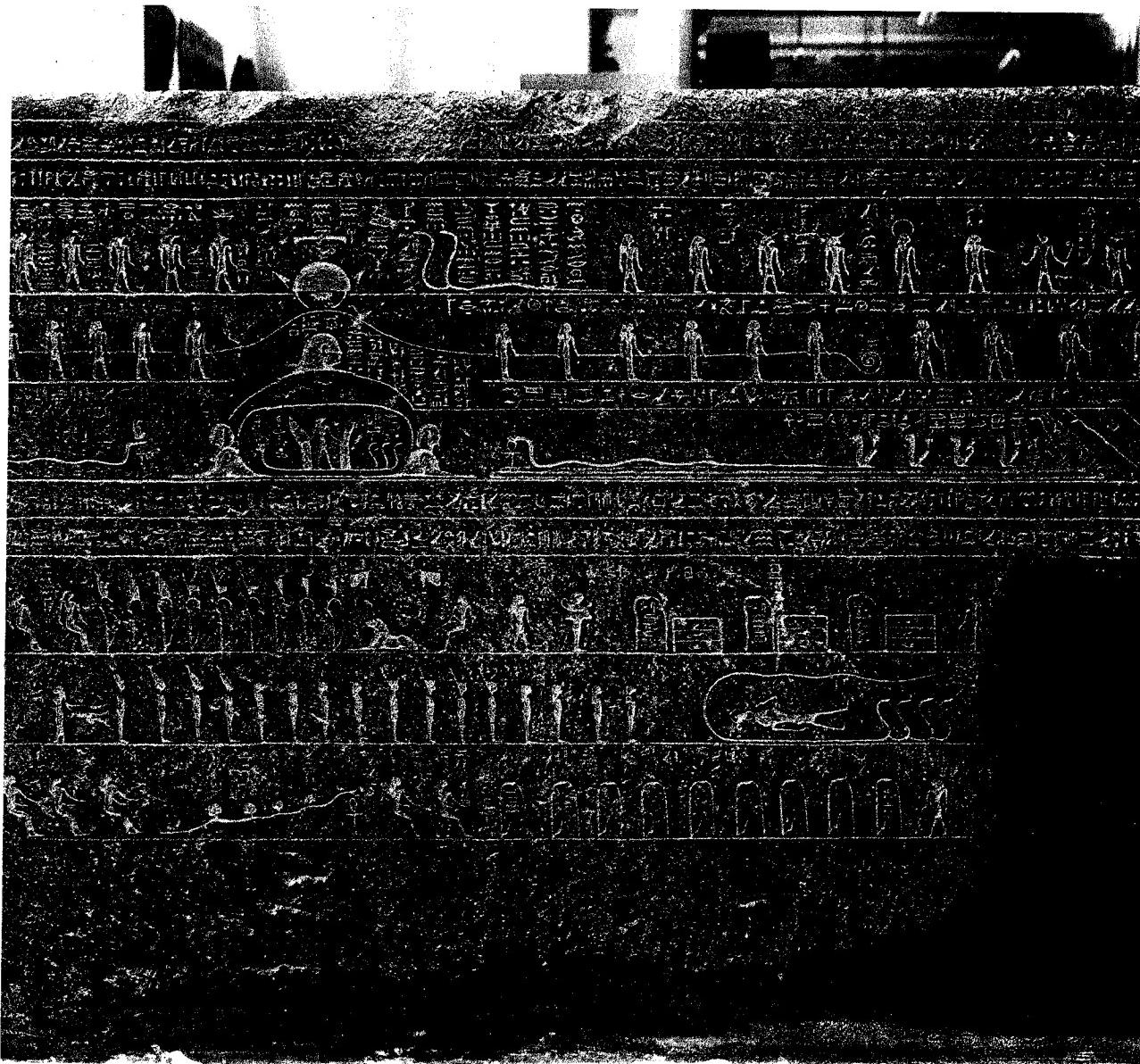


Plate 63

Type II Sarcophagi, Texts Associated with the Fifth Hour of Amduat
Berlin 49

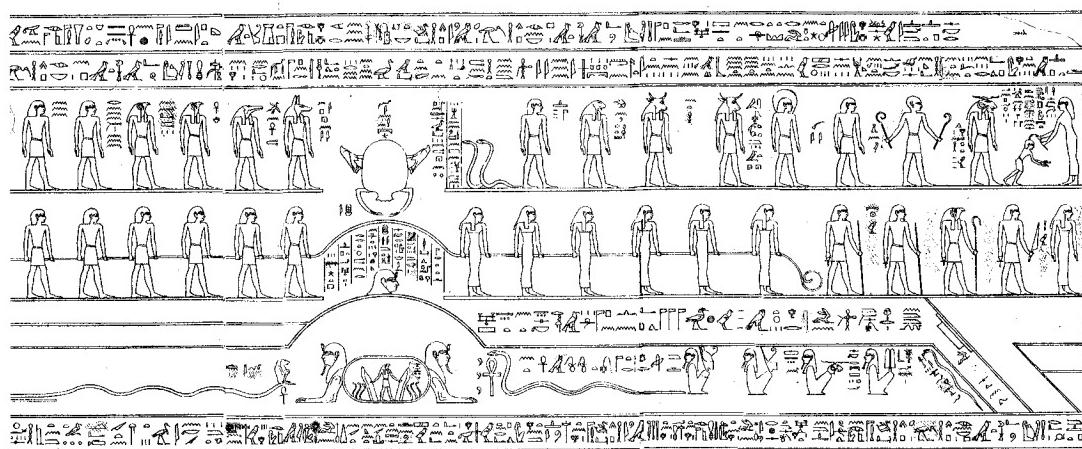
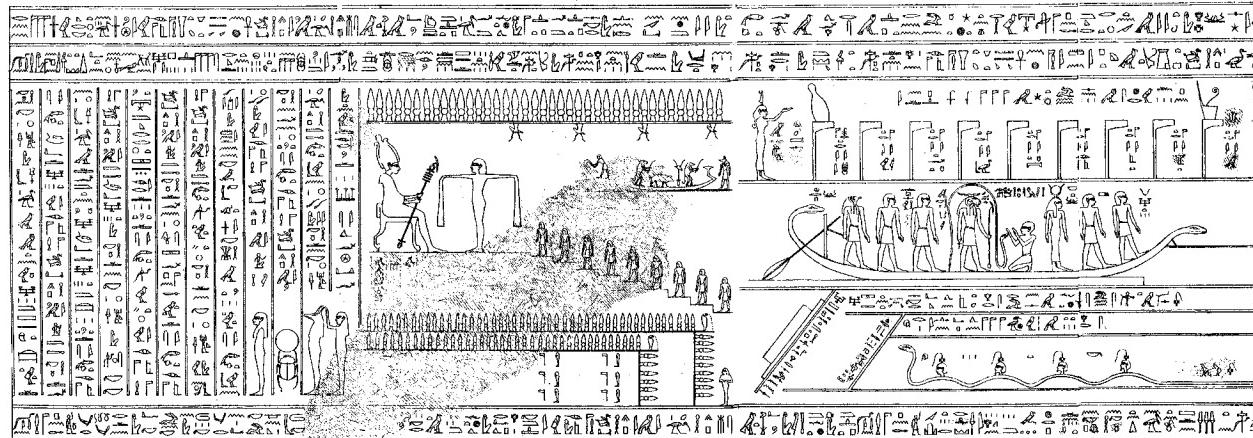
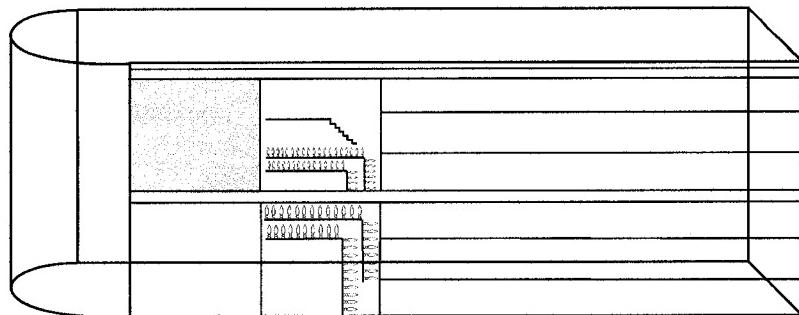


Plate 64

Type II Sarcophagi

Litany of Re before
Fifth Hour of Amduat

Addresses 48, 50, 53, 54



Berlin 49



BM 1504

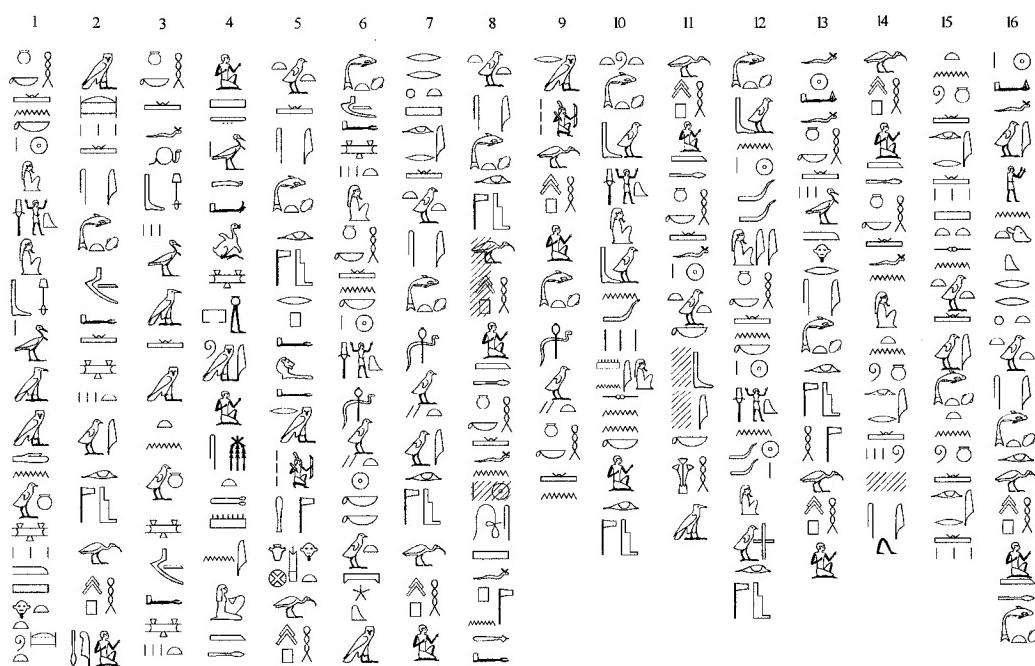


Plate 65

Judgment Hall of Osiris, Louvre D9



Plate 65B

Judgment Hall of Osiris, CG 29305

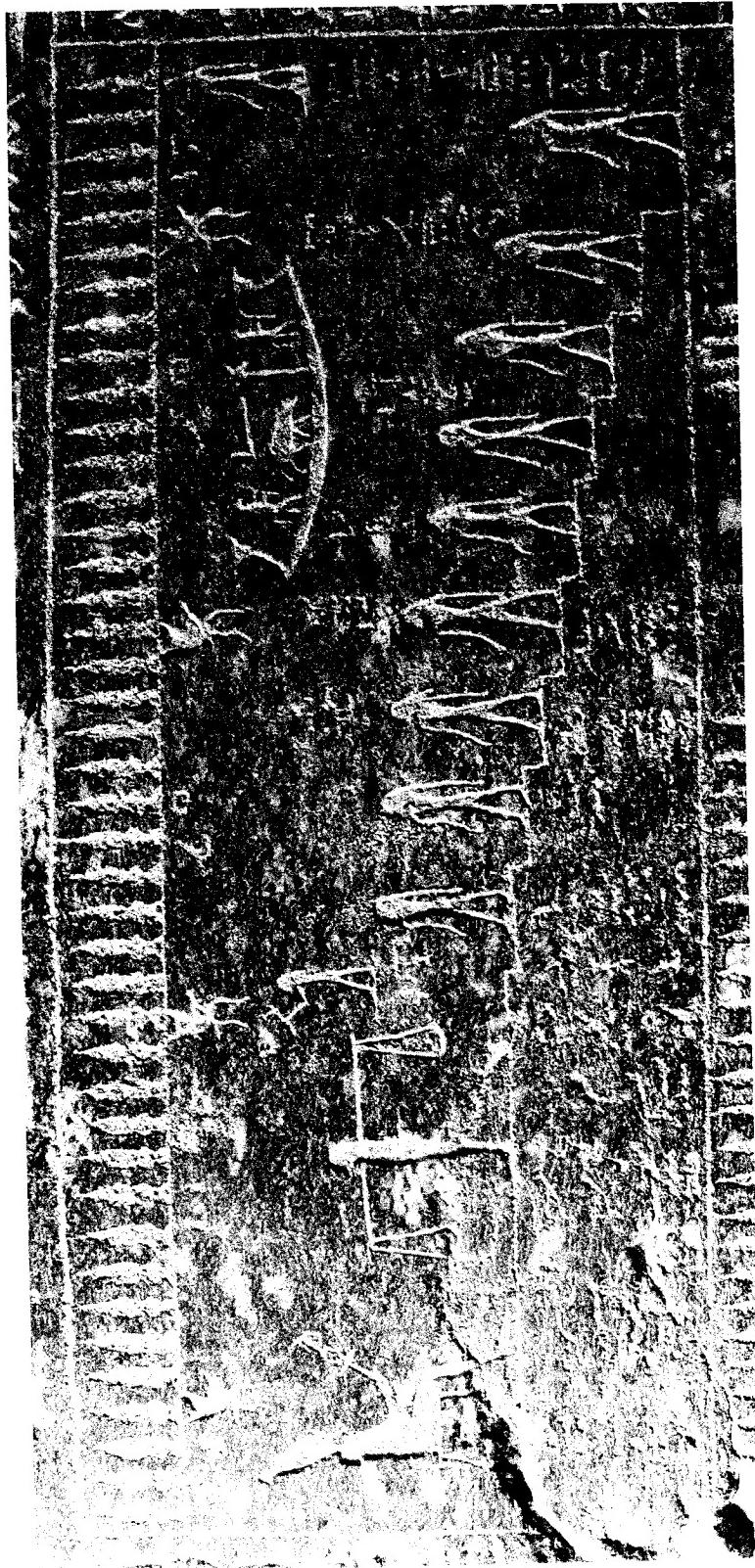
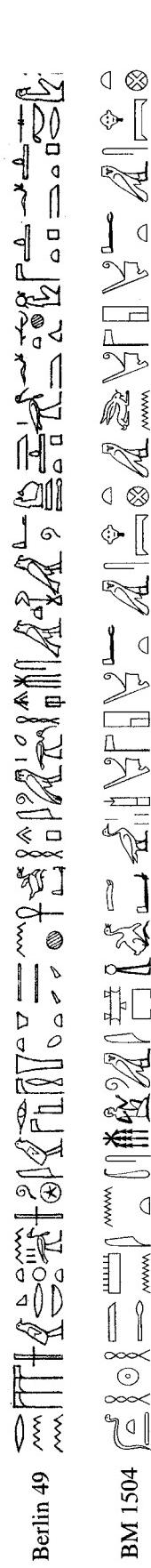
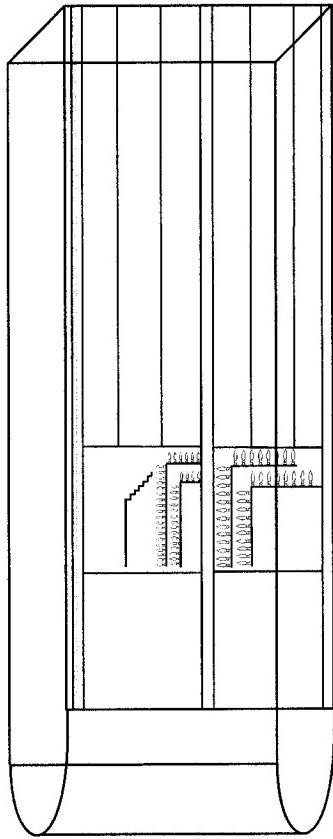


Plate 66

Type II Sarcophagi

Fifth Hour of Amduat

Top Bandeau, Line 1



5 cm gap

BM 1504

A continuation of the hieroglyphic sequence from BM 1504, showing more symbols representing the Fifth Hour of Amduat.

BM 1504

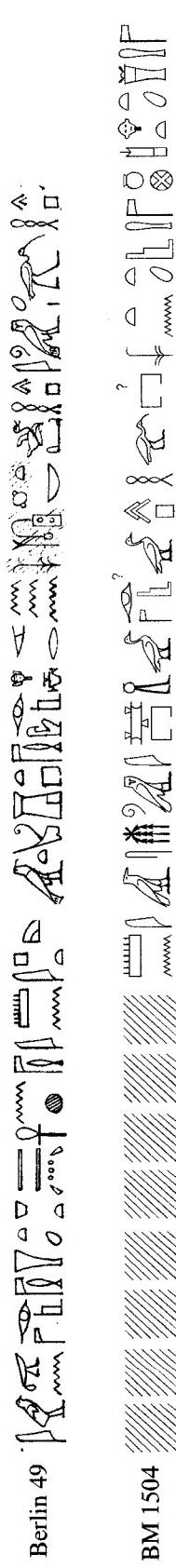
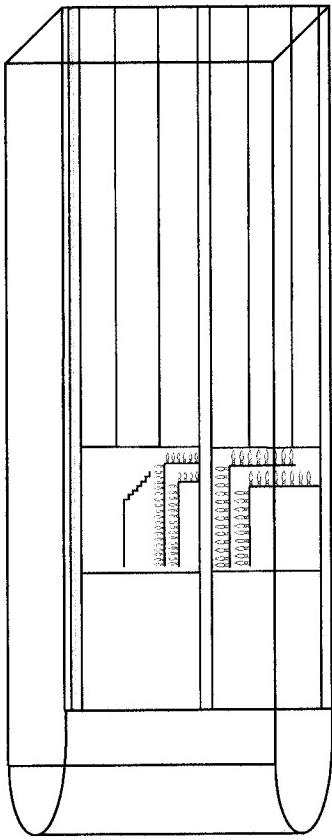
A continuation of the hieroglyphic sequence from BM 1504, showing more symbols representing the Fifth Hour of Amduat.

Plate 67

Type II Sarcophagi

Fifth Hour of Amduat

Top Bandau, Line 1, cont.



BM 1504

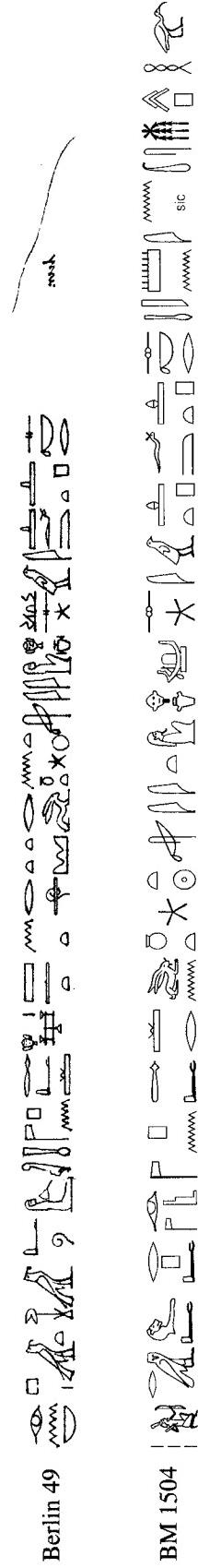
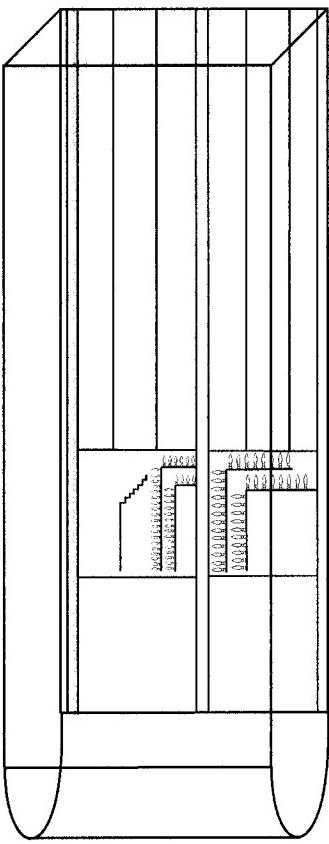


Plate 68



Type II Sarcophagi

Fifth Hour of Amduat

Top Bandau, Line 2



BM 1504



BM 1504

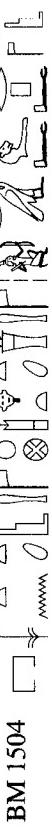
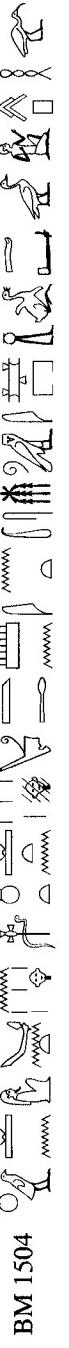
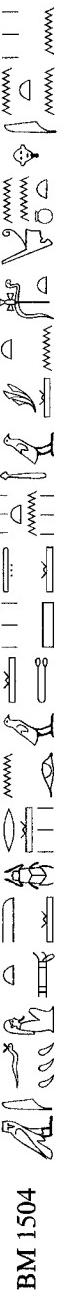
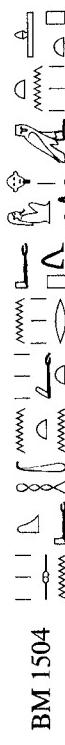
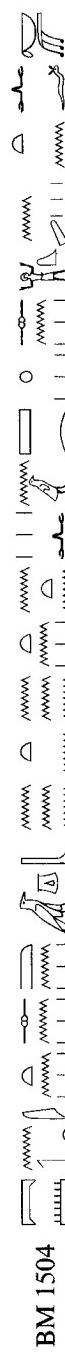
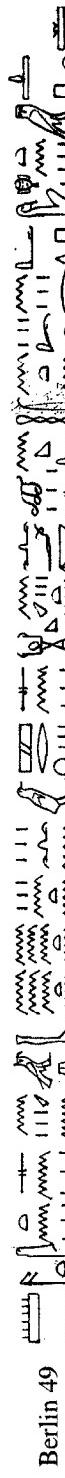
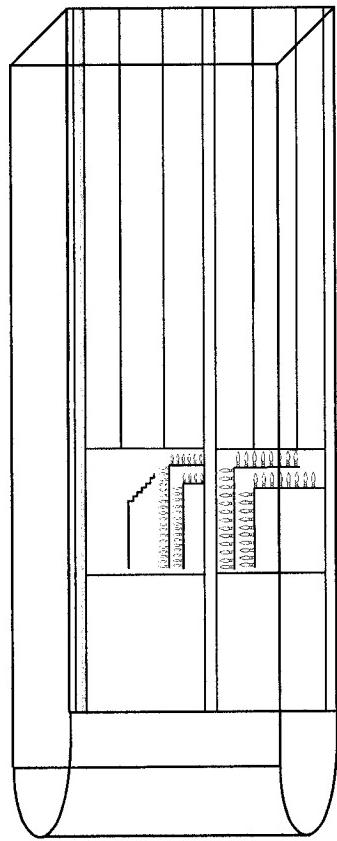


Plate 69

Type II Sarcophagi

Fifth Hour of Amduat

Top Bandau, Line 2, cont.



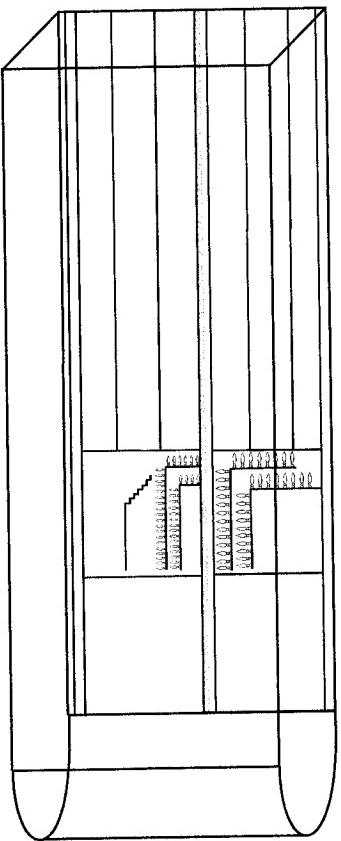
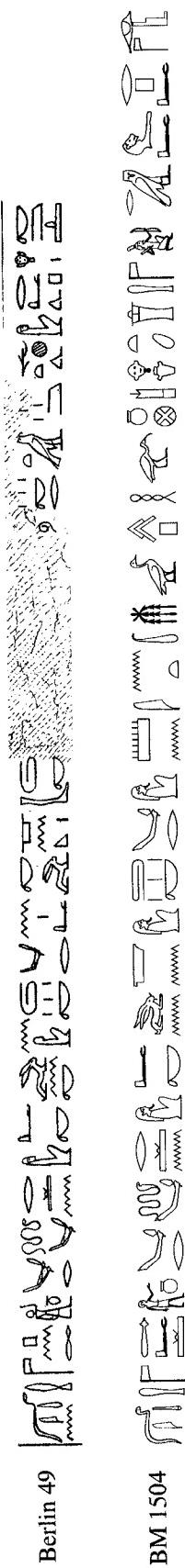


Plate 70

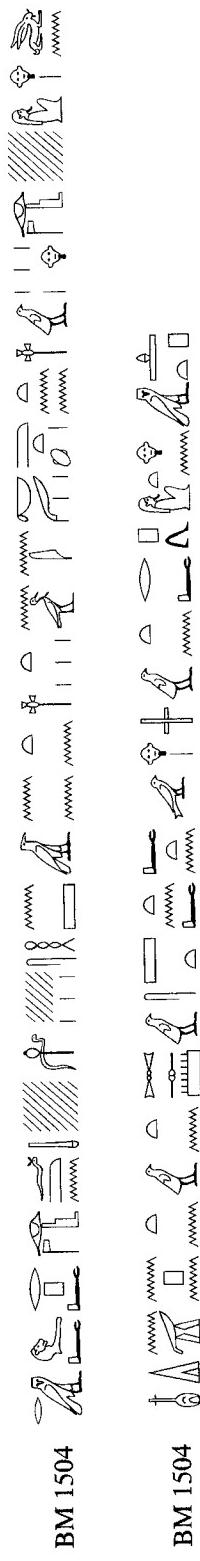
Type II Sarcophagi

Fifth Hour of Amduat

Middle Bandeau, Line 1



Berlin 49 BM 1504 BM 1504



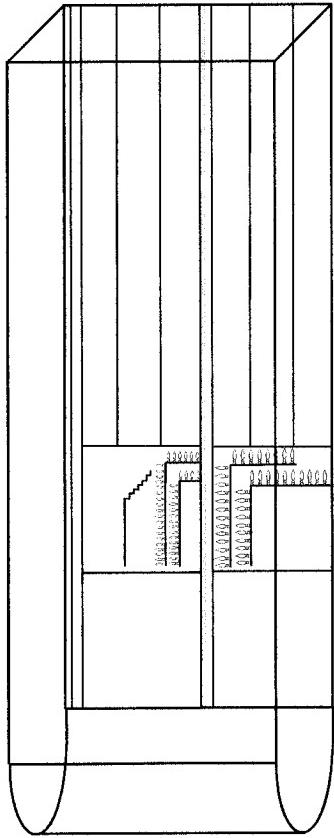
Berlin 49 BM 1504 BM 1504

Plate 71

Type II Sarcophagi

Fifth Hour of Amduat

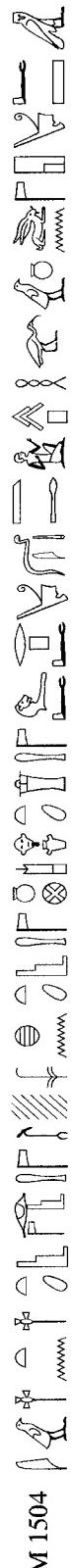
Middle Bandeau, Line 1, cont.



Berlin 49



BM 1504



Berlin 49



BM 1504



Plate 72

Type II Sarcophagi, Texts Associated with the Sixth Hour of Amduat
Berlin 49

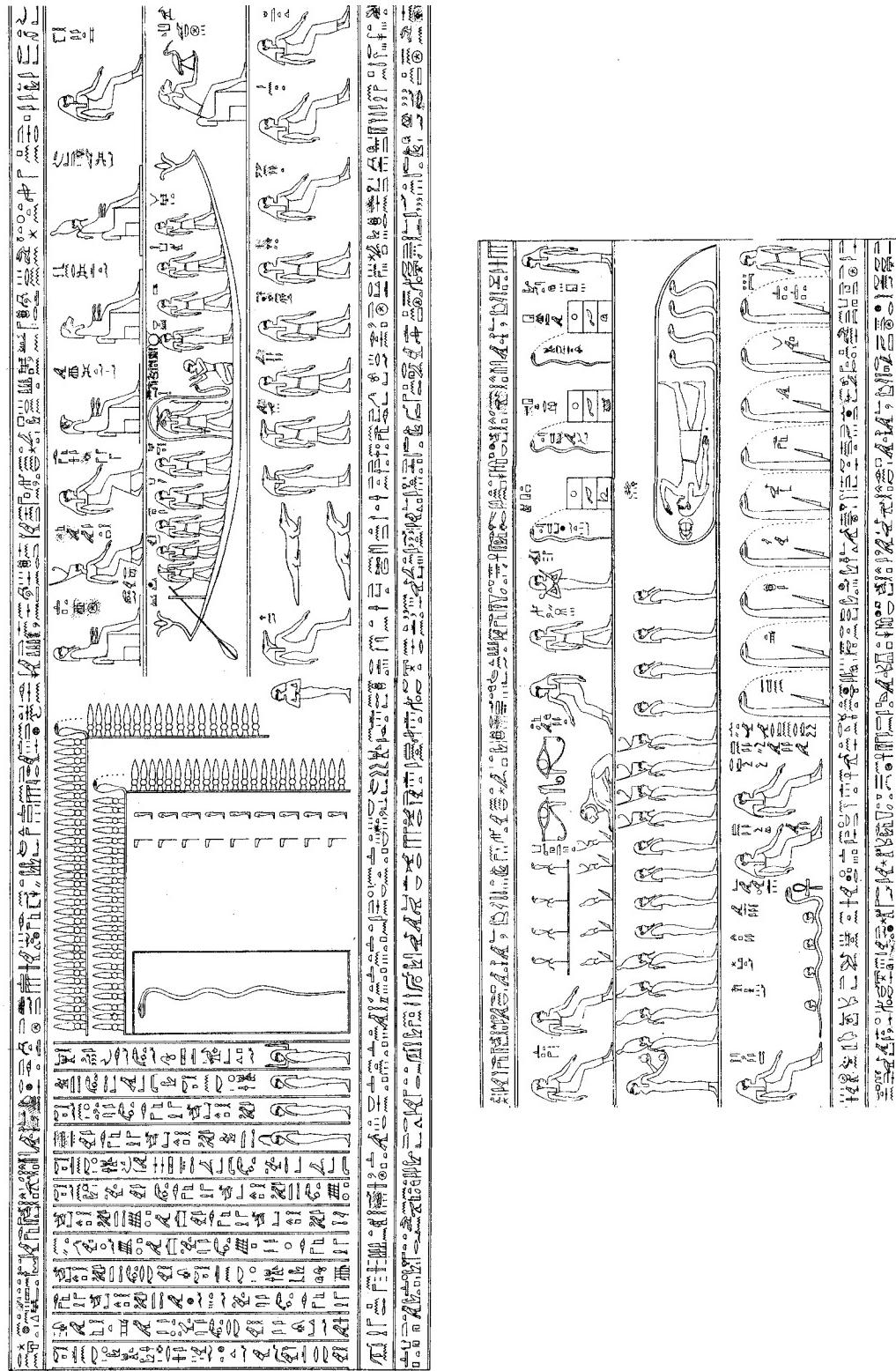
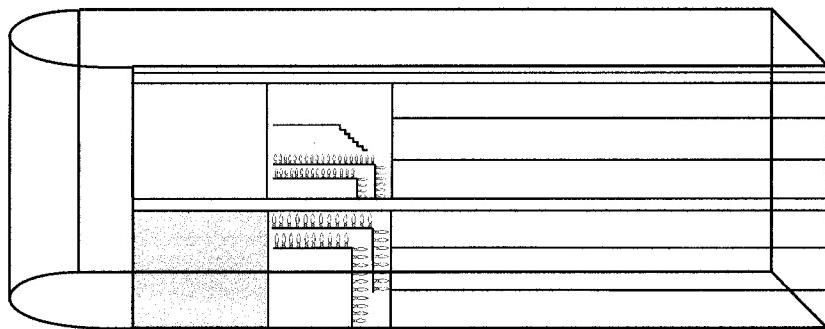
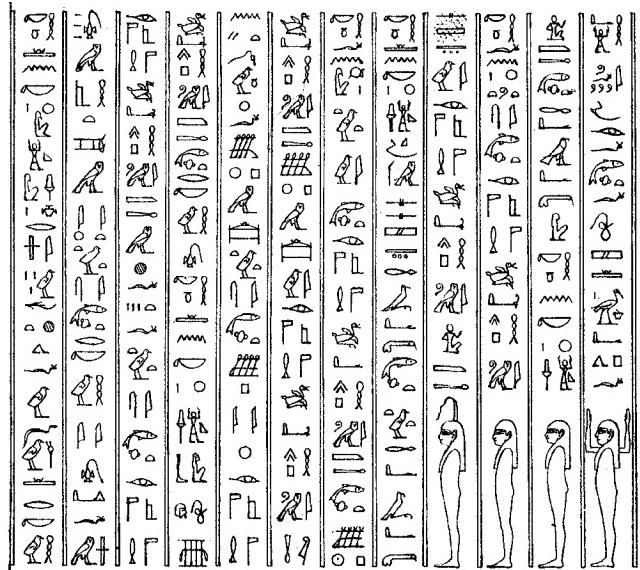


Plate 73

Type II Sarcophagi
Litany of Re before
Sixth Hour of Amduat
Addresses 40, 42, 44, 46



Berlin 49



BM 1504



Plate 74

Type II Sarcophagi

Sixth Hour of Amduat

Middle Bandeau, Line 2

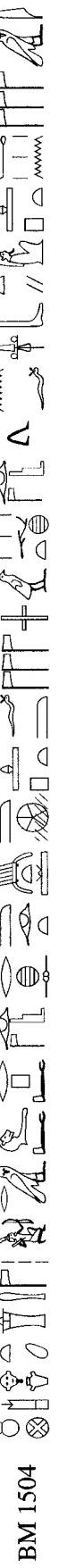
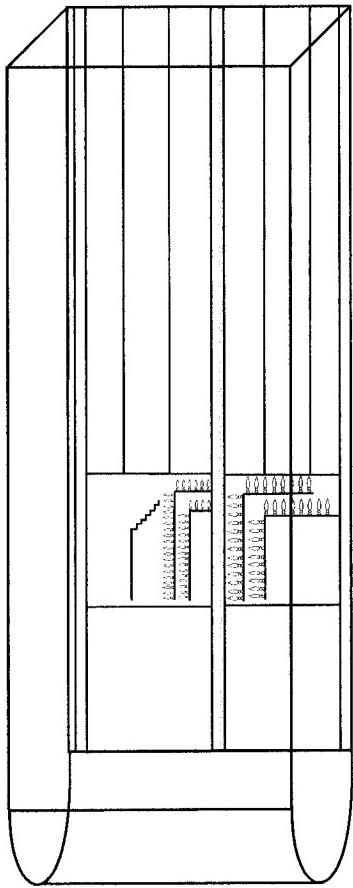
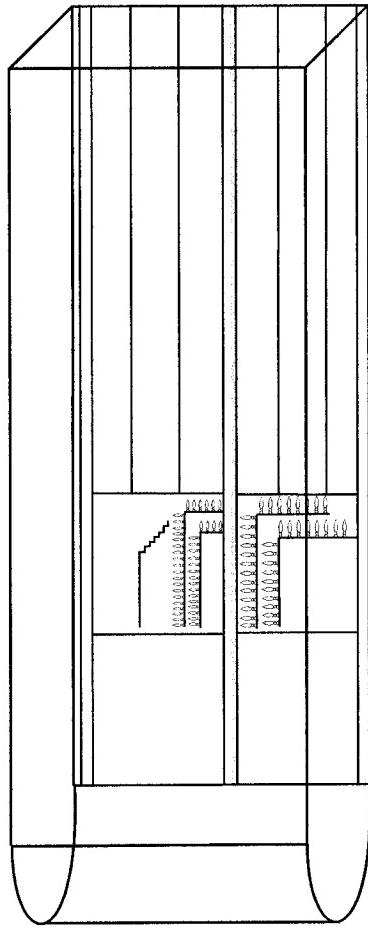


Plate 75

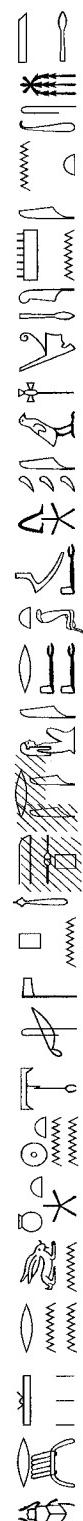
Type II Sarcophagi

Sixth Hour of Amduat

Middle Bandau, Line 2, cont.



Berlin 49



Berlin 49

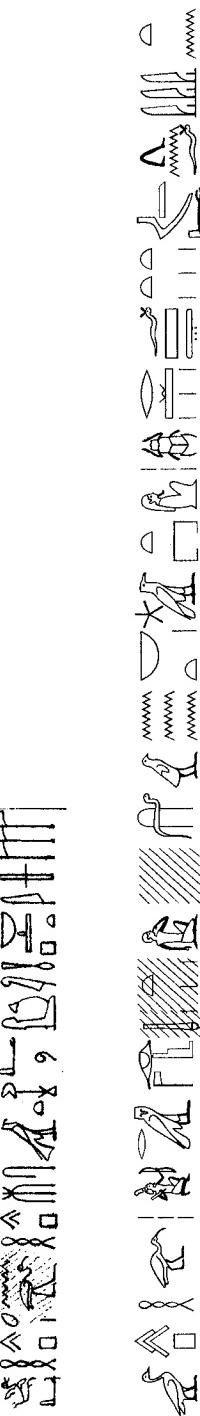


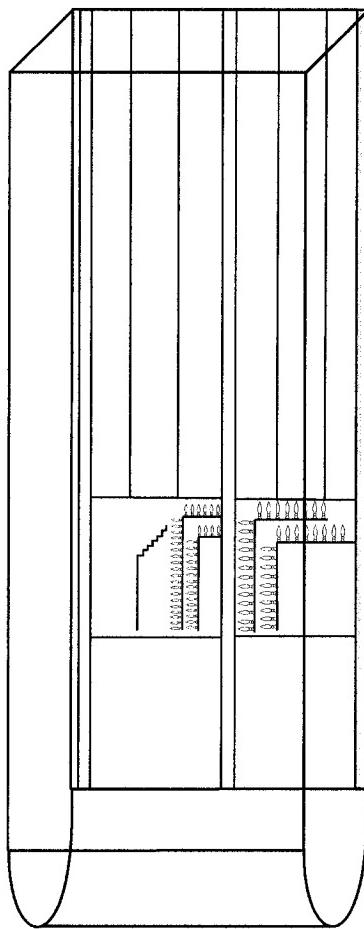
Plate 76

Type II Sarcophagi

Sixth Hour of Amduat

Bottom Bandau, Line 1

(Not Present on BM 1504)



Berlin 49

Berlin 49

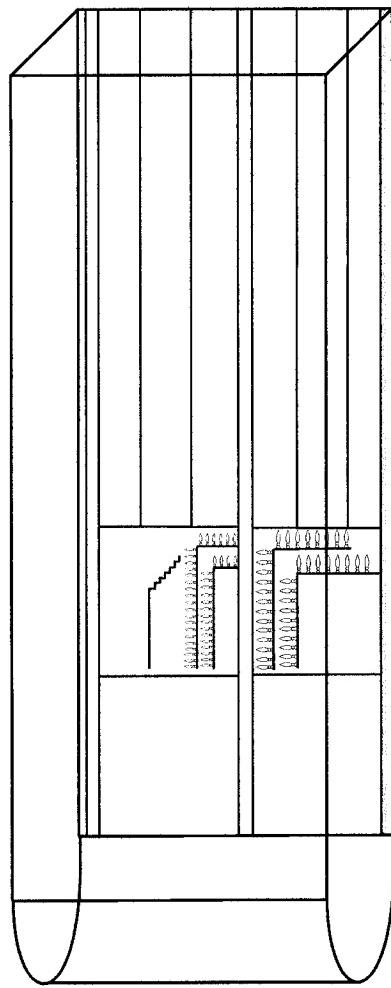
Plate 77

Type II Sarcophagi

Sixth Hour of Amduat

Bottom Bandeau, Line 1, cont.

(Not present on BM 1504)



Berlin 49

This block contains a vertical column of 12 rows of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. The symbols are arranged in two columns per row, with some rows containing additional single symbols or groups. The script is a mix of geometric signs and more representational forms, typical of Middle Egyptian writing.

Berlin 49

Plate 78

Type II Sarcophagi

Sixth Hour of Amduat

Bottom Bandau, Line 2

(Not present on BM 1504)

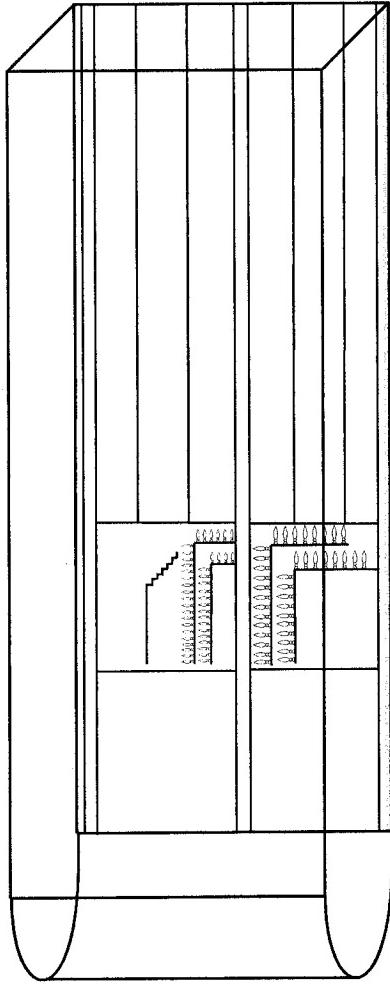


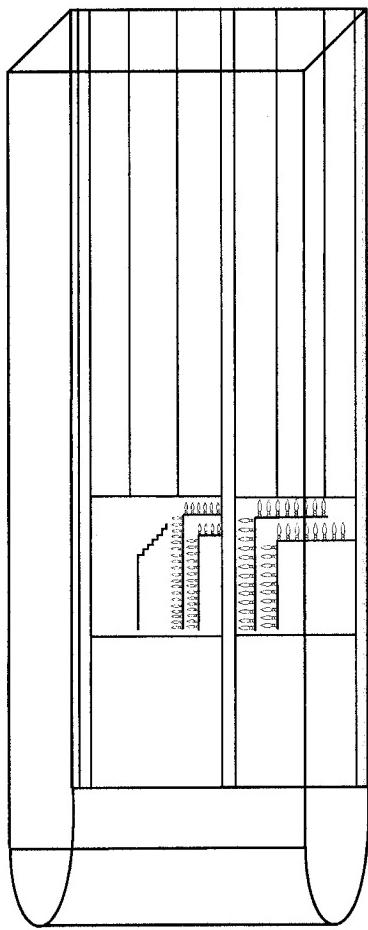
Plate 79

Type II Sarcophagi

Sixth Hour of Amduat

Bottom Bandeau, Line 2, cont.

(Not present on BM 1504)



Berlin 49

Plate 80

Type II Sarcophagi, Side Three
Berlin 49

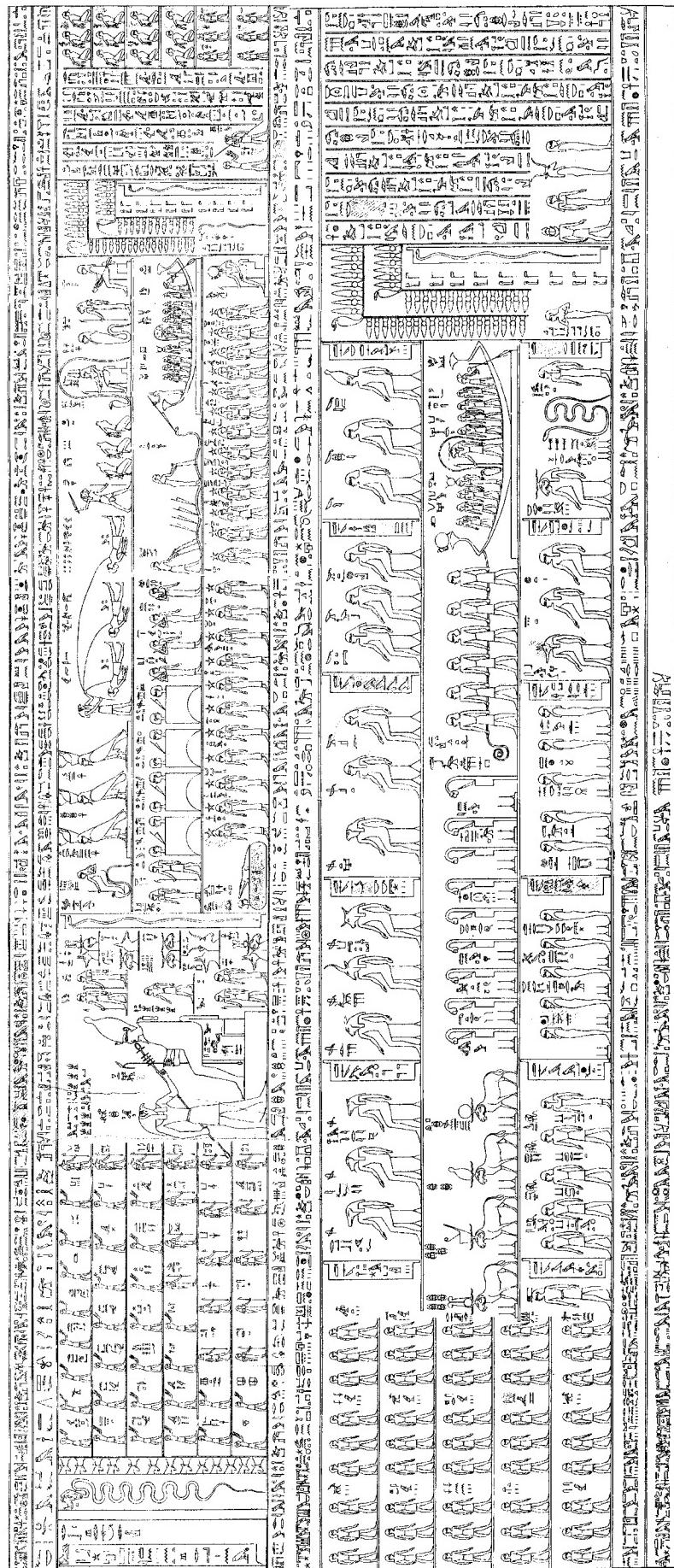


Plate 80B: Type II Sarcophagi, Side Three, BM 1504

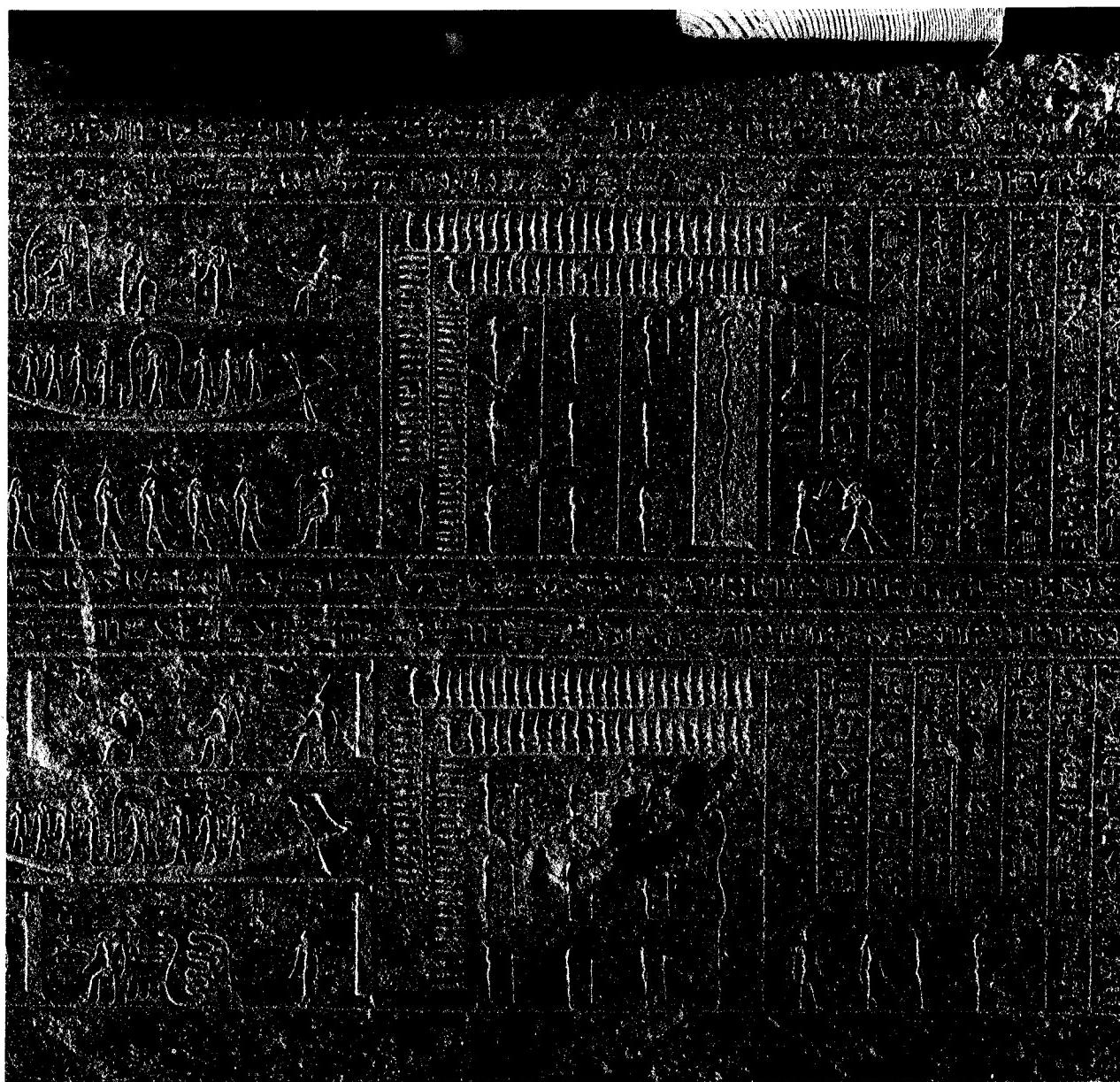


Plate 80C: Type II Sarcophagi, Side Three, BM 1504

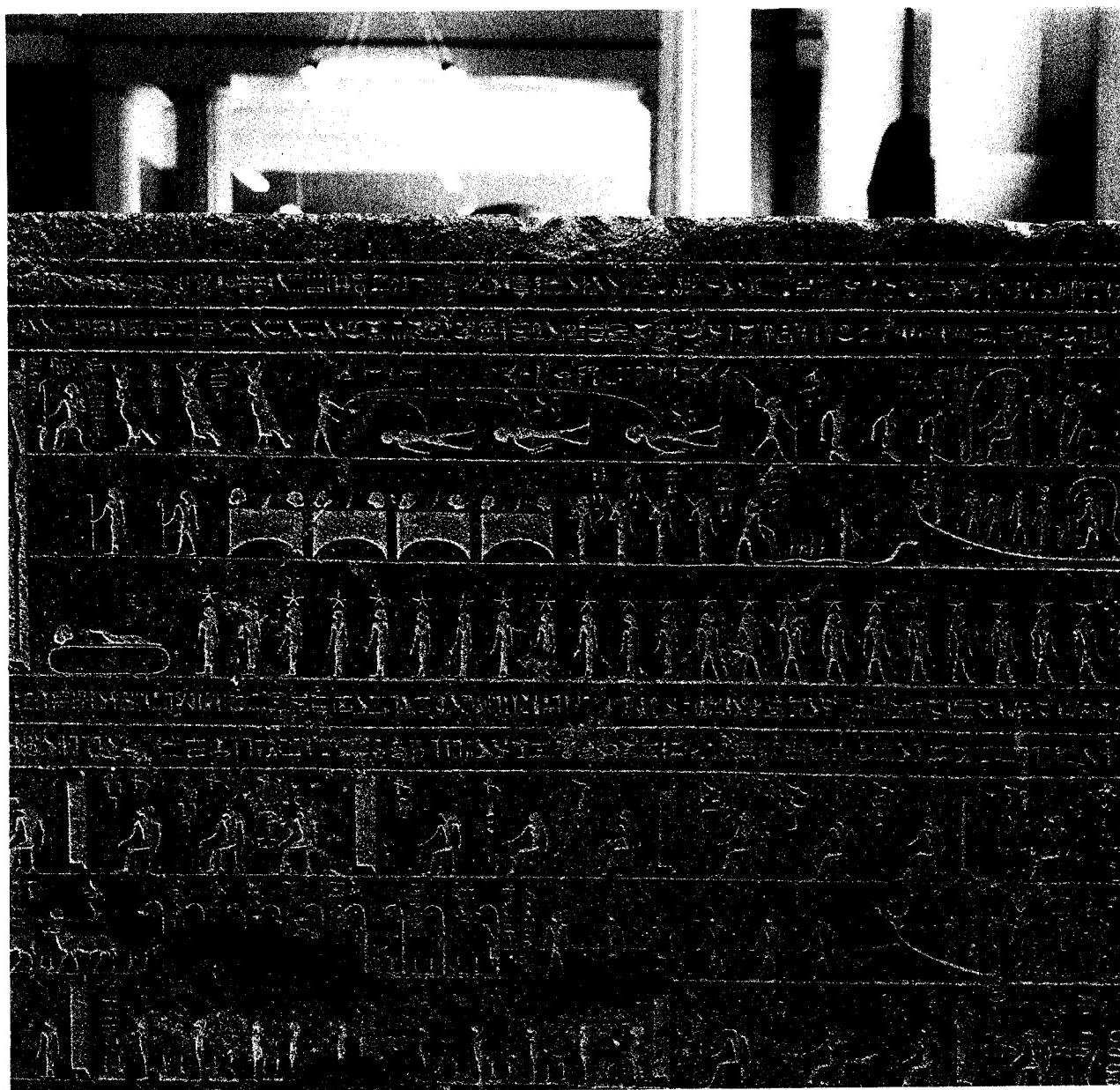


Plate 80D: Type II Sarcophagi, Side Three, BM 1504

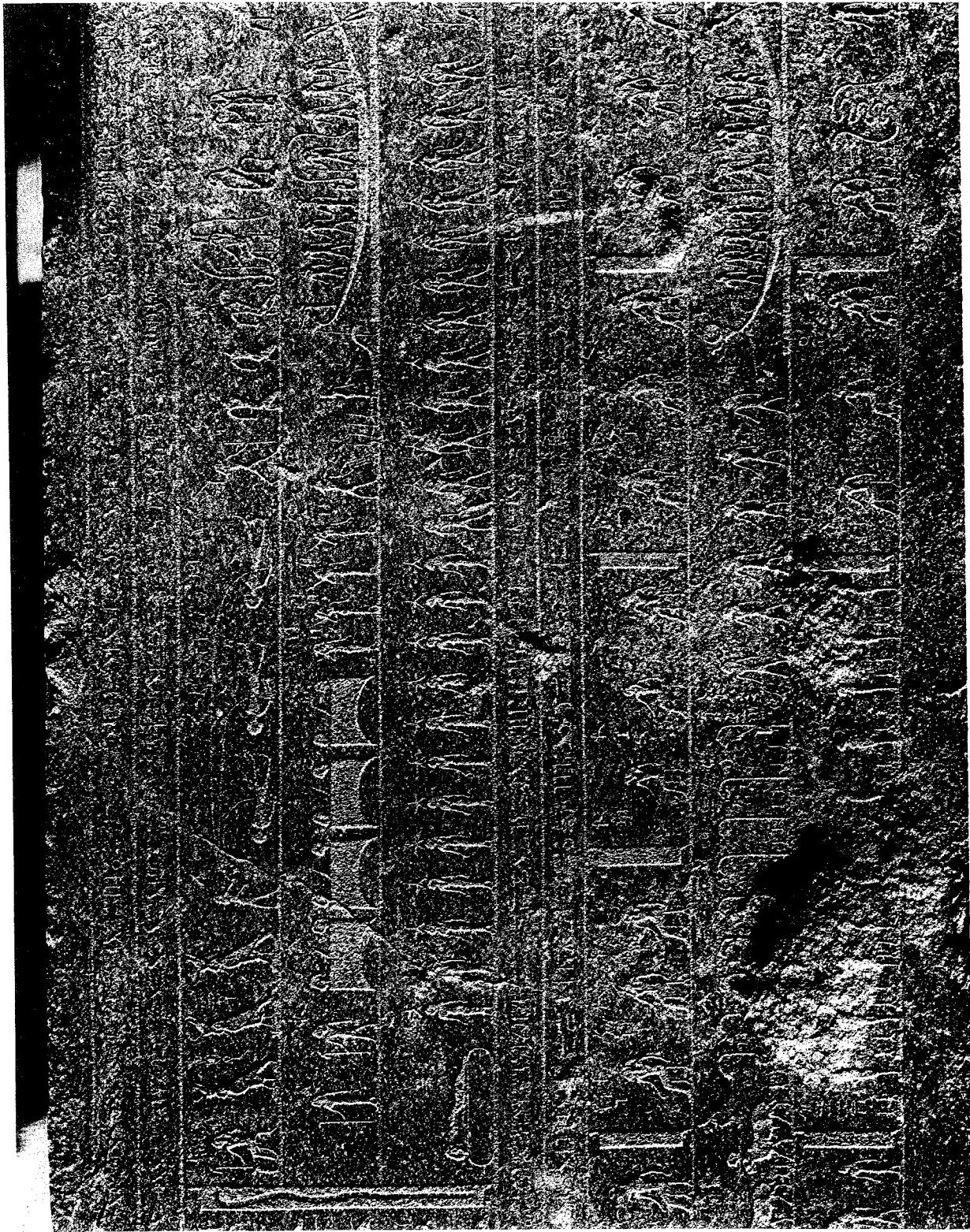


Plate 80E: Type II Sarcophagi, Side Three, BM 1504

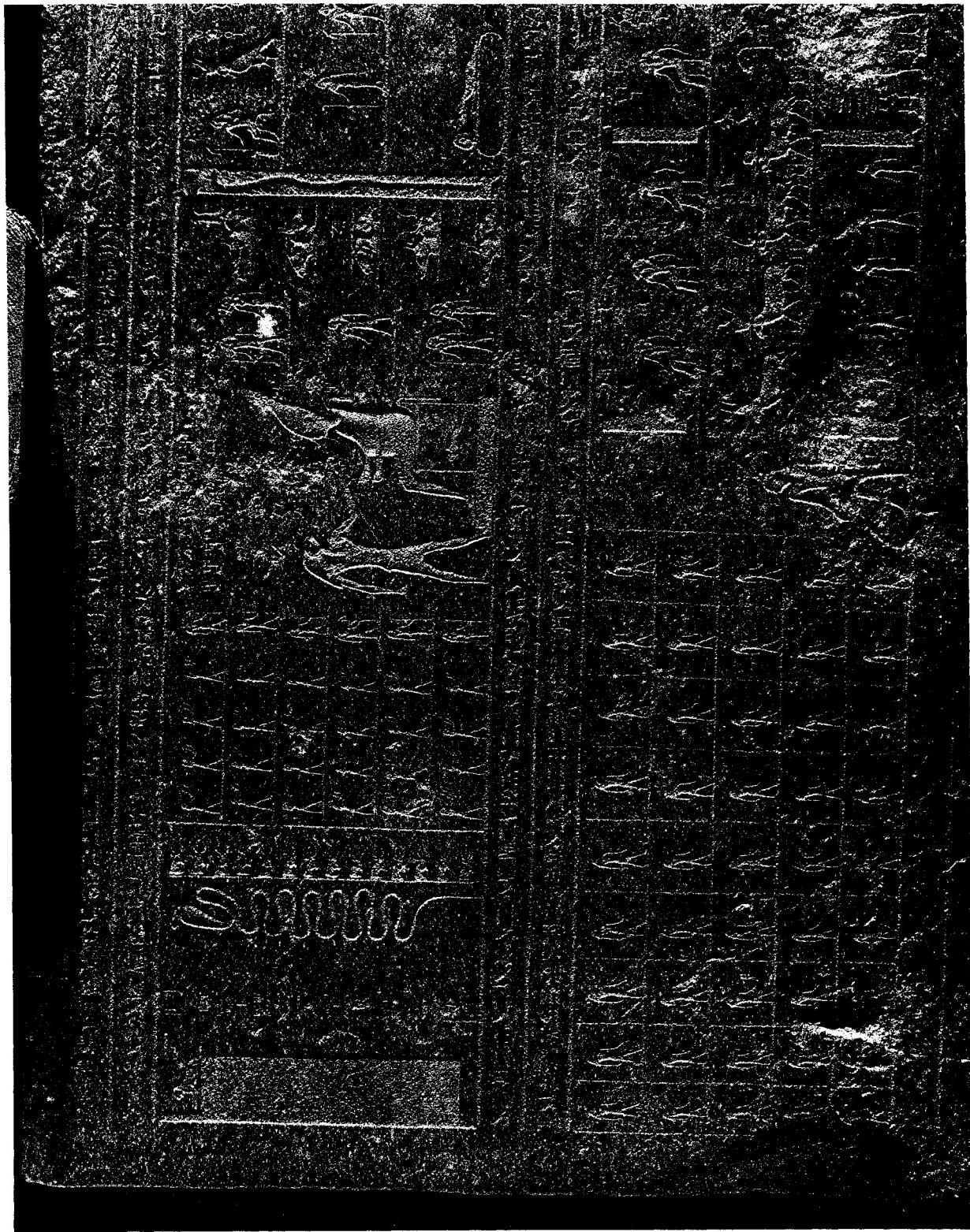


Plate 81

Type II Sarcophagi, Texts Associated with the Seventh Hour of Amduat
Berlin 49

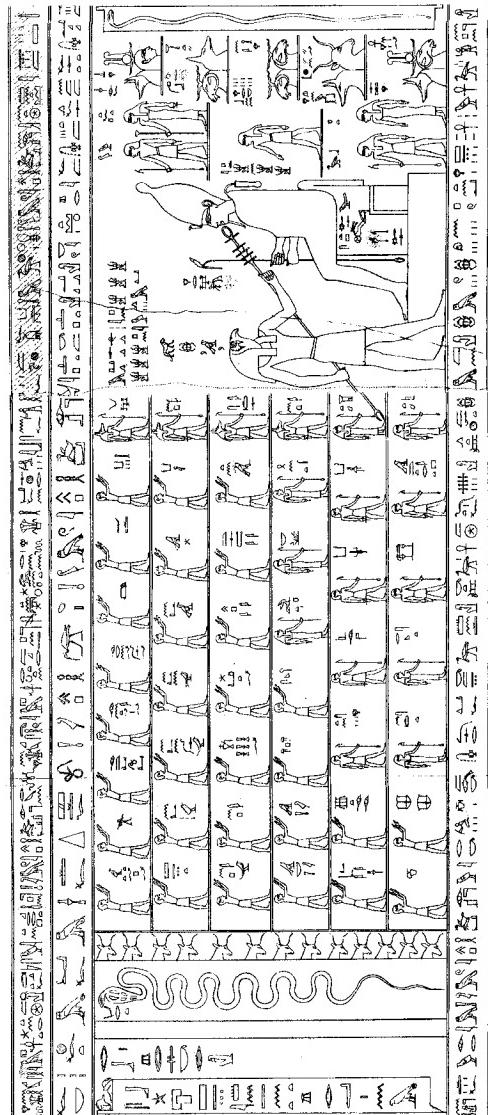
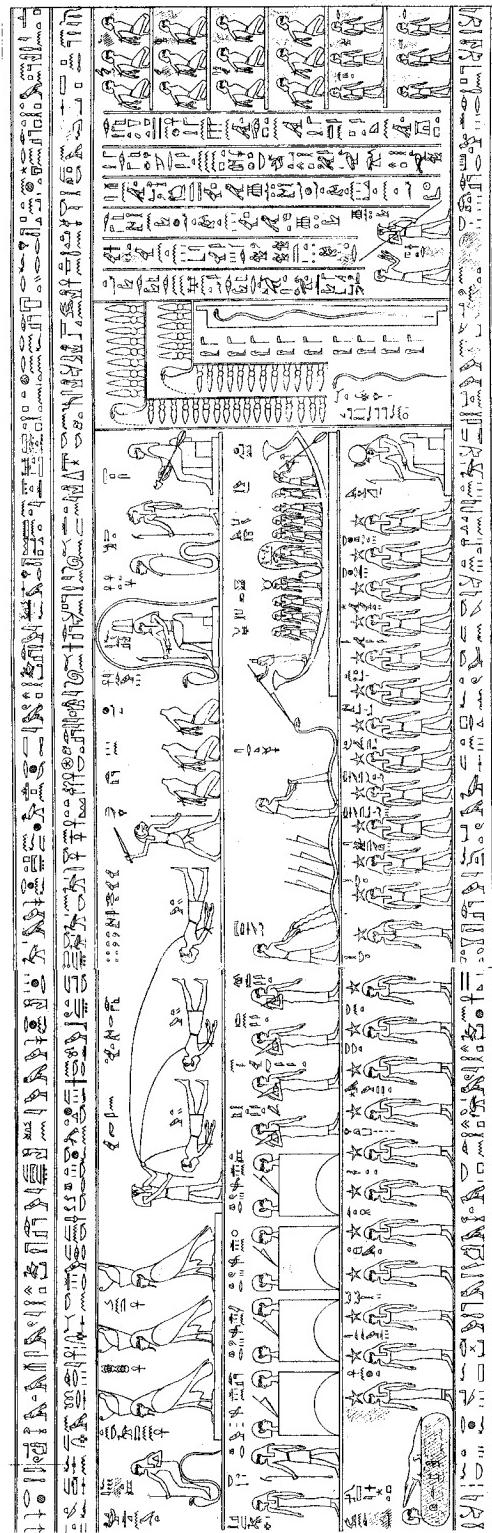


Plate 81B: Type II Sarcophagi, Seventh Hour of Amduat, Louvre D9

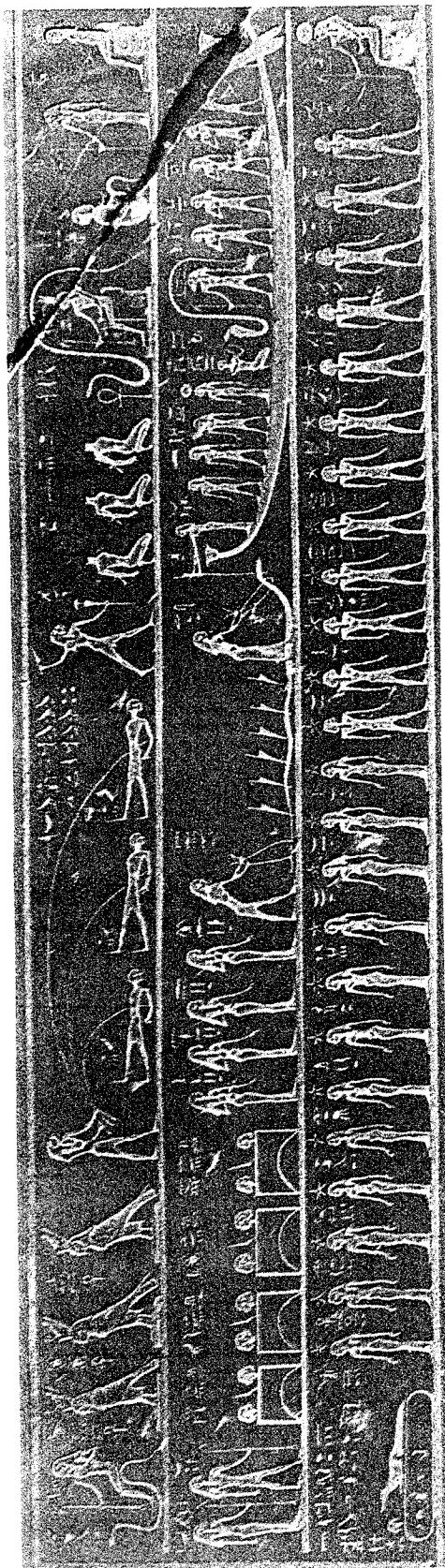
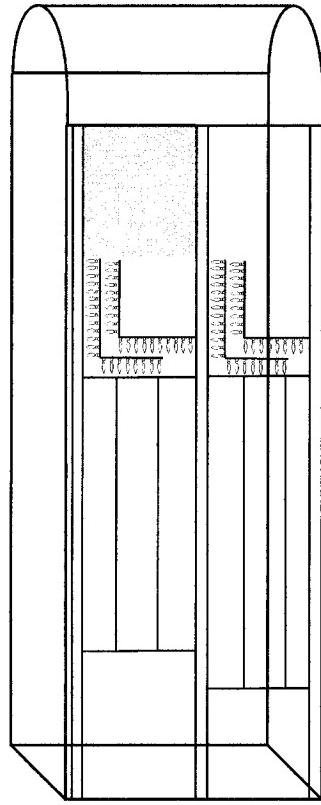


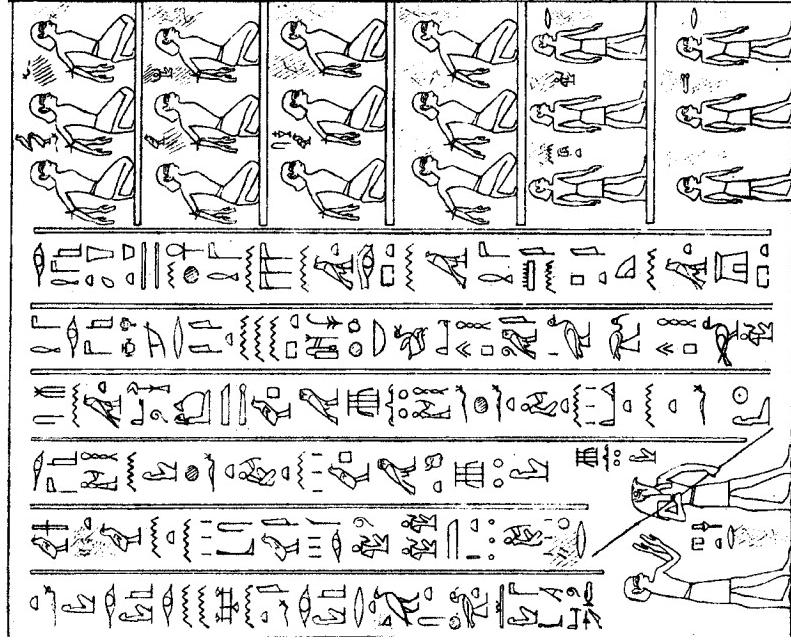
Plate 82



Type II Sarcophagi

Seventh Hour of the
Book of the Night,
Scene from Lower Register

Berlin 49



BM 1504

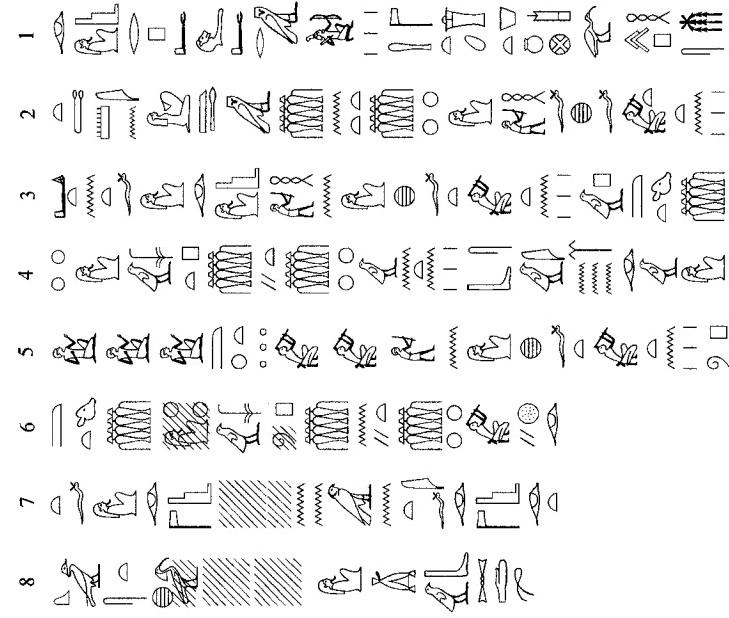


Plate 82B: Type II Sarcophagi, Seventh Hour of the Book of the Night, BM 1504



Plate 83

Type II Sarcophagi

Seventh Hour of Amduat

Top Bandeau, Line 1

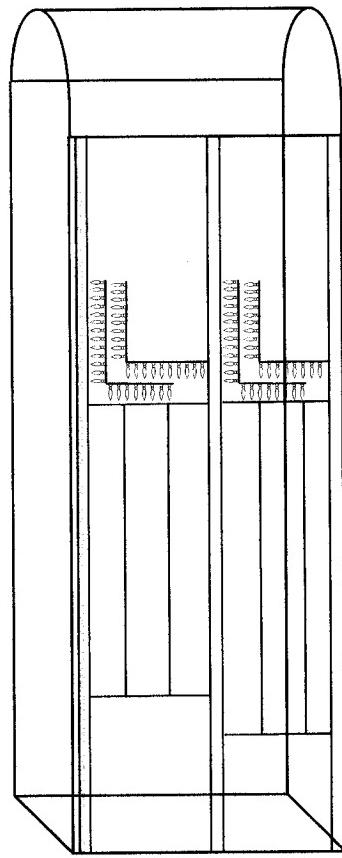


Plate 84

Type II Sarcophagi

Seventh Hour of Amduat

Top Bandau, Line 1, Cont.

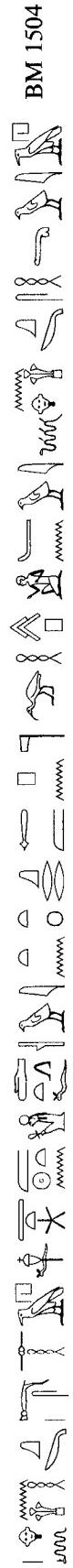
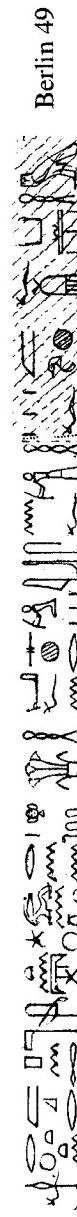
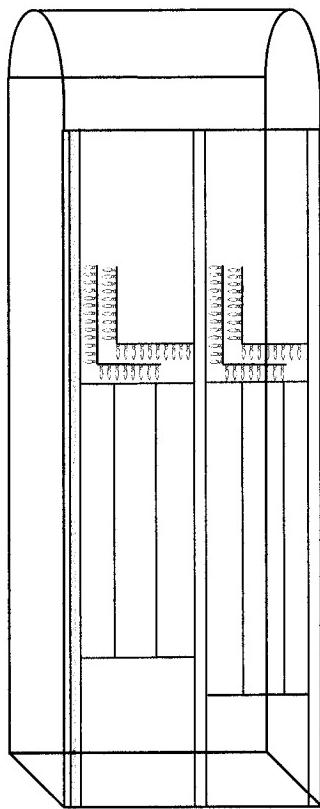


Plate 85

Type II Sarcophagi

Seventh Hour of Amduat

Top Bandau, Line 2

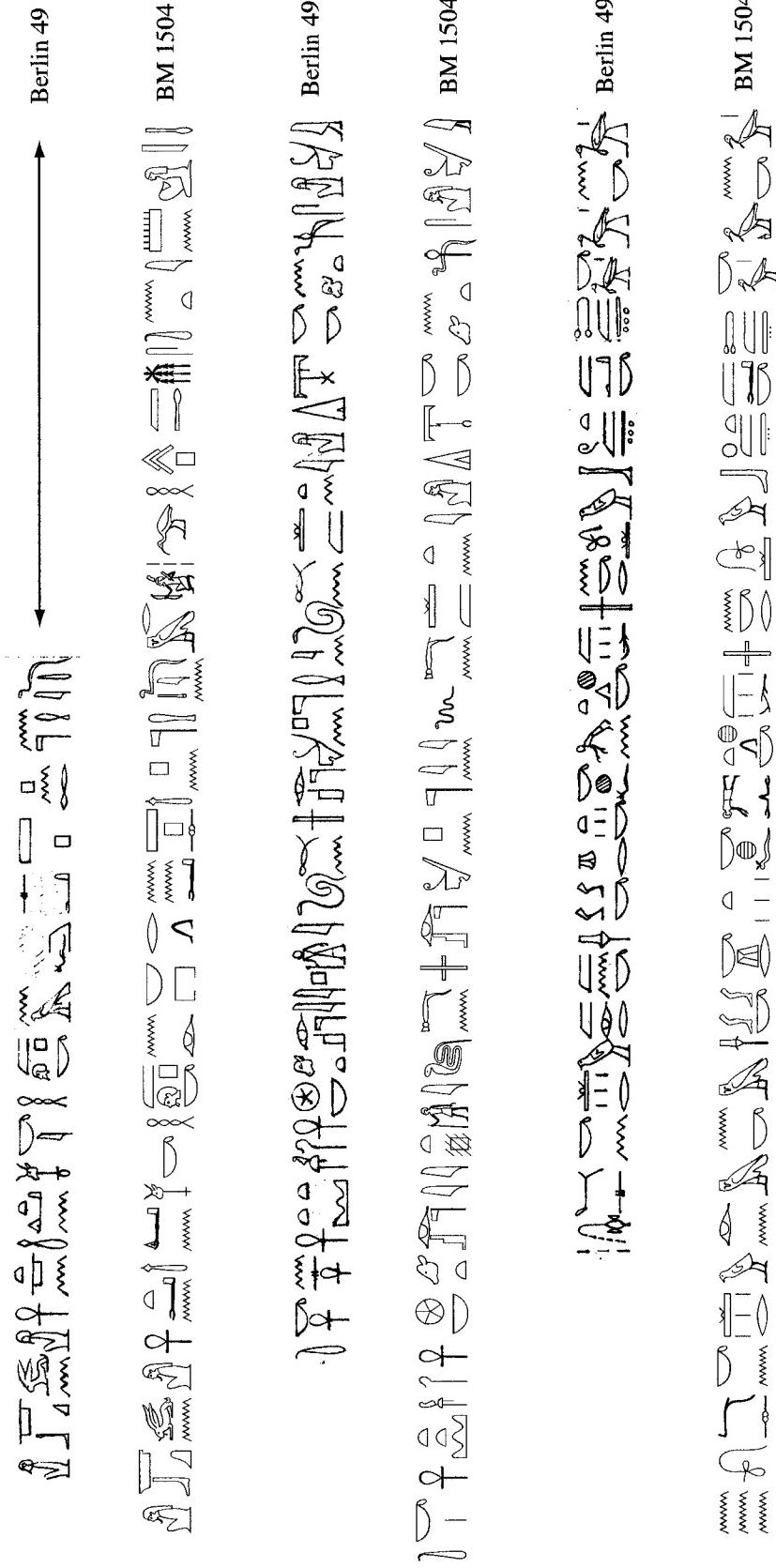
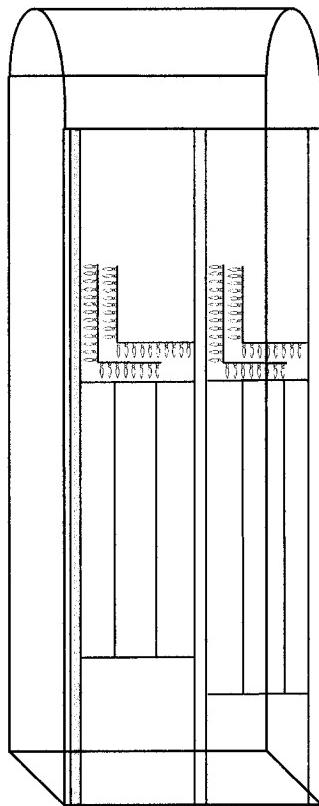
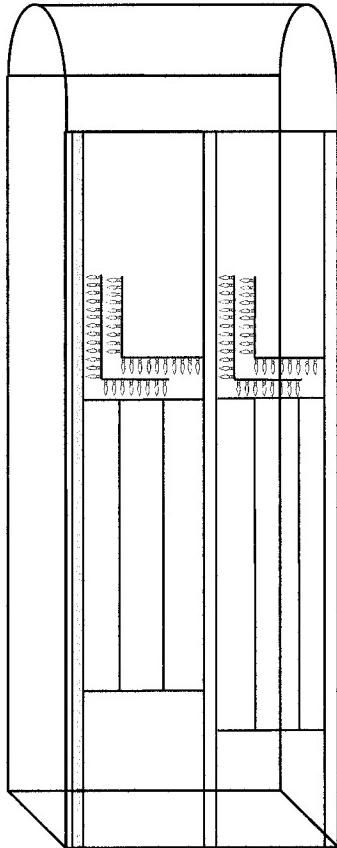


Plate 86

Type II Sarcophagi

Seventh Hour of Amduat

Top Bandeau, Line 2, Cont.



Berlin 49

Detailed description: This is a scientific line drawing of a mite, labeled BM 1504. The illustration shows the dorsal side of the mite, featuring its body segments, legs, and numerous setae (hairs). The legs are labeled A through P, and specific setae are labeled with letters such as D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, and AA. The drawing uses fine lines and cross-hatching to indicate texture and depth.

Berlin 49

BM 1504

Berlin 49

Plate 87

Type II Sarcophagi

Seventh Hour of Amduat

Middle Bandeau, Line 1

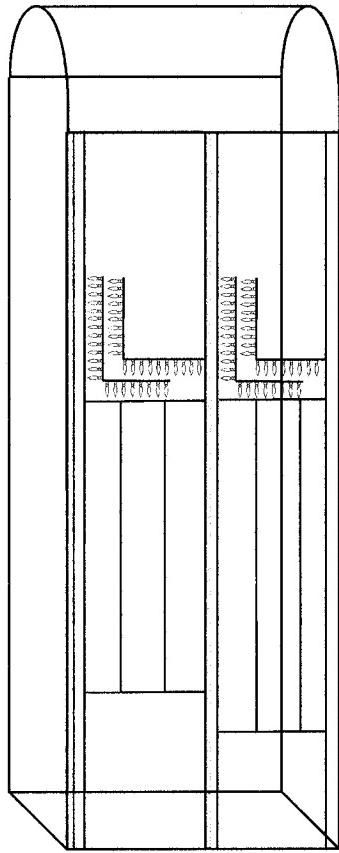
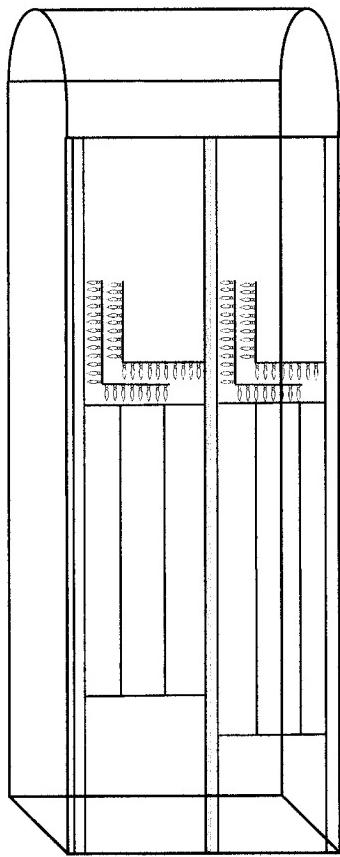


Plate 88



Type II Sarcophagi

Seventh Hour of Amduat

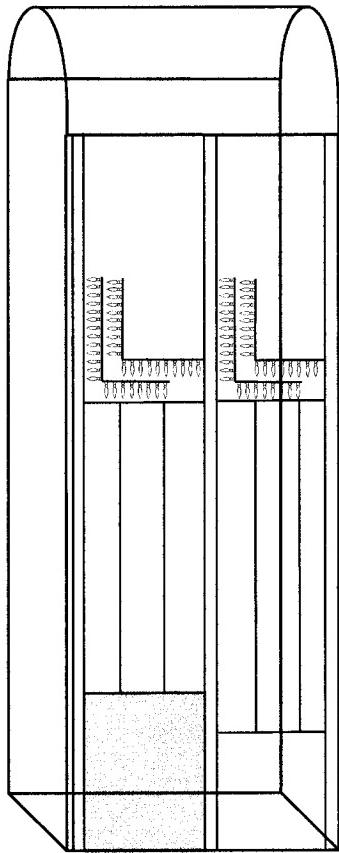
Middle Bandeau, Line 1, cont.



Plate 89

Type II Sarcophagi

Eighth Hour of the
Book of the Night



Berlin 49

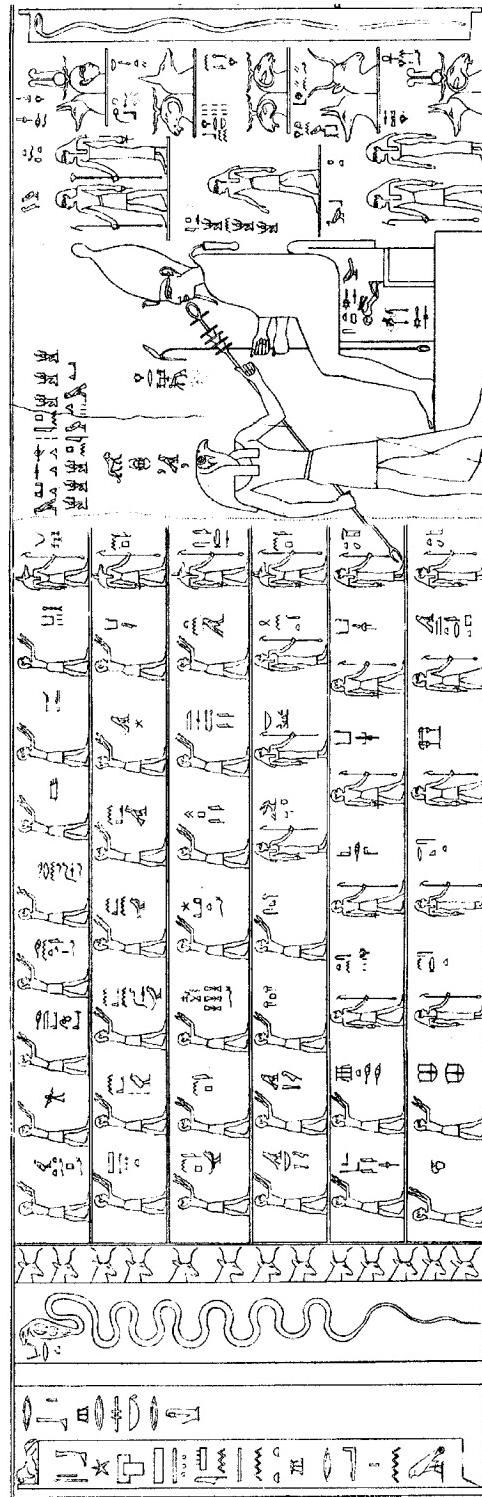
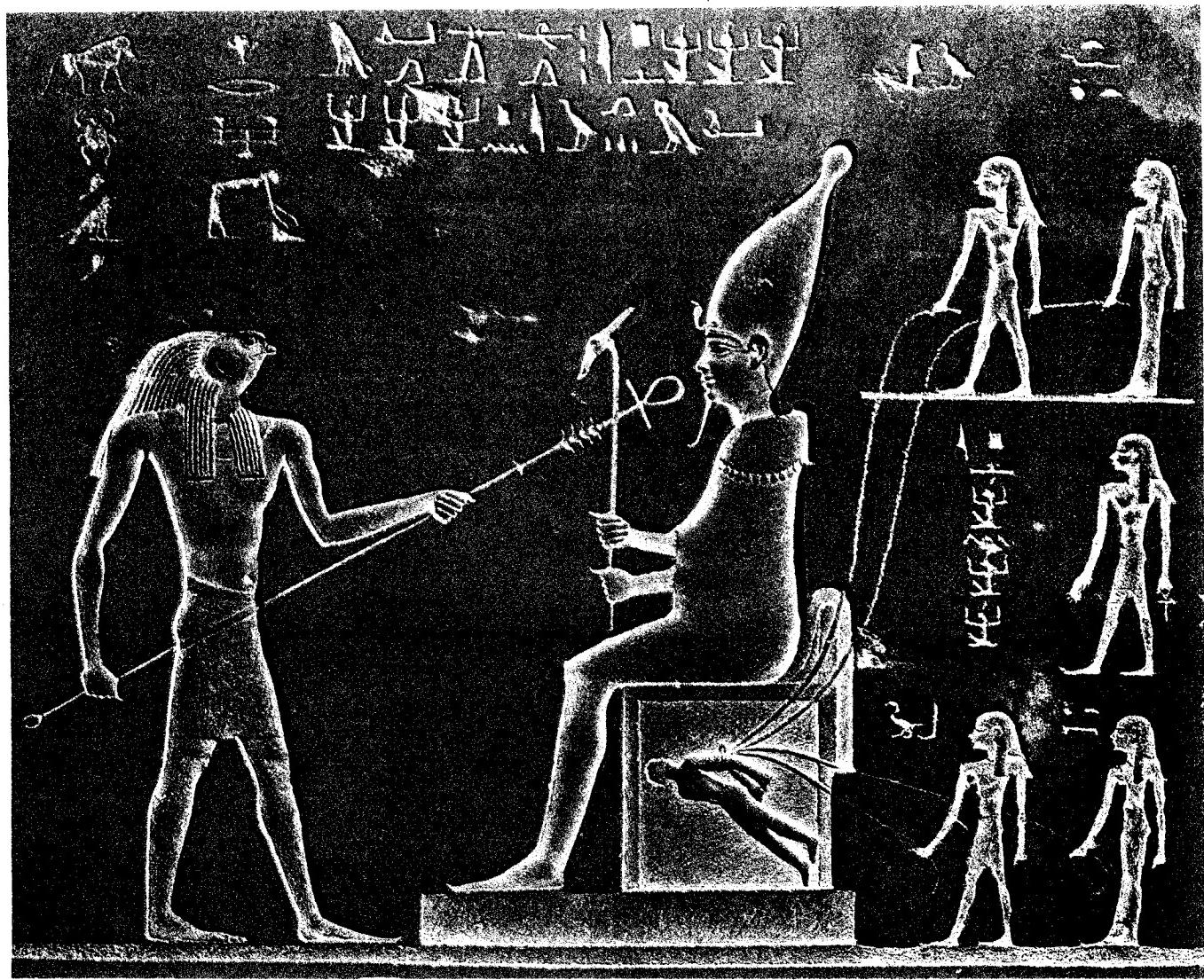


Plate 89B: Type II Sarcophagi, Enthroned Osiris from the Book of the Night, Louvre D9



A

Plate 90

Type II Sarcophagi, Texts Associated with the Eighth Hour of Amduat
Berlin 49

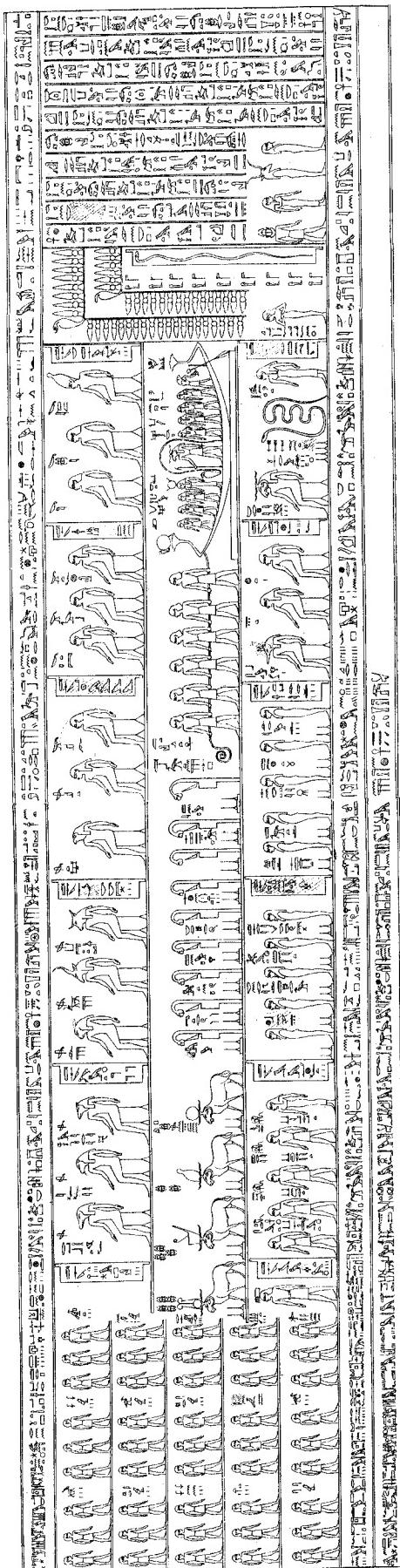
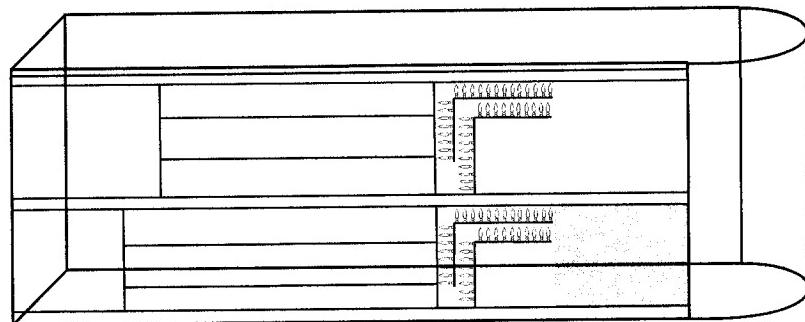


Plate 91

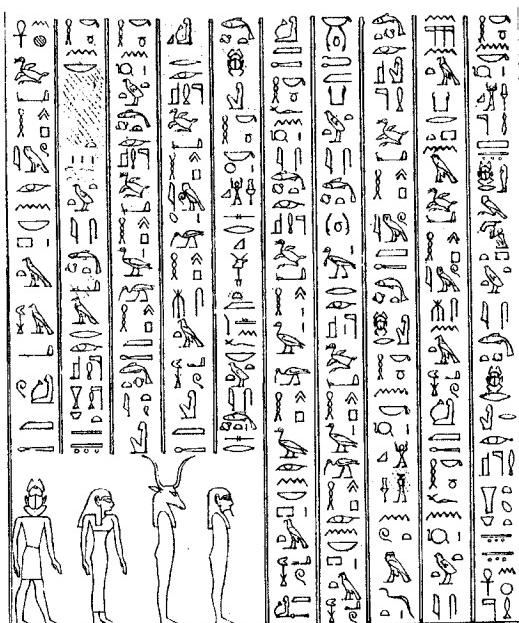
Type II Sarcophagi

Litany of Re before
Eighth Hour of Amduat

Addresses 32, 34, 36, 38



Berlin 49



BM 1504



Plate 92

Type II Sarcophagi

Eighth Hour of Amduat

Middle Bandeau, Line 2

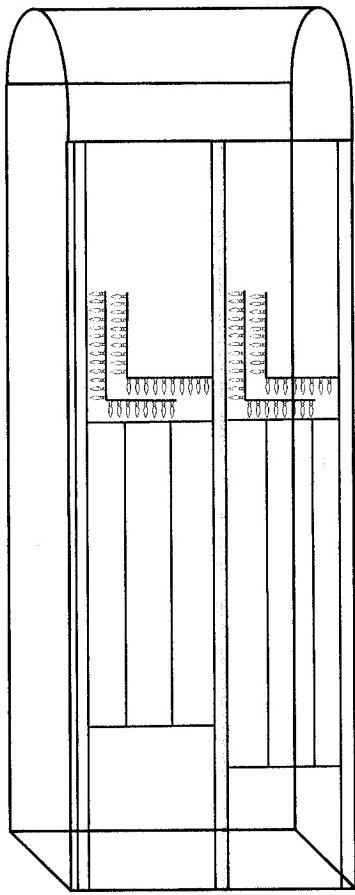


Plate 93

Type II Sarcophagi

Eighth Hour of Amduat

Middle Bandeau, Line 2, cont.

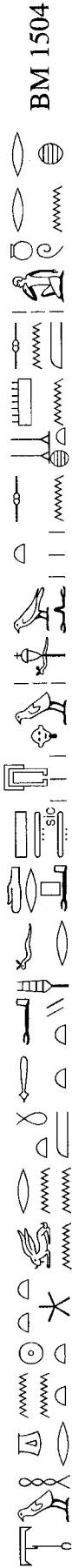
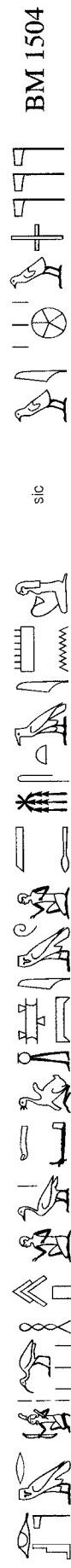
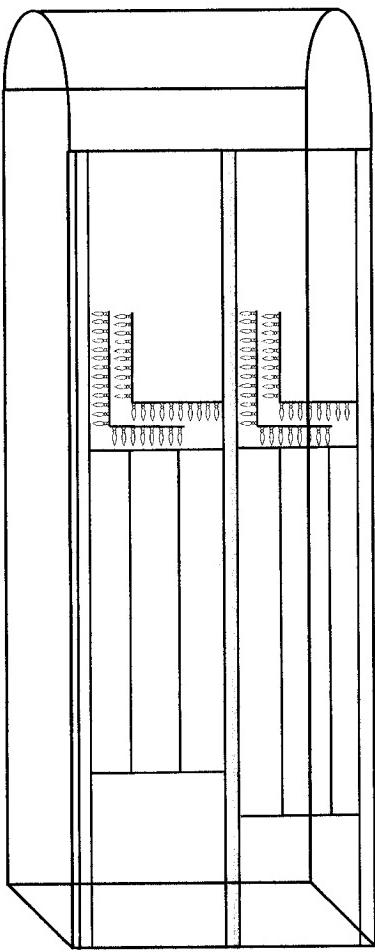


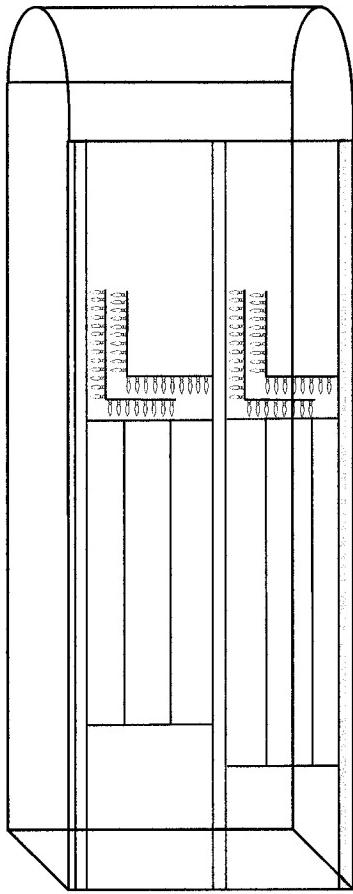
Plate 94

Type II Sarcophagi

Eighth Hour of Amduat

Bottom Bandeau, Line 1

(Not present on BM 1504)



Berlin 49

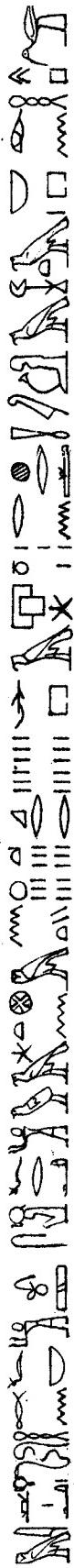


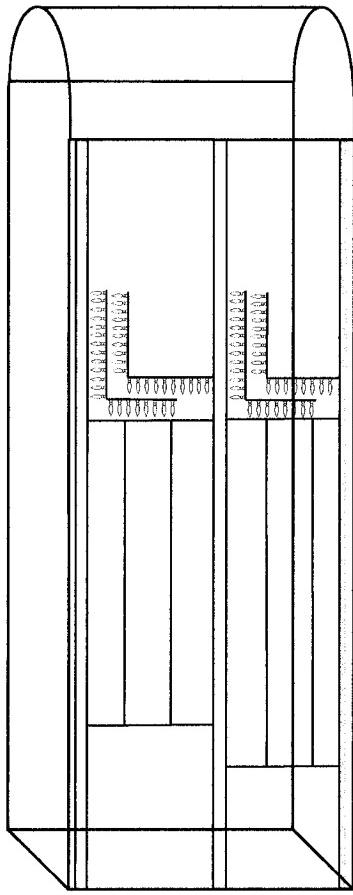
Plate 95

Type II Sarcophagi

Eighth Hour of Amduat

Bottom Bandeau [line 1] cont

(Not present on BM 1504)



The image shows a vertical column of cuneiform script on a light-colored background. The script consists of various wedge-shaped marks, some with internal lines or dots, arranged in a series of horizontal rows. Above this column, the number "Berlin 49" is written vertically in a smaller, modern-style font.

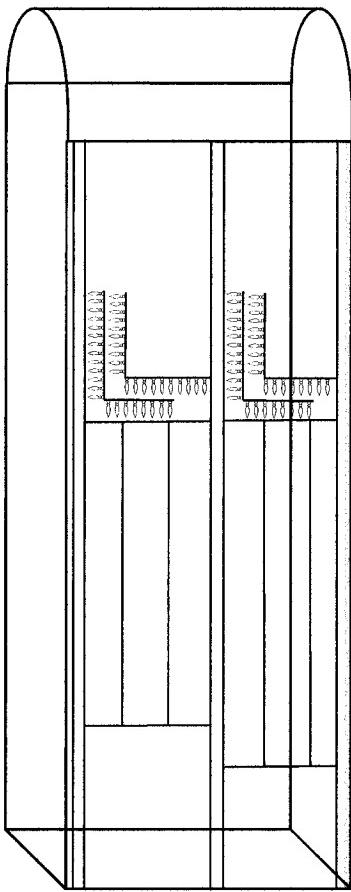
Plate 96

Type II Sarcophagi

Eighth Hour of Amduat

Bottom Bandeau, Line 2

(Not present on BM 1504)



BLANK

Berlin 49



Berlin 49



Berlin 49

Plate 97

Type II Sarcophagi, Eighth Hour of Amduat
Louvre D9

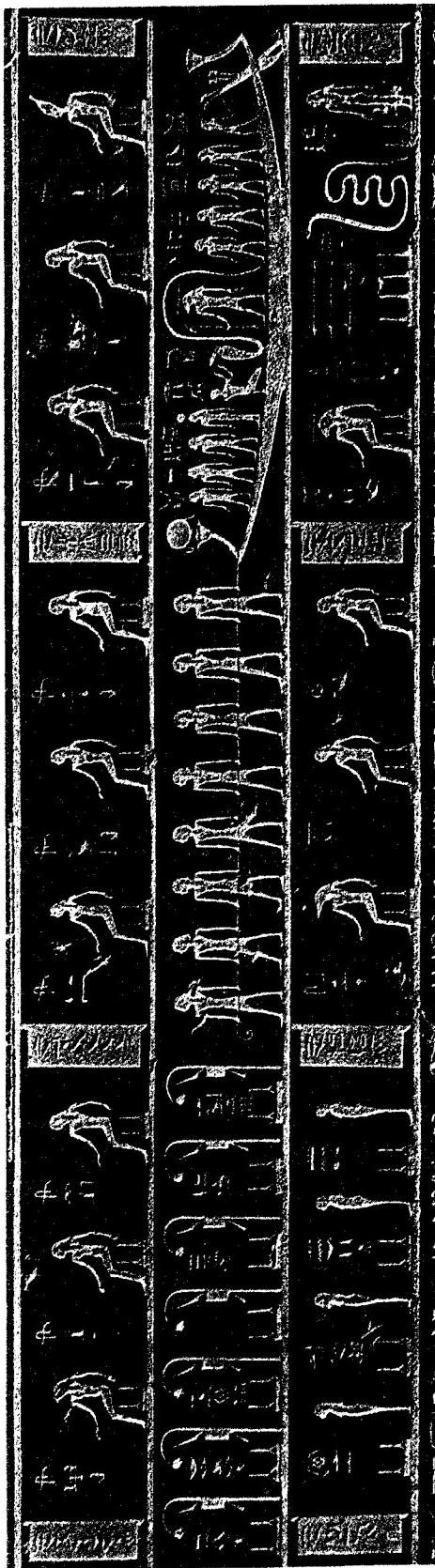


Plate 98

Type II Sarcophagi, Side Four
Berlin 49

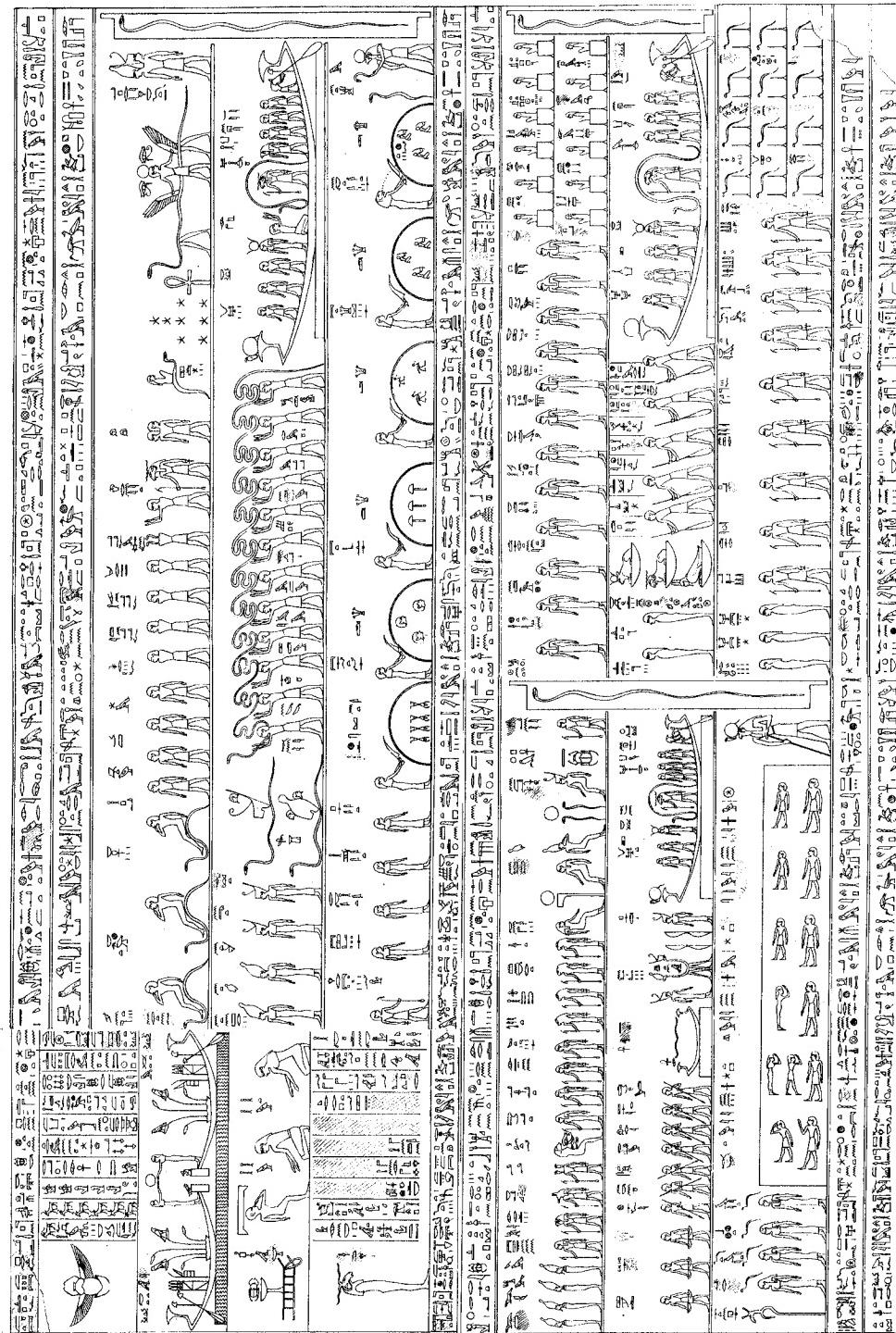


Plate 98 B: Type II Sarcophagi, Side Four, CG 29305

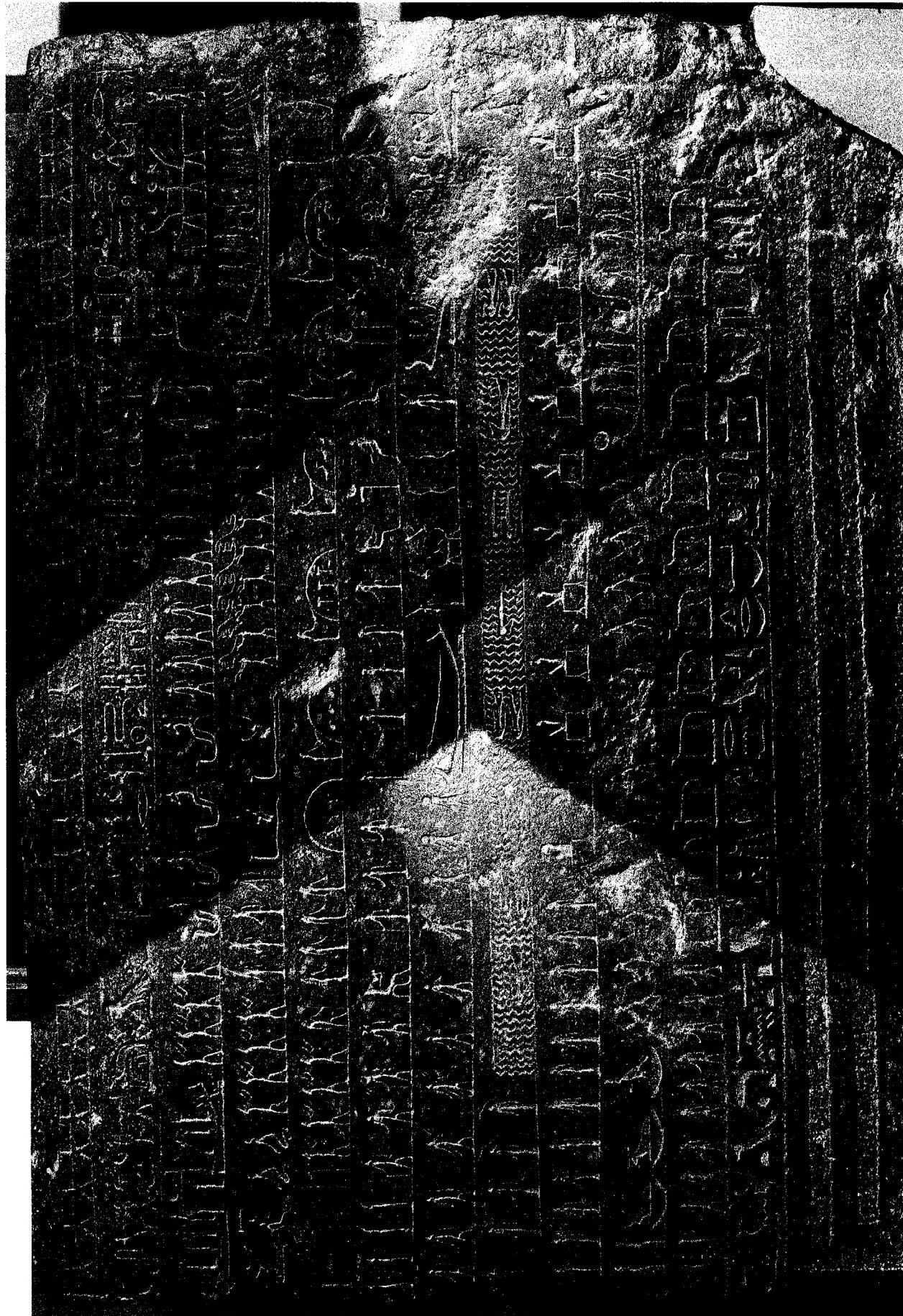


Plate 99

Type II Sarcophagi, Concluding Scene,
Book of the Night, CG 29305

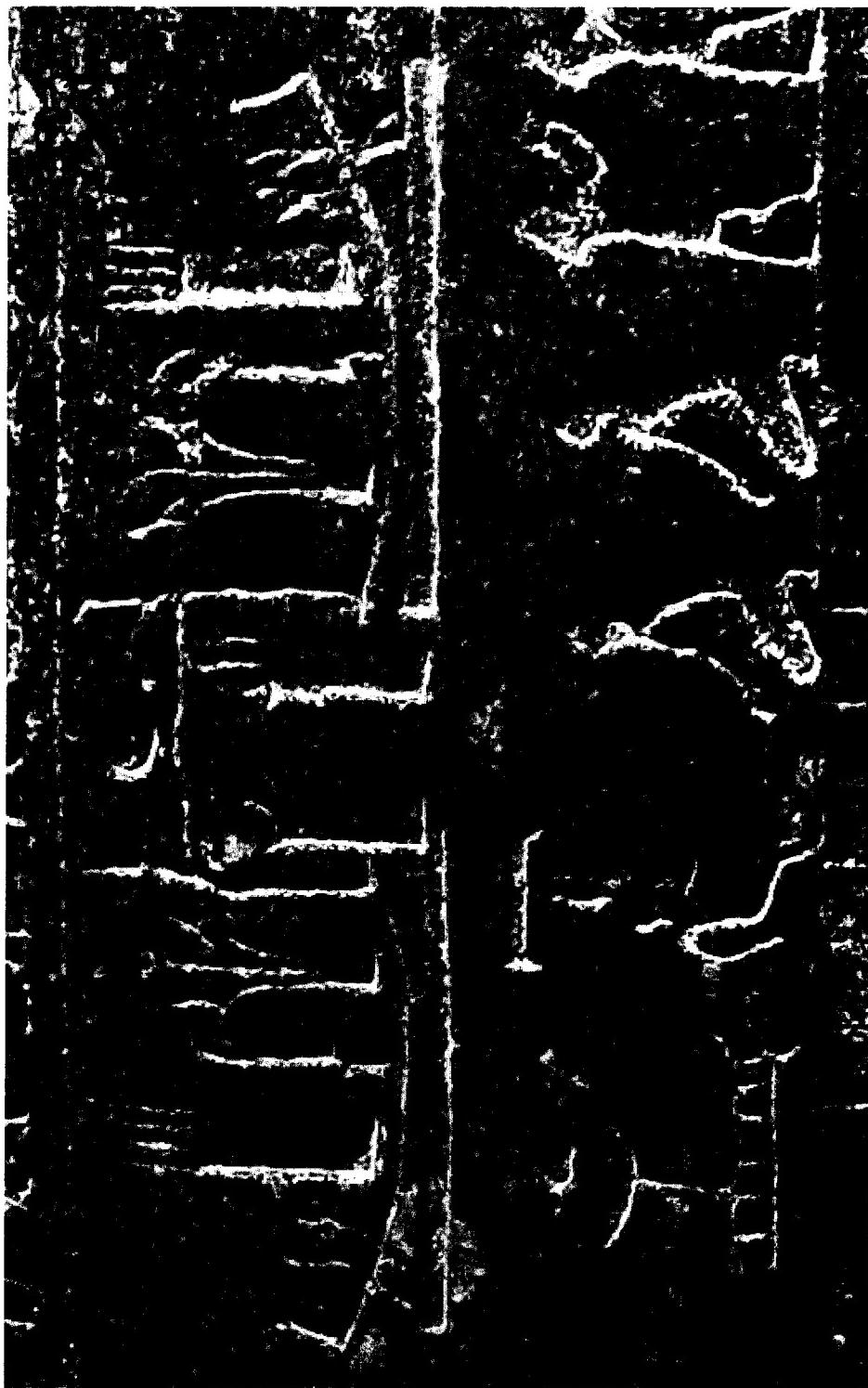


Plate 100

Type III Sarcophagi, Side One
Nectanebo II

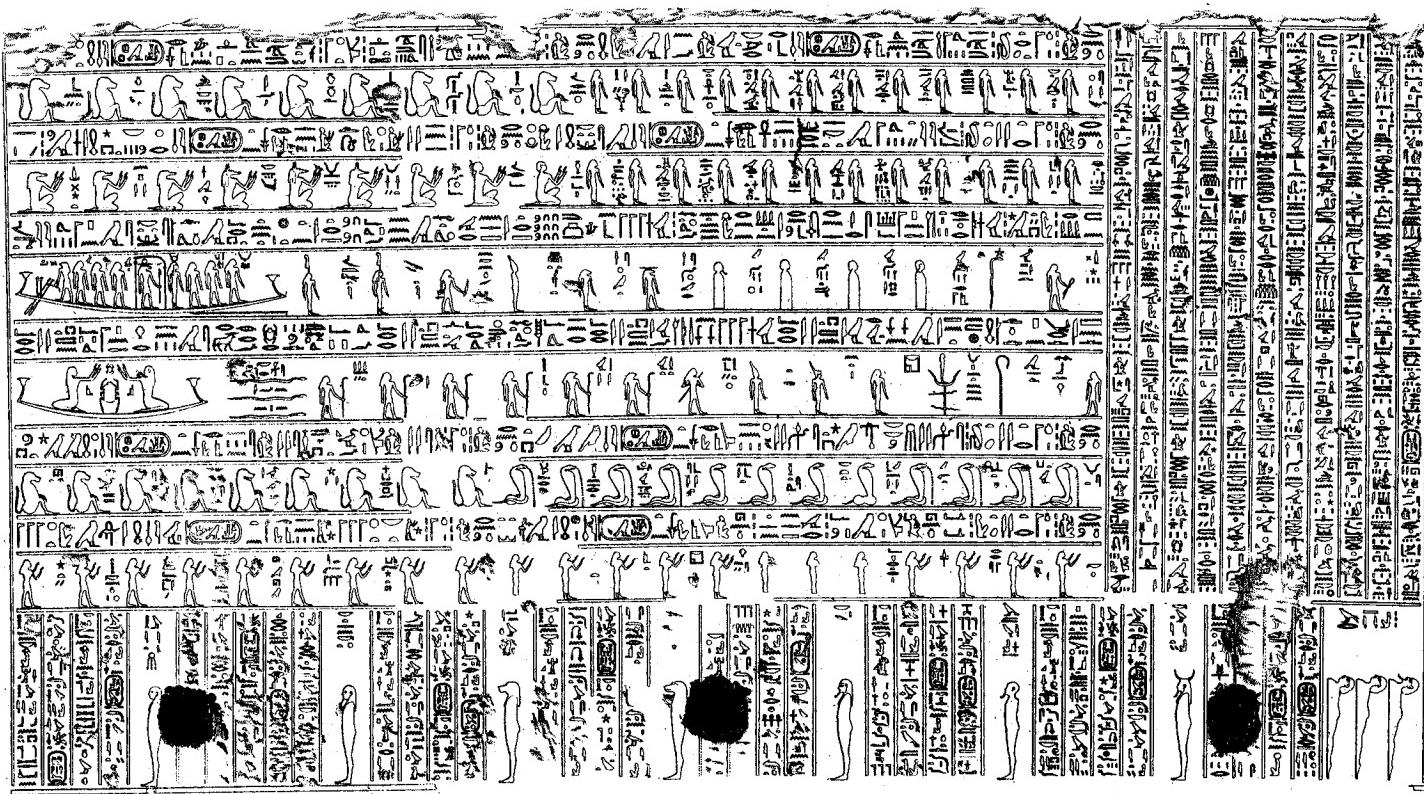
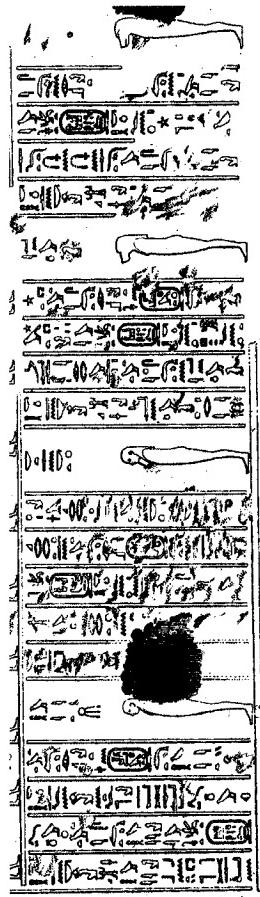


Plate 100B

Type III Sarcophage, Litany of Re on Side One
Nectanebo II

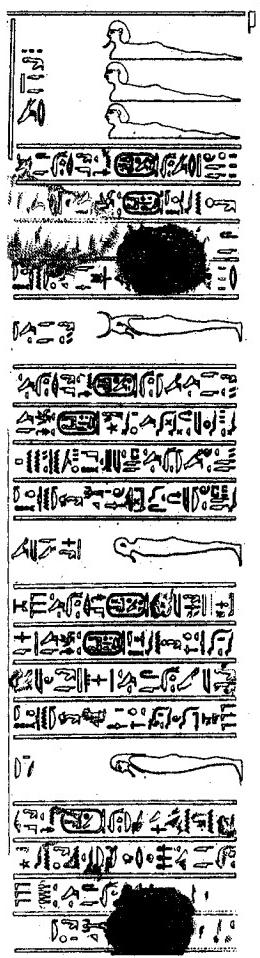


74

75

69

71



73

63

67

65

Plate 101

Type III Sarcophagi, Side Two
Nectanebo II

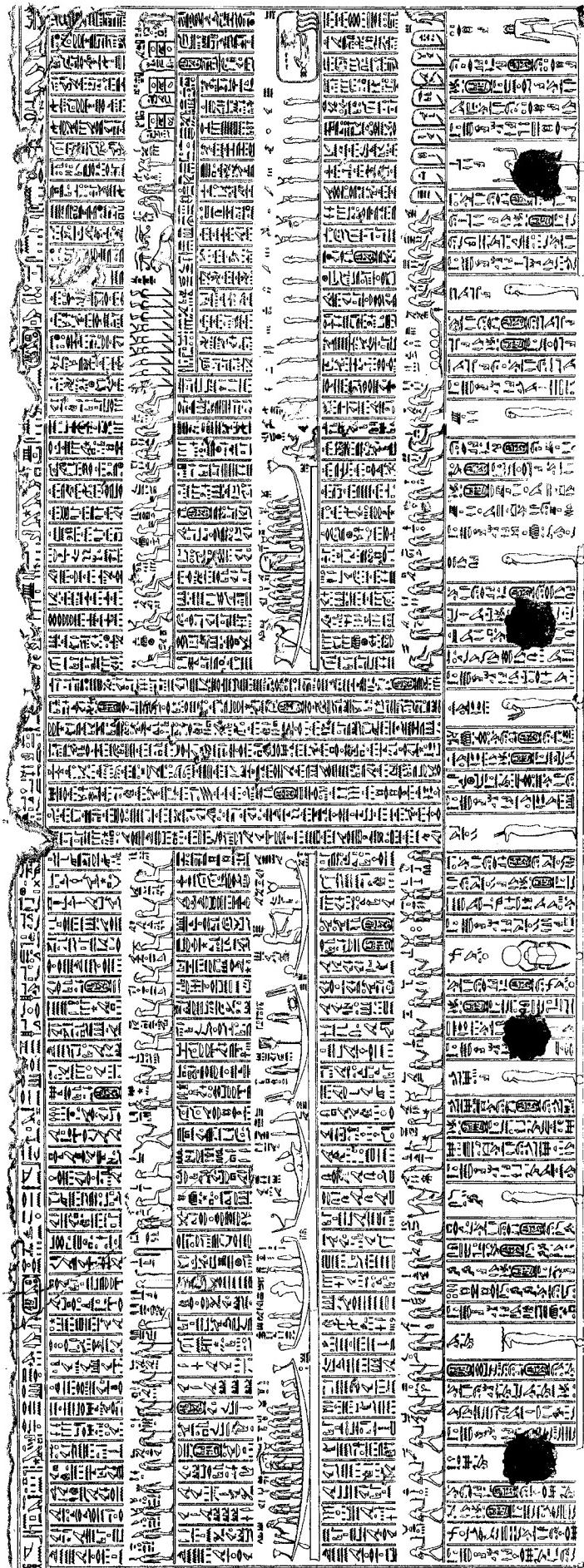


Plate 101B

Type III Sarcophagi, Litany of Re on Side Two
Nectanebo II

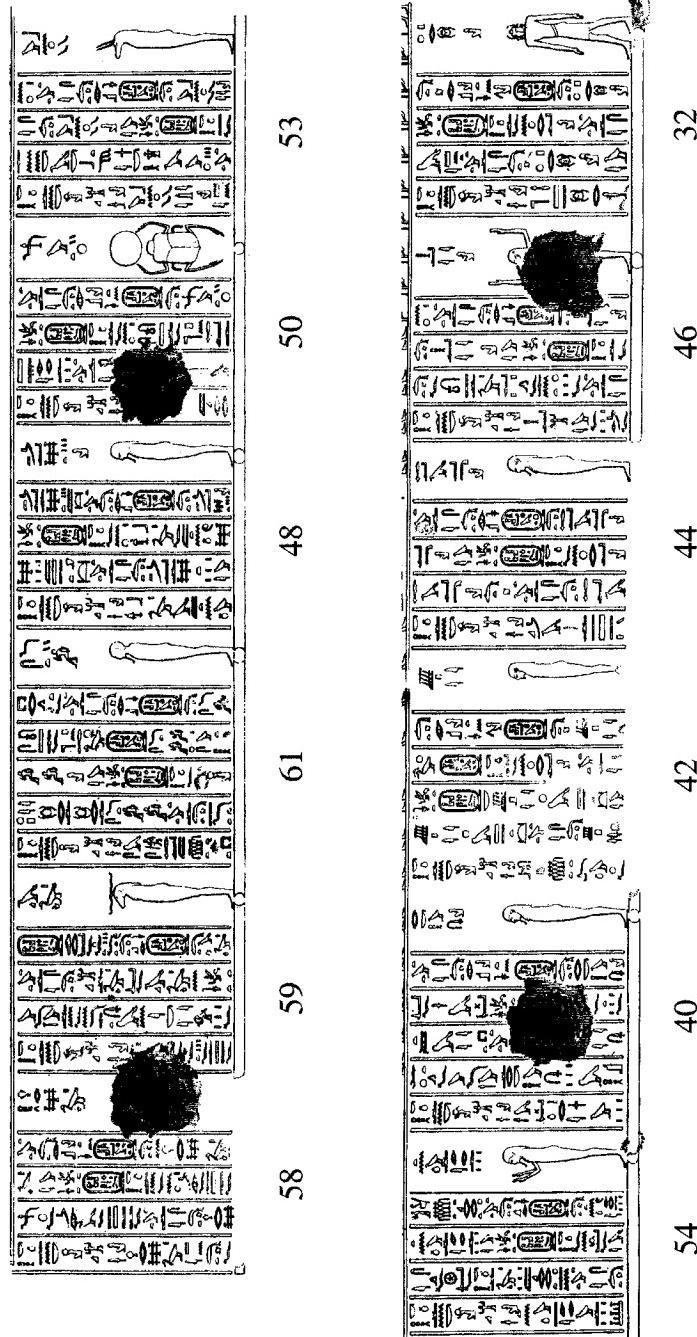


Plate 101C

Type III Sarcophagi, Side Two, Nectanebo II

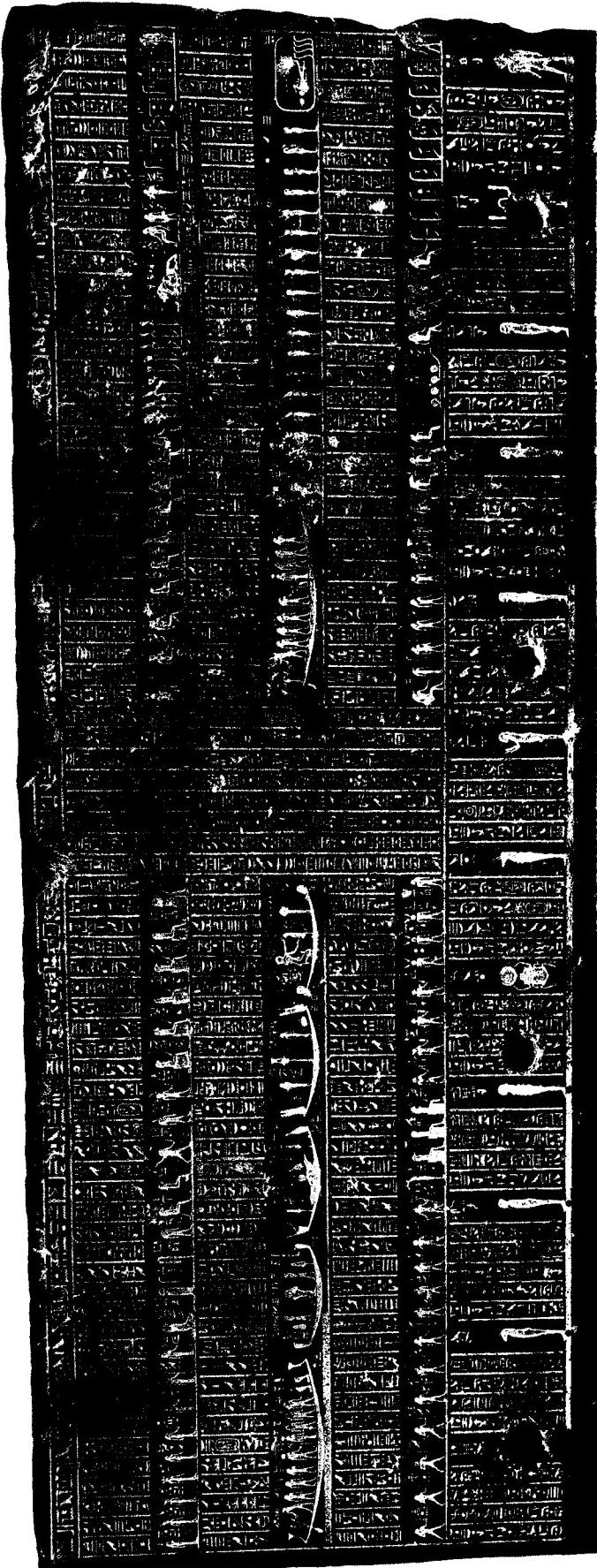


Plate 102

Type III Sarcophagi, Side Three
Nectanebo II

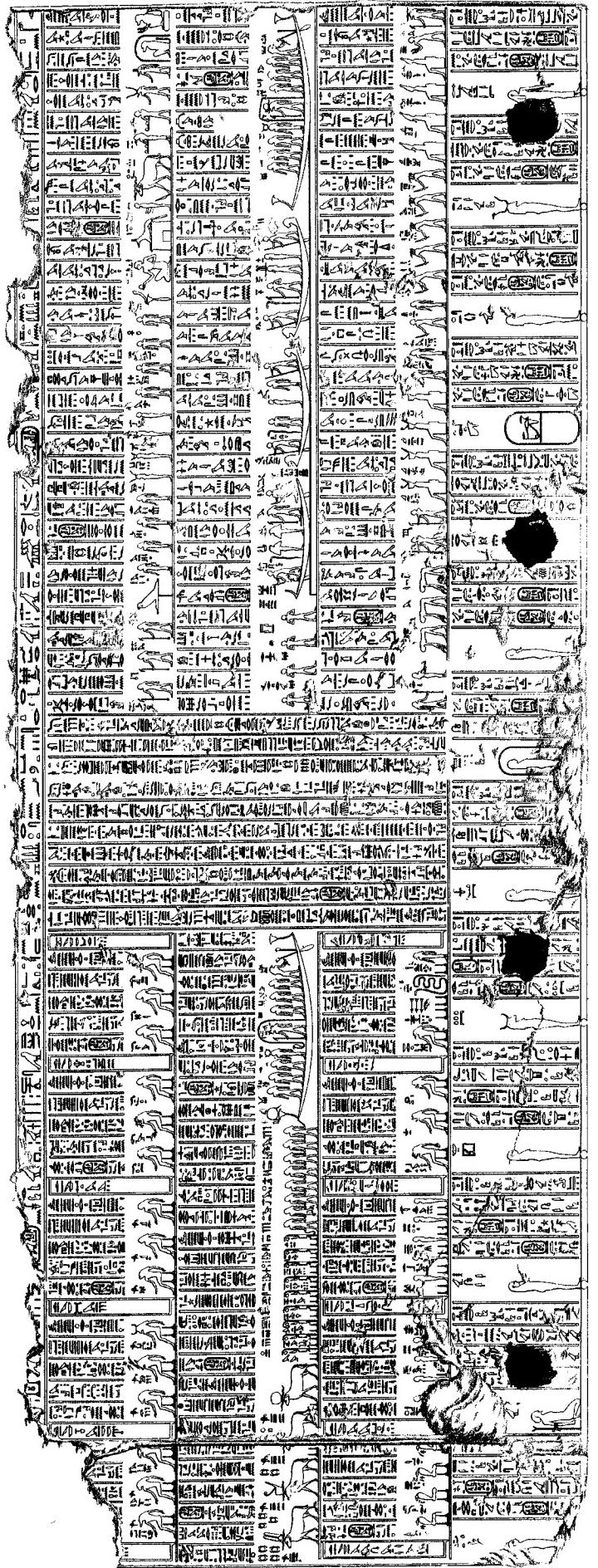


Plate 102B

Type III Sarcophagi, Litany of Re on Side Three
Nectanebo II

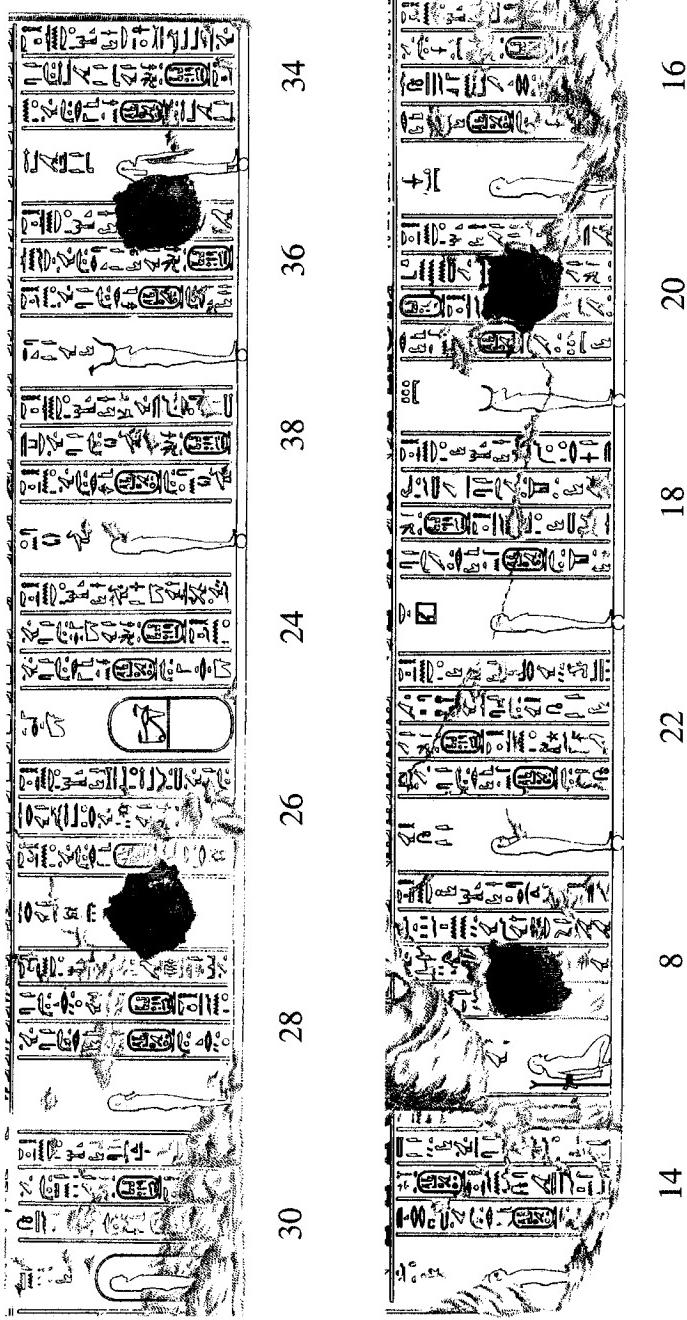


Plate 102C

Type III Sarcophagi, Side Three, Nectanebo II

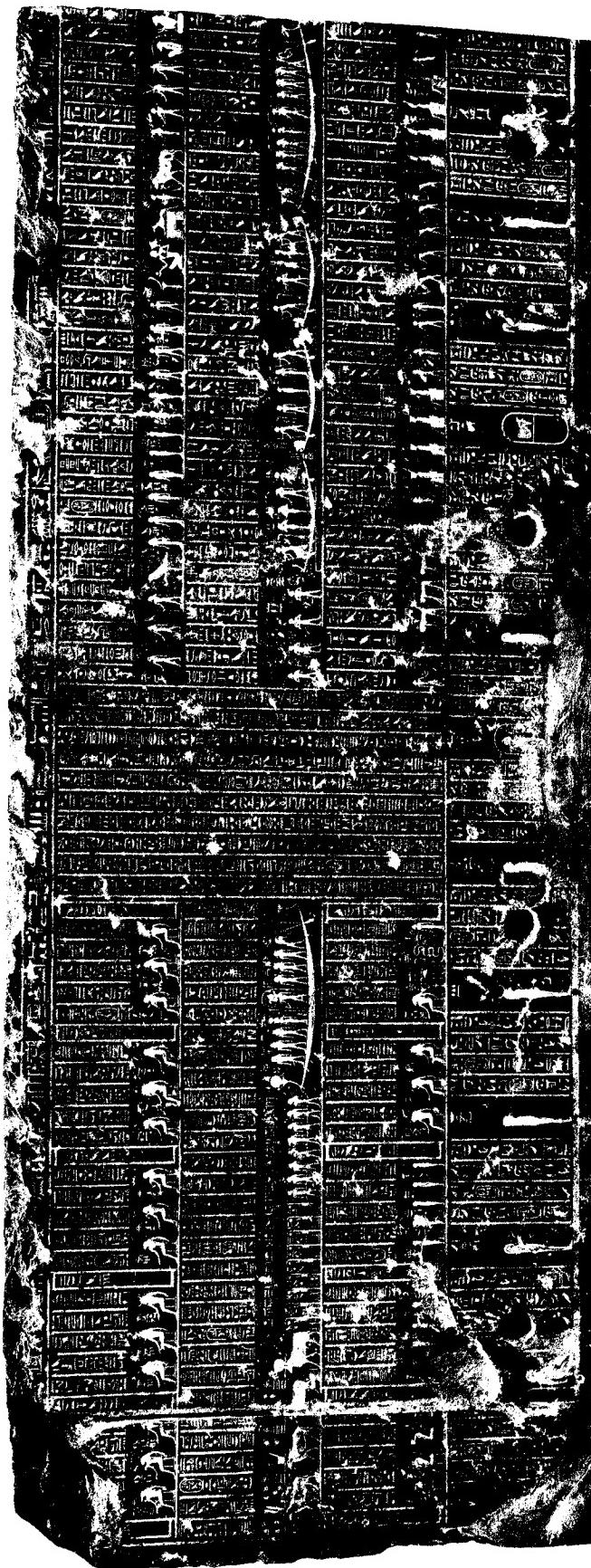


Plate 103

Type III Sarcophagi, Side Four
Nectanebo II

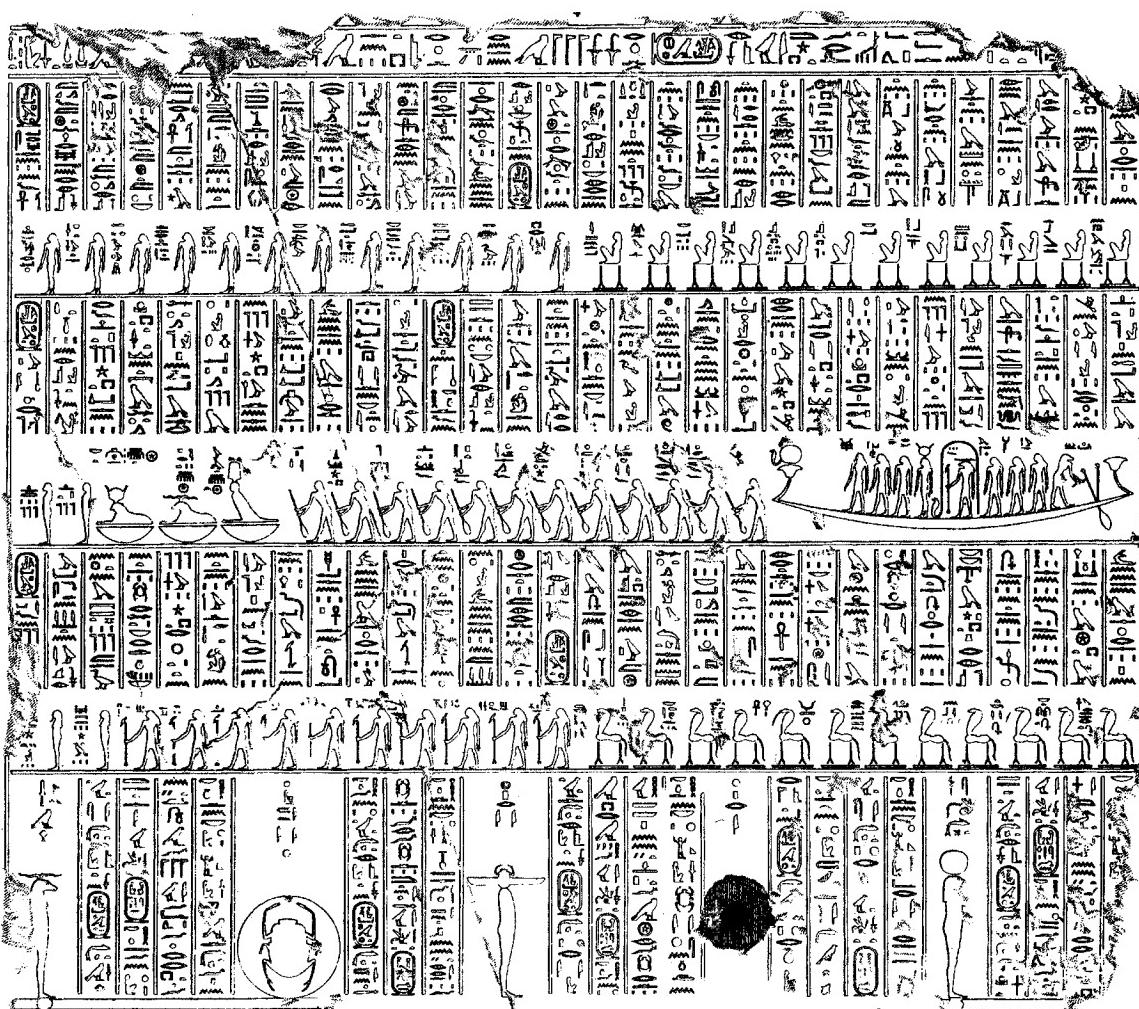
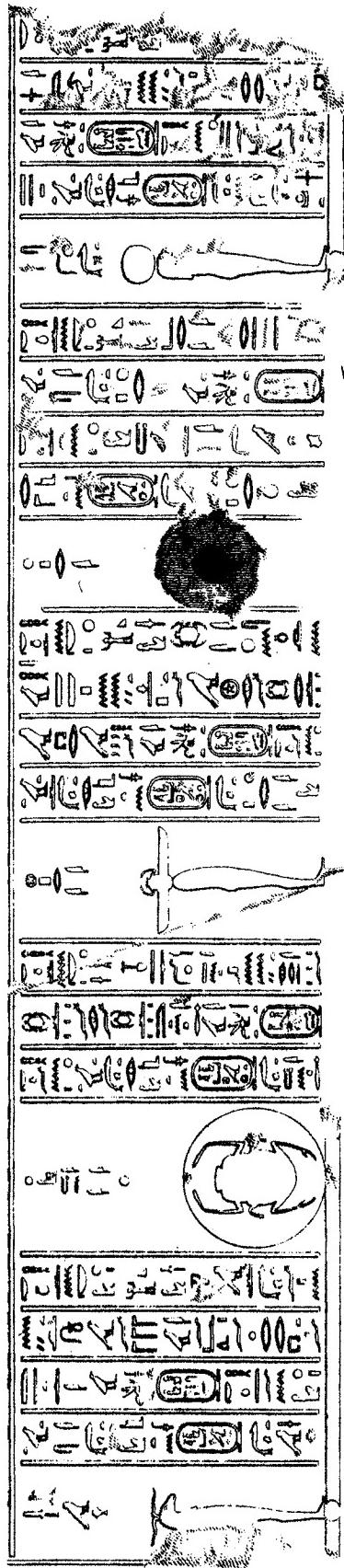


Plate 103B

Type III Sarcophagi, Side Four, Litany of Re
Nectanebo II



10

12

2

4

6

Plate 103C

Type III Sarcophagi, Side Four, Nectanebo II



Sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306)
Text from Creation of the Solar Disk on Lid

